Blessings and Thanksgivings

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BLESSINGS AND THANKSGIVINGS

The Jewish Prayer book and its Early Appearance In the Northern Netherlands

הכל יודוך והכל ישבחוך
All thank You and all praise You.

Illustration on the cover: printing press, depicted in: Diego de Saavedra Fajardo. Idea de un principe politico Christiano representada en cien empresas. München, Nikolaus Heinrich, 1640.
The motto: from the smoke into the light.

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

BLESSINGS AND THANKSGIVINGS

The Jewish Prayer Book and Its Early Appearance in the Northern Netherlands

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor of Philosophy aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. C.M. van Praag,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de Faculteit Religie en Theologie
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door

Abraham Wolf Rosenberg

geboren te Amsterdam

promotoren:	prof.dr. A.A. den Hollander prof.dr. B.T. Wallet
promotiecommissie:	prof. dr. J.V. Roitman prof.dr. E.G.L. Schrijver prof.dr. W.J. van Bekkum dr. M.T.G.E. van Delft dr. L. Mock

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A special word of thanks to Mr. Arthur Vis who enabled me to have a database custom built by Mr. Anton van de Repe, according to my template for a bibliographical list of editions and to Prof. Martijn Katan who advised me to use Zotero for my references and helped me to develop my digital abilities in its use.

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Jewish prayer book, on those who wrote on Jewish subjects without sufficient knowledge (according to my not always humble opinion). Without complaint she checked the umpteenth revision of many paragraphs and convinced me that any text that was unclear to her most certainly would not be understandable for those who are not specialist on the subject.

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Finally, my never waning and deep gratitude to the Creator and Master of the universe, Who granted me life and the opportunities to finish this research.

ברוך שהחינו וקיימנו והגיענו לזמן הזה.
Praised be He Who has kept us in life and sustained us and enabled us to reach this season

ROMANISATION TABLE

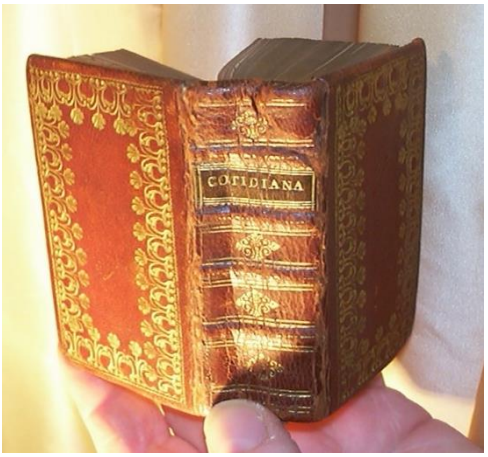
As there is no universal romanisation system for Hebrew, choices have to be made. Generally the table of Library of Congress is followed. Names of persons are given as they are mostly used in the places where they lived or were active, or, as is the case with names of books and of subjects, the Encyclopaedia Judaica (EJ) is followed. Although this does not make for uniformity, it should enable the reader to retrieve data in an optimal way. As the standard character sets of many word processors lack an easy way to produce underdotted characters, the ח is romanised as ch and צ as Ts unless EJ uses another spelling. References are transcribed according to their sources.
Doubling dotted Hebrew consonants is not applied, unless in cases where EJ spelling is used.

א	disregarded
ב	b, v
ג	g
ד	d
ה	h
ו	v (only if a consonant)
ז	z
ח	ch
ט	t
י	y (only if a consonant), i
כ	k, kh
ל	l
מ	m
נ	n
ס	s
ע	’
פ	f, p
צ	ts
ק	k
ר	r
ש	s, sh
ת	t

תפשת מרובה – לא תפשת, תפשת מועט – תפשת
(When you try to deal with the maximum, you cannot deal with anything, when you try to deal with a small part only, you will succeed) BT Rosh ha-Shanah 4b.

INTRODUCTION

One morning, trying to finish the inventory check of the Amsterdam Ets Haim library's collections, I answered a telephone call from a former colleague, a natural history specialist and international antiquarian book dealer who was offered a small Jewish prayer book, Oraçiones de Mes, published in Amsterdam by Judah Machabeu in 5416 (1656).[1] His question: could you please give me some more information on the work and inform me about any people who may be interested in it? As the Ets Haim Library owns a few manuscripts in the hand of this famous calligrapher and member of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Community, it was an interesting question. One of the manuscripts by Machabeu[2] has the same title and was written by Machabeu in Recife, Brazil in 1650. The first question that needed to be answered was whether the 1650 manuscript[3] might have been used as printer's copy for the work that was published by Machabeu after his return to Amsterdam in 1656. This would not have been the first such instance, as another manuscript collection of prayers, written in Hebrew and Spanish for Isaac de Mattathias Aboab by Benjamin Senior Godines[4] in 1684, was used by the latter for the bi-lingual edition printed by Albertus Magnus in Amsterdam in 1687 (see p. 248, no. 104). Careful comparison showed that the text of the Recife manuscript and the 1656 Amsterdam printed copy were not identical and I was happy to add the small volume to the Ets Haim collections (illustration 1). The experience stimulated my since long existing interest in the Jewish prayer book, especially in the various versions of those in the Iberian vernacular.



1 Judah Machabeu, Amsterdam, 1656

The object of my research is the origin and development of the printed Jewish prayer books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands[5] in the early modern period. In 1584 a non-Jewish printer in Dordrecht printed two prayer books, at a time there was no known Jewish population in the rising Dutch Republic. One contained the daily prayers in an Iberian Jewish vernacular, the other the prayers for the High Holidays (Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur) in the same language (p. 231. No. 1-2). From 1604 onwards, a few years after Jewish immigration into the Northern Netherlands had started, Amsterdam gradually became the world centre of Jewish

[1] Now EH 27F52.

[2] EH 48E61.

[3] The calligraphed manuscript does not contain any marking, but this does not necessarily exclude it from having been used as a printer's copy.

[4] EH 47E33.

[5] The Southern Netherlands, known as Belgium since 1831, remained under Spanish rule until the end of the 18th century. Here, the Inquisition suppressed Jewish life and book production. Post-1830 Belgian editions of the Jewish prayer book bear no relation to the Dutch liturgical tradition.

book production and trade. It took until 1627 before other Jewish works were published in the Northern Netherlands, the first of which was a prayer book in Hebrew, and so the prayer book can be seen as the cradle of Jewish book production in the country.

The main focus of the present study is whether it is possible to identify the origin of the early editions of the Jewish prayer books published in the Northern Netherlands, which is a philological question. A second, more historical question is whether the growth of a specific Dutch-Jewish liturgical tradition can be discerned. A third question relates to the development of the Jewish prayer book. Was it influenced by external events like migration, diaspora and international contacts, and if so, in what way? This question is relevant to my subject as the production of the prayer books coincided with Jewish immigration into the early modern Northern Netherlands. The printing of prayer books was one of the first visible acts of a group of immigrants who would soon become a significant minority in the Dutch Republic and were to be of major importance for the development of international trade in general as well as for the book trade in particular. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Northern Netherlands were still deeply involved in a war of independence and in the creation of a new state, the constitutional status of which would remain quite unclear for a number of decades. Would it emerge as a new monarchy under the House of Orange, or as a republic, and what would be the ruling religion? What can be said about the political, social and cultural context of the immigrants of Jewish origin who arrived in the Northern Netherlands and what kind of reception might they expect from their Christian neighbours?

The Jewish prayer book is only one class of Jewish books, though with its own specific peculiarities. The fourth and final question to be answered in this study concerns the position of the Jewish prayer book in the history of the books that were published in the early modern Northern Netherlands. First of all it is necessary to draw an inventory of the editions of those prayer books and the persons that were involved with their production and were part of the young, but growing Jewish community, especially in Amsterdam. How were these prayer books received: what was the relation between the various editions and which markets were covered? Special attention has to be given to the bibliographical aspects of the Jewish prayer books, especially as many book professionals are not acquainted with Jewish liturgy as is presented in the various and diverse prayer books. One of the aims of this study has been to overcome the lack of uniformity in the cataloguing of Jewish prayer books and to provide some tools and references for bibliographers, cataloguers, researchers, and students for identifying and understanding the various editions and their components, even when the copy in hand is incomplete.
As stated earlier, the first Jewish Prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands contained the obligatory prayers in Iberian vernacular, the language that, like Hebrew, had been previously printed elsewhere. What was the relation between the vernacular and Hebrew prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands and their predecessors elsewhere? From the outset, this research has been interdisciplinary as it includes Jewish history in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Early Modernity, Jewish historiography and liturgical studies (including the status of the Hebrew language in Jewish prayer), book history and the position of the Jewish prayer book in bibliography, conventional library practice and modern digitised information practice. Each of these disciplines received its own section in my work. First, however, some discussion on the past and present state of the research into the domains mentioned is necessary.

0.1 THE PRESENT STATE OF THE RESEARCH INTO THE DOMAINS MENTIONED

Knowledge does not grow in isolation: we stand on the shoulders of previous generations to obtain more knowledge. Academic research has to build on and expand the results of predecessors, but should always maintain a critical and independent approach to earlier conclusions. As will be explained later in this study, Jewish obligatory prayer and synagogue

liturgy originated and diversified in the Jewish diaspora. Western Ashkenazi and Western Sephardi traditions were for long the main stream of Jewish life in the Northern Netherlands, while the differences between both societies and their respective rites were significant. The academic study of Jewish prayer and liturgy started in the 19th-century German speaking world, in Ashkenazi circles and would soon cause a deep rift between conservatives and modernist Jews, which is especially echoed in halakhic literature regarding the use of vernacular in prayer. This makes it necessary to point to developments in the Ashkenazi academic society since the second half of the 18th century.

Towards the end of the 18th century Jewish students and scholars were almost solely constricted to traditional religious subjects and methods. The ideas of the Enlightenment slowly started to seep through in Jewish circles, especially when some non-Jewish thinkers started to plea for giving civil rights to Jews. Especially in Germany, this by degrees lead to Jewish emancipation and breaking the isolation of the Jewish minorities. Engaging in secular education and the application of modern standards of study and research were considered to open the most important way of improving Jewish culture, of acculturation and acceptance of Jews in the general society. This Jewish Enlightenment is called Haskalah and its representatives are called Maskilim, singular Maskil.[6]

Universities gradually started to open their gates also to Jewish students and teachers, who in this way had to widen their horizon by secular studies and the application of academic standards to the study of religious subjects. Soon a group of young academics started to apply their newly acquired standards and skills to the research of Jewish history and culture and felt the urge to introduce their own people to the realities of contemporary society. Further they desired to acquaint the non-Jewish intelligentsia with the richness and the diversity of Jewish culture stretching back over three millennia. They hoped in this way to positively influence the opinion of contemporary intelligentsia and counter the common anti-Jewish sentiments in a Christian, though secularising society. It was deeply rooted in the concepts of the period and therefore focused on the glory of the Jewish past and culture, deserving of a place in world history, literature and culture. This new Jewish approach to academic Jewish studies, best known under its original German name Wissenschaft des Judentums,[7] from the beginning included liturgical studies as part of its academic activities. Many such liturgical studies were published in the central monthly *Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*[8], e.g. the publication of numerous Geonic and Sephardi sources. This corpus of recently discovered manuscript texts by the Geonim and medieval Jewish authorities, and especially poets[9] often remain fundamental to liturgical research today. The richness of Jewish liturgical literature, both of Ashkenazi and Sephardi origin, proved to the researchers its high and longstanding quality which had not stayed behind similar non-Jewish prayers. Although the WdJ significantly stimulated interest in Sephardi studies, the benchmark for liturgical studies remained the German, Ashkenazi tradition. Even now, some two centuries later, the research of Jewish prayer and prayer books still follows the paths paved by the giants of the first generation of the Wissenschaft des Judentums as it is, as I will discuss hereafter, still mostly based on literary analysis.

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[6] Here I opt for a generic approach, equating *Jewish Enlightenment* and *Haskalah* although momentarily historians are not unanimous on the question whether these terms cover the same movement or that we should differentiate between them. See e.g.: Feiner, 2007; Litvak, 2012; Sorkin, 1996; IDEM, 1999; Zwiep, 2007; IDEM, 2012.

[7] In Modern Hebrew the term used is *Chokhmat Israel* (Jewish Wisdom). The movement hereafter will be called WdJ.

[8] Cited as MGWJ.

[9] From the end of the 19th century onwards, a treasure of manuscript and early printed texts that had been discovered in the Geniza of an ancient Cairo synagogue would provide an additional focus for research, as will be discussed later. A Geniza is the depository for worn, discarded or corrupted sacred Jewish texts.

The contacts between these Jewish scholars and their colleagues from other religious denominations caused the former to reconsider the practice of the Ashkenazi synagogue, which to say the least had for a long time been quite informal and did not sit easily with the decorum and 'reverence' observed in Christian churches. In an effort to remove this stumbling block and to gain respect for the Jewish liturgy from the non-Jewish world, a number of reforms were proposed which would ultimately lead to a breach between Orthodox and Reform Jewries.[10] At the time such a divergence of ways was probably unavoidable as Jewish studies since medieval times had mostly followed traditional Ashkenazi literary conventions. General practice had become to cumulate previous opinions and reconciling controversies. The new academic researchers applied 'secular' i.e. non-Jewish methods of study, reverting to independent research and so disregarding previous rabbinic tradition. This gave the more conservative leaders reason to mistrust their more progressive counterparts, especially after the latter expressly undertook to write for a largely non-Jewish public. The publication of a prayer book in German, from which some central parts of traditional prayer were stricken, caused both sides to entrench in irreconcilable positions.[11] Until today traditional Jewry is divided in their appreciation or rejection of secular studies[12] and the application of academic discipline to the study of Jewish sources and subjects. My research, as far as it needs to be declared, from the outset intended to apply academic standards and avoiding questions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

The methods of critical research of the Jewish prayer book understandably paralleled those of biblical studies, applying the same instruments:

- Textual and philological criticism intend to establish the original (Urtext) or most authoritative text by the use of vocabulary, grammar and literary style of the period.
- Form criticism, as the term indicates, classifies the material according to its earlier forms, e.g. parable, hymn or, in the case of the prayer book, Psalm or antiphony. It is primarily not interested in content.
- Literary criticism, finally, concentrates on the various literary genres that may be identified in a certain text with the purpose to find evidence for its authorship, composition and original function.

A chronological exposition of the most important general researches of Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy will be followed by the presentation of publications on special periods and subjects.[13]

Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) was the ground-breaker for Jewish liturgical studies as he did not see the Jewish prayer book as a unilateral creation of the Talmudic rabbis but as the product that had over the centuries evolved in various contexts and under different influences.[14] In this way he tried to trace the various rites that had developed in the Jewish world in their historical development. He was followed by Ismar Elbogen (1874-1943) who for the first time formulated

[10] Guttmann, 1977. For a survey of the recent study of the WdJ see: Bitzan, 2017.
[11] Initiated with the publication of Eleh Divrei ha-Berit, 1819 and leading e.g., as I will illustrate later, to the rejection of prayer in the vernacular in codified Halakhah.
[12] As example of this discussion within contemporary orthodox Judaism is the division between 'Charedic' and 'Modern-Orthodox', the latter clearly represented by institutions as Bar Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) and Yeshiva University in New York. Another example is the 1997 rift at Yeshivat Mercaz ha-Rav in Jerusalem between its dean, R. Abraham Shapira and R. Zvi Ysrael Thau on the introduction of an academic framework into the Yeshiva. Rabbi Thau so strongly objected that he left and founded his own Yeshiva: Har HaMoR (הר המור **S**uccessor to **M**ercaz ha-**R**av).
[13] The following survey owns much to Stefan C. Reif's lemma 'Prayer and Liturgy' in Oxford Bibliographies.
[14] Zunz, 1859.

a comprehensive and critical description of the history of Jewish liturgy.[15] His work remained an indispensable text for the subject until the last quarter of the 20th century, although soon it was considered to be somewhat biased, underestimating medieval developments and mysticism and advocating some reform. His contemporary Louis Finkelstein (1895-1991) wrote a few publications[16] to relate an important part of rabbinic prayer to the pre-Christian period, based on manuscript evidence which is now considered to be thorough, but unsuccessful. Another important member of the same generation was Abraham Zevi Idelsohn (1882-1938) who compared the rabbinic prayer book with biblical, as well as with Karaite and Christian prayers, and tried to describe the introduction of mystical themes and texts into the Jewish prayer book.[17] He was especially interested in poetry and liturgical music as is illustrated by his monumental Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies[18] and Jewish Music.[19]

An extensive, popular but scientific history of Jewish prayer and an explanation of its spiritual background was written by Abraham Ezra Milgram (1901-1998).[20] He saw the prayer book as a dynamic spiritual organism and tried to describe Jewish worship in modern times, in progressive as well as traditional circles. The way to modern prayer book research was laid by Jacob Josef Petuchowski (1925-1991) who dealt with statutory[21] prayers as well as with liturgical poetry.[22] Combining theology and history, he summarized previous discoveries as a guide to future research, stressing the need to broaden research outside the traditional treatment by considering Jewish prayer in its historical context, in a multi-disciplinary way. Another seminal work by this author[23] describes the prayer book reform in European Liberal and Reform Jewish circles. The assistant editor in chief of the 1972 Encyclopaedia Judaica and editor in chief of its index, Raphael Posner (1932-2010) published together with Uri Kaploun and Shalom Cohen a collection of relevant lemmas[24] from that encyclopaedia, without introduction or assessment. For that reason the reader has to take into consideration the position of every scholar that authored a certain lemma. Stefan C. Reif (1944-) is a proponent of a multi-disciplinary approach to the research of Jewish liturgy. His main work on this subject[25] not only contains a critical history of Jewish liturgy from biblical to modern times, but also a survey and evaluation of liturgical scholarship, trying to distinguish speculation from sound conclusion. Reif is also an outstanding scholar in medieval Jewish studies, especially the Cairo Genizah manuscripts which will be described later.

Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt (1895-1972) was highly recognised for his contributions to the textual research of various Ashkenazi rites and the edition of various Ashkenazi prayer books.[26] When I started my professional involvement with the Jewish prayer book in the JNUL, my chair in the classification department had for many previous years been kept by Goldschmidt whose research and editorial endeavours were marked by the classical aim of textual and philological criticisms: to establish the 'correct and original' (Urtext) formulation of the prayers by comparing manuscript

[15] Elbogen, 1931; IDEM, 1993.
[16] Finklstein, 1925; IDEM, 1928.
[17] Idelsohn, 1932.
[18] 1914–1932, 10 vols.
[19] 1929.
[20] Milgram, 1975[2].
[21] In this study I use the term obligatory prayers with the same meaning.
[22] Petuchowski, 1970. Reprint of a collection of seminal articles with an introduction.
[23] Petuchowski, 1968.
[24] Posner, 1975.
[25] Reif, 1993.
[26] See e.g.: Goldschmidt, 1996. His work is of special importance for his introductions to and texts of some less available rites, as well as studies of manuscripts and early printed editions.

evidence.[27] Joseph Heinemann (1915-1978) rejected such an approach and advocated the form-critical approach of prayers[28] and stressed that already at an early stage the prayers show many variants and that this proves that there is no 'Urtext', a single and therefore authoritative text. His school prefers synchronous text-study over a purely chronological treatment.

It is my own position that, as I hope to illustrate in my study, there never existed an Urtext, so that this part of Goldschmidt's research has become obsolete. This does not diminish, however, the value of his presentation of the many existing variants that have been preserved in various places and rites during the centuries. Our knowledge of such variants has been greatly improved by the discovery at the end of the 19th century of a trove of important manuscript material from the Cairo Genizah which will be described now. Until the last quarter of the 20th century the main object of the research on this material was restricted to Bible texts,[29] but since its importance for the study of Jewish prayer and liturgy has become widely appreciated.

A Genizah is a depository for Jewish sacred texts that either contain 'irreparable' mistakes[30] or are worn. Such documents are temporarily stored in a box or room to be buried at a later moment.[31] The Ben Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo had such a Genizah room where during a millennium text had been stored without being buried. The Cambridge professor Solomon Schechter was the first to recognise their importance and in 1898 started to collect and study this enormous collection of often fragmentary manuscript sources which were subsequently sent to collections all over the world, not only to Cambridge University. These sources proved to be a treasure trove of up to then unknown liturgical material and in this greatly contributed to new insights in Jewish prayer and liturgy. Schechter's research of Geniza material was continued by Jacob Mann (1888-1940),[32] who dated many manuscripts, located, deciphered and analysed Palestinian rite texts in the Geniza. He laid the foundation for the later researches of Naphtali Wieder and Ezra Fleischer. In another major work, he tried to reconstruct Palestinian biblical lectionaries from the late Geonic era.[33] Differences between early Palestinian and Babylonian prayer traditions were illustrated by Naphtali Wieder (1905-2001) from a vast number of manuscripts.[34] He broadened his view to religious, cultural and historical subjects, outside the narrow field of the research of prayer itself.

Another important researcher of prayer in Genizah texts was Ezra Fleischer (1928-2006),[35] who especially focused on those that reflect the old Palestinian rites and customs preceding and during the period of the Crusades. He has contributed much to the knowledge of the ancient rite of the Land of Israel, by analysing the nature of its extensive corpus of prayers and poetry and its ultimate fate. Still striving as a patriarch of the research of the Jewish prayer book and Geniza studies is Stefan C. Reif.[36] He described in a clear way the work and theories of his predecessors in the field and evaluated the way the Geniza documents contributed to the historical understanding of the innovative and dynamic early medieval influence on prayer and liturgy. In

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[27] His final masterpiece was a critical edition of the Machsor "according to the Ashkenazi rite in all its branches: including (Western) Ashkenaz, Poland and 'former France' " (Goldschmidt, 1970 and 1991), which was completed by his son-in-law Yonah Frankel (Frankel, 1993 and 2000). The latter's announced *Siddur Nusach Ashkenaz* in the same series has not yet been published.

[28] Heinemann, 1975 and 1983. See also: Heinemann, 1977.

[29] So I was informed on my first visit as a rare book librarian in further training to Cambridge University Library in 1975 by the Keeper of Genizah materials.

[30] When a word or its letters may not be erased according to Jewish Law.

[31] Kahle, 1959.

[32] Mann, 1925.

[33] Mann, 1971.

[34] Wieder, 1998.

[35] Fleischer, 1988; IDEM, 2007.

[36] Reif, 1999.

the next section will be illustrated that academic study and research, including that of Jewish prayer and liturgy, is affected by changes in the appreciation of historical developments.

0.2 HISTORY AND MODERNITY

As discussed earlier (p. III), the opening of the – especially German – universities for Jewish students and teachers affected Jewish life in the 19th century and led to a new generation of university-trained educators. Some of them emigrated to the USA and Palestine, where they soon proved to be essential for the developing Zionist educational institutes that would become the nation's leading institutions after the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. World War II caused devastation among Ashkenazi Jewry as many communities with a rich tradition were wiped out. Those who were spared or had been able to escape migrated, mostly to the UK, the USA and Palestine. The post-war generation soon became aware of changes in the religious perceptions in Europe, the United States and especially in the State of Israel, where academic Jewish studies flourished. Many studies of Jewish prayer and literature show a tendency to reflect on earlier periods, such as the Geonic era, the changing conditions of Jewish communities or involve comparative studies of Jewish, Christian and Muslim prayer.[37] This approach not only leads to more multi-disciplinary studies, but also illustrates the necessity to demonstrate the social relevancy of academic research. Here, the most important authors on the subject of the Jewish prayer books of the past generations will be mentioned, as they were the educators of present researchers.

Bernhard (Issachar) Salomon Jacobson (1901-1972) was a pupil of R. Joseph Zevi Carlebach in his place of birth Hamburg[38] and combined a broad religious and academic training. During the Nazi regime he escaped with his wife to Holland and after the beginning of World War II from there to Israel. His work on the complete traditional prayer book[39] not only contains commentaries on meaning and content, but also numerous references to primary Talmudic and medieval primary sources, and references to some of the latest historical research. The work primarily is concerned with a comprehensive rather than a purely critical approach and contains numerous data helping to reconstruct the historical development of the individual prayers. In Israel, one of the outstanding and influential experts on medieval rabbinic studies and Ashkenazi customs was Israel M. Ta-Shma (1936-2004),[40] secretary of Mekitsei Nirdamim, the society that was founded in 1862 in Berlin and moved its seat to Jerusalem in 1934. Its aim was 'to propagate the knowledge of Jewish scholarship by the publication of medieval Hebrew literature in every branch of intellectual activity in scholarly editions.'[41] Perhaps Ta-Shma did not always give attention to the prevalence of custom over Halakhah. Although Mekitsei Nirdamim originated in the Wissenschaft des Judentums some of its paragons like A. Geiger and M. Steinschneider opposed Mekitsei Nirdamim, apparently because the work of the society was supported by some staunch representatives of orthodoxy.[42] As stated earlier, the United States of America became another important centre of prayer book studies, where Lawrence A. Hoffman (1942-) made important contributions to the sociocultural study of prayer and liturgy, called by him holistic.[43] He tries to explain especially medieval developments in the canonisation of Jewish prayer from its historical, anthropological and sociological context. Its scope includes text, history, sociology and

[37] Boda et al., 2006-2008; Miller, 1994; Schiffman, 1994.
[38] Today I realise that a perhaps disproportional number of my teachers in Israel had originated in Hamburg.
[39] Jacobson, 1964-1977.
[40] E.G.: Ta-Shma, 1999; IDEM, 2004; IDEM, 2010. My spelling of his name follows that in his books.
[41] Ta-Shma in EJ vol. 11, col. 1270. Some examples are Judah ha-Levi's Diwan, ed. By S.D. Luzzatto (1893), Sidur Rashi, edited by S. Buber (1910-11), Selected Poems of Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1896) and, more recently, Maimonides' letters, edited by D.H. Baneth (1946) and his responsa, edited by J. Blau (1957-1961).
[42] E.g.: S. Ganzfried and M.L. Malbim.
[43] Hoffman, 1989.

psychology of religion and includes comments on recent trends in the USA in general and in the Reform movement in particular as shown in the chapter on American Jewish liturgies.[44] Previously he commented on the subject of the canonisation of Jewish prayer,[45] especially in the Geonic period. Building on the studies of Mann and Wieder the author analysed 59 liturgical controversies from that period, he identified a process of standardisation in Babylonia, the Geonic realm where local custom would furthermore exclude Palestinian traditions. Hoffman is the editor of the monumental 10 volume publication 'My People's Prayer Book; Traditional Prayers, Modern Commentaries.'[46] After an extensive introduction, the prayer texts and translations are surrounded by commentaries from various points of view: Bible, Theology, modern liturgy, a woman's voice, Kabbalah, Chassidism, history, halakhah and translation. This way of presenting a wealth of knowledge to the interested deserves admiration and further development. To my regret Sephardi tradition is completely ignored in the history section of this excellent non-traditional prayer book.

At this point in my discussion of Hoffman's works and before dealing with another author on the subject, I want to explain that I prefer to speak of standardisation and authorisation, rather than canonisation, as after the period of the Sages of the Talmud, traditional Jewry lacked a central body that could impose uniform liturgical formulation, or custom. Another point of criticism is that the author sometimes seems to negate the importance of time, culture and the diversity of world Jewry at the time.[47] Another point is that in comparing the attitudes of subsequent Geonim one has to differentiate in halakhic discussions two classes:
a) The analytical, theoretical treatment of theological, philosophical and philological subjects;
b) Decisions on well-defined cases.
The failure to make this distinction often characterises heated and emotional internal Jewish discussions and tensions caused by the differences between common practice and rabbinic opinions and rulings.

Another important researcher is Ruth Langer (1960-), the author of many studies and essays on prayer and liturgy, touching various important subjects, e.g. the history of the Amidah and the religious meaning of some central benedictions to generations of Jews in various countries and environments.[48] Like Heinemann, Langer takes proof from Geniza material that the Talmudic claim that the statutory prayers from the earliest rabbinic times had fixed texts is contradicted by other Talmudic statements that point to many existing textual variants. She also values New Testament testimonies to contemporary rabbinic prayer and argues that Jewish prayer has developed during a long period and in diverse directions and when popular custom and rabbinical opinions clash, the former eventually overcomes rabbinical authority. True as this may be, legally popular custom even when it clearly is contrary to Halakhah, by the force of chazakah[49] always prevails.[50] A collection of eleven well-introduced and annotated and indexed essays[51] that was edited by Langer and Steven Fine give an update of the latest liturgical

[44] Hoffman, 1989 pp. 60-74.
[45] Hoffman, 1979.
[46] Hoffman, 1997-2007.
[47] E.g. when discussing Saadiah Gaon's rejection of 'Or Chadash' in the Morning Prayer as was common in Israel, he immediately goes on to discuss the strong reaction of Chasidei Ashkenaz, without, however, mentioning that this reaction came 200 years later and that the Ashkenazi rite followed the Palestinian tradition.
[48] E.g. Langer, 1999-2000; IDEM, 2005; IDEM, 2012
[49] In this case to be translated as *binding precedent*.
[50] A clear example is the Ashkenazi custom that on Shavuot after the first verse of the Torah portion has been read, *Akdamut* is inserted, a long Aramaic paean on the Torah that was given to the Jewish people. Although it is expressly forbidden to read less than three complete verses, this practice can only be stopped when all the congregants agree to leave this custom and reverse to Halakhah (commentaries on Shulchan Arukh, Orach Chaim).
[51] Langer, 2005.

developments in Israel and North America for specialists as well as lay readers. It contains essays on early rabbinic and medieval trends, ideas and artefacts. Momentarily two personalities are leading in the research of Jewish, though again mainly Ashkenazi, customs: Daniel Sperber[52] and Benjamin Salomon Hamburger[53], the founder of the Jerusalem Institute of Ashkenazi Heritage. The centre of Sephardi studies is the Jerusalem Ben Zvi Institute.

To define my own position in the discussion: in view of the overwhelming proof provided by previous and contemporary scholars, I am convinced that when Jewish prayer books began to be printed, their contents were part of a long and diverse process.[54] The differences between the Palestinian and Babylonian rites and their successors have already been documented for over a century. As will appear from my survey of the history of Jewish prayer and liturgy, I follow the hypothesis that in the wake of the Babylonian Exile, two separate Jewish centres developed where different languages and cultures stimulated the divergence between their respective prayer texts and (liturgical) customs. As far as textual methods are concerned, I should add that curiosity is the mother of research, but mere analysis obscures the beauty of the text that is studied. The discussion between poets on the relation between form and content in the Netherlands during the Interwar period[55] led to the conclusion that both form and content were essential for literary creation. By concentrating only on the form or on the personality of the author, researchers might lose a perspective on the beauty of the text in hand, although it is that very beauty which caused such a text to have been lovingly preserved through the centuries.

Being of Ashkenazi descent and education, I was later introduced into and became interested in the Amsterdam Portuguese liturgy which did not get sufficient, though well-deserved interest in academic research. The many differences between western-Ashkenazi and western-Sephardi liturgy are insufficiently described and therefore a number of significant subjects of this class are dealt with in my study, especially as this has negatively influenced the cataloguing, classification and bibliographical treatment of the Jewish prayer book. Although Sephardi studies have gained much importance, prayer book research is mostly restricted to the Ashkenazi tradition and the significant differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books, customs and terminology are seldom explored[56] and the most influential researchers of minhagim, Jewish customs, follow this trend. As I have previously stated, all these authors mostly emphasise on the manuscript period and deal with printed works as an aside.[57] Overwhelming evidence supports the position that Jewish prayer since its institution by the Anshei Knesset ha-Gedolah[58] has lacked uniformity and remained somewhat flexible. My research is restricted to the printed prayer book and concerns itself with the historical, cultural and literary context of the printed Jewish prayer book. An important element is the lack of uniformity in the titles of the medieval manuscript prayer books which continues until today. Presently, two centuries after the founding of the WdJ in the German speaking academic world, universities all over the world harbour departments where Jewish studies gained an important place, especially Israel, the United Kingdom and the United

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[52] Sperber, 1993.

[53] Hamburger, 1995.

[54] Cf. Heinemann, 1977.

[55] 'Vorm of Vent?' cf. Oversteegen, 1969. The phrase was coined by the Dutch poet J.C. Bloem in an essay in 1931 and opened a discussion on the question whether the literary form or the person of the author was more important.

[56] Perhaps the best known work on differences between Ashkenazim and Sephardim is Zimmels, 1969. It discusses liturgical differences that are reflected in the rabbinic responsa (part II, chapter 3, pp. 99-123). Dobrinsky, 1986, in fact only deals with contemporary Sephardi customs, mostly as witnessed in the USA.

[57] See: Tabory, 1997. A history of the printed (Ashkenazi) prayer book (Prague, 1513-1813 Rödelheim) was published in Berliner, 1945 (in Hebrew). See also: Reif, 1995 pp. 207-255; IDEM, 2005.

[58] The early authors of obligatory prayers as they are called in Talmudic literature (e.g. BT Yoma 69b), referring to a group of further unidentified Sages that are figured as the rabbinic leaders preceding the Tannaitic era as will be explained later.

States of Amerika.[59] Sephardic studies attract deep interest inside and outside Europe and most important studies are published in sundry languages.

History always was an important minor in my education, starting with classical Greek and Roman history and the history of the Ancient Near-East and Biblical history, later to be followed by Renaissance studies. My introduction to Jewish history I got at the Graduate Library School of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and my teachers were educated mostly by members from the WdJ. Subsequently I profited from a new generation of historians, the most important I will mention here. My questions on the still strong influence of the many Jewish chronicles on traditional Jewish historical views were partly answered when Yosef Haim Yerushalmi (1932 – 2009) in 1982 published a collection of four essays entitled Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory.[60] Yerushalmi gave me the tools[61] to appreciate the new direction that had been taken by Jewish historiographers and would influence my view on Jewish history in Early Modernity. At the time, after graduating in Renaissance studies and working with early printed books, mostly from Early Modernity, my interest was awakened in the influence of contemporary cultural and educational trends on the early Iberian immigration in Amsterdam and Yerushalmi would remain for me an influential author.[62]

Jonathan Israel,[63] Yosef Kaplan[64] and Daniel Swetschinski[65] have widely broadened the understanding of Jewish history and the development of the Sephardi community in Europe and especially the Northern Netherlands against the background of contemporary Europe and its transition into modernity. Miriam Bodian[66] has given attention to the spiritual and emotional aspects of the return of former conversos to their Jewish roots. Authors like Herman Prins Salomon[67] and Reina Fuks-Mansfeld[68] also shed light on this aspect but according to my opinion their contributions, unless based on clear documentation, are prone to intuitive interpretation. The position of women in early Portuguese Amsterdam and the situation of the poor have been well documented by Tirtsah Levie-Bernfeld.[69] It was Odette Vlessing, former Keeper of Jewish Archives at the Amsterdam Municipal Archives, who provided important information on the founding of the Bet Jacob community and the position of the Governors of the Portuguese communities who had to guarantee the financial obligations of their members.[70]

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[59] In the Netherlands, academic departments of Jewish studies have to struggle constantly for survival against cuts in their budgets.

[60] Yerushalmi 1983. The reception of Yerushalmi's works and insights in The Netherlands has apparently been restricted to his PhD thesis (Yerushalmi, 1966). Zakhor did not get wide attention here and his other, more extensive publications on various subjects do not seem to feature in Dutch academic discussions, although much of his work was published in English as well as in French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Hebrew. Zakhor was even translated into Japanese. His 1984 article on the use of the vernacular by the Iberian exiles seems to have been completely overlooked by academic research.

[61] The better understanding of the world of the Conversos in the 16th and 17th century (Yerushalmi, 1972; IDEM, 1998; Idem 1998; Idem, 1972 and 1972a) and his explanation of the position of the use of the vernacular to introduce them into traditional Jewish literature (IDEM, 1984).

[62] Of course, since Yerushalmi Jewish historiography has developed continuously and has seriously improved the understanding of Early Modern Jewry in its diverse locations.

[63] Israel, 1989; IDEM, 1990, IDEM, 1998 (2017 Dutch edition); IDEM, 1988.

[64] Kaplan, 1989; IDEM, 2000; IDEM, 2017; IDEM, 2019.

[65] Swetschinski, 1979; IDEM, 2004.

[66] Bodian, 1997.

[67] E.g. Salomon, 1973; IDEM, 1982.

[68] E.g. Fuks, 1989; IDEM, 1998; IDEM, 2002.

[69] Levie, 2012; IDEM, 2017.

[70] Vlessing, 1993; IDEM, 2002.

Was it possible in Early Modernity to gain universal knowledge, this is completely impossible in our time as every day an enormous amount of new information and insight is made available to all and academic research is compelled into specialisation. When I became deeper and deeper involved into the present research, I realised (and was made to understand) that since my professional education Jewish historiography also had made large and important progress which should be taken into account. In this context the most prominent name to be mentioned is David B. Ruderman who at Pennsylvania University established a school of new historians, teaching that also Jews gradually passed from the Middle Ages into Modernity and not, as had been previously supposed, skipped Early Modernity. His many publications[71] cover a wide range of relevant subjects of research. It is in the same spirit that I want to precede my description of early Jewish book production in the Northern Netherlands with a survey of the political, religious[72] and social context of early Jewish organisation in the Northern Netherlands. Essential for my own understanding of this question was the impressive work on the early years of the rising Dutch republic, written by Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies: *1650: Bevochten eenheid*. Already published in 1999, it remains an unsurpassed source for the understanding of Dutch society at the time that the immigrants of Jewish descent had to establish themselves and become part of that society. Recently Maarten Prak published his revised view of the period,[73] offering a somewhat different approach, which strengthened me in my opinion that the position of the Jewish immigrants in the Dutch Republic deserves more specialist research than I am able to provide in the context of my study of the Jewish prayer book. I will, however, describe various aspects such as the freedom of conscience, the relative freedom of the press and toleration of contrary beliefs and opinions as they are presented in Prak's study.

This introduction does not include the state of the art in the historiography of the book in general and of analytical bibliography in particular. It is based on my chief sources of education in that field, being the works of the leading bibliographers of the twentieth century: Roland Brunlees McKerrow,[74] Fredson Bowers[75] and Philip Gaskell.[76] During my years as a professional librarian, I have perhaps learnt more from hands-on practice than from the extensive later literature, which I will only briefly discuss. In France it was Roger Chartier who, in the tradition of the 'Annales School' and combining authors, texts, books and readers, tried to present the cultural and social history of the early modern book.[77] The works on Dutch book production and trade in that period by Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen[78] have been indispensable for my understanding of the context of Jewish book production and trade in the 17th century. Valuable information on the first generations of Amsterdam Jewish printers has been provided by Lajb Fuks and Reina Fuks-Mansfeld,[79] while Steven Nadler[80] has written a fine biography of

[71] E.g. Ruderman, 1922; IDEM, 2001; IDEM, 2010.
[72] Bell, 2006; Bregoli, 2019 and Hsia, 1995 studied the relation between Jews and non-Jews at the time of the Reformation, especially in the Ashkenazi world. Saperstein, 2005 and Nadler, 2018 describe the reaction of the early Amsterdam Sephardi Rabbis Saul Levi Morteira and Menasseh ben Israel to Calvinist controversial theological subjects. Subjects like predestination, the nature of man and the immortality of the soul had always attracted rabbinic attention, but for some time I asked myself what was the chance of these rabbis at the time, especially such as had to teach Judaism to former Catholics, to deal with fine distinction in Reformatory theology. The explanation most probably is given by the public discourses of the time, oral as well as within the Republic of Letters and the many publications of the time.
[73] Prak, 2020.
[74] McKerrow, 1927.
[75] Bowers, 2012.
[76] Gaskell, 1974.
[77] E.g. Chartier, 1989; IDEM, 1994; IDEM, 1995; IDEM, 2003.
[78] E.g. Pettegree, 1992; IDEM, 2010; IDEM, 2014; IDEM, 2019; Der Weduwen, 2019; IDEM, 2020.
[79] Fuks, 1984.
[80] Nadler 2018.

Amsterdam's first Jewish printer, Menasseh ben Israel. They all, however, chose not to discuss the challenges their chosen subjects faced, as well as the then existing networks of the international book trade and its fairs. No attention is paid in their work to the relations between the official authorities and printers in general, even those printers who had been appointed to print official publications and were nevertheless not averse to producing works that were in defiance of government decrees.

Regarding printing and book-culture in the Dutch Republic, the many publications by Frans Janssen[81] on the technical aspects of printing in the Netherlands, from the construction of presses to the remuneration of composers and operators of the printing press have been important for my understanding of the world of typography and printing. The history of the Dutch book in the 16th century has been extensively written by Paul Valkema Blouw (1916-2000).[82] The study of Dutch book bindings by Jan Storm van Leeuwen[83] do not enter into my study, but I want to mention the fact that Storm van Leeuwen carefully checked all the bindings in the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos and was able to identify some of the ornaments on a number of luxury bindings on mostly Sephardi books, some of them prayer books. The late Adri K. Offenberg[84] was one of the first book professionals in the Amsterdam University I met when I started my studies at that academy. During the decades we often discussed many subjects, sharing critical views on various publications on early printed Dutch Jewish books. With respect to his enormous contribution to the subject, not the least his catalogue of Hebrew Incunabula in the British Library, I sometimes uttered views that were contrary to his own, and gracefully and modestly he was prepared to discuss such matter. When later I will sometimes contradict a statement in one of his publications on early vernacular prayer books, I deeply regret the fact that his untimely passing away prevented our final sparring on this subject.

In Israel, Avriel Bar-Levav[85] and Zeev Gries[86] are at the moment the most important authorities on early modern Jewish books and culture. In Western Europe, Theodor Dunkelgrün[87] is a major representative of the younger generation. He states his interests of research to be 'Early modern and modern European intellectual history and the history of scholarship, history of the university, history of libraries, history of the book, religious conversion, and learned encounters between Jews, Christians and Muslims.' Again we witness the widening of a focus on Jewish studies to embrace a more multi-disciplinary approach. Amsterdam University welcomed Emile Schrijver[88] as Professor of the History of the Jewish Book, recognizing the importance of the subject as part of the Netherlands' national heritage. Schrijver is a widely recognized expert on Jewish manuscripts.

The printed Jewish prayer book as such has mostly remained outside the scope of systematic research, although a number of editions of works by printers like Jacob Emden,[89] Solomon Zalman Hanau,[90] Jonathan Eybeschütz,[91] Wolf Heidenheim[92] and Seligmann Baer have been

[81] E.g. Janssen, 1986; IDEM, 2004. Although dealing with the subject in our days, Van Krimpen, 1986 is also helpful as a survey of technical matters in book design and production.
[82] Valkema Blouw, 1998.
[83] Storm van Leeuwen, 2006.
[84] For a bibliography of his works 1966-2006, see: Schrijver, 2006.
[85] E.g. Bar-Levav, 2006;, 2008; IDEM, 2012a; Idem, 2012b; IDEM, 2017.
[86] E.g. Gries, 1992; Idem, 1993; Idem, 2002; Idem, 2006; Idem, 2010.
[87] E.g. Dunkelgrün, 2012a; Idem, 2012b; Idem, 2016; Idem, 2020.
[88] Since 2019 he is the executive editor of an Encyclopedia of Jewish Book Culture.
[89] Siddur Yavets. See: Schacter, 1988.
[90] Sha'arei Tefillah, Jesnitz, 1725.
[91] In relation to the Emden-Eybeschütz controversy.
[92] Levinger, 1982.

discussed by various authors.[93] The evidence of local or regional rites has so far only been studied in relation to manuscript prayer books. The existence or absence of such evidence in printed works has not received any academic attention, but it will be discussed in the present study. Here I want to mention the merits of the research by Harm den Boer who tirelessly searched the world's treasuries for Iberian vernacular editions of Jewish books, discovering various previously unknown editions, including prayer books.[94] The publications of Israël Salvator Revah (1917-1973)[95] and Herman Prins Salomon[96] on Iberian Jewish and Converso history often enter into subjects of the prayer book, relating to the Inquisitional archives. Laura Minervini is a prominent researcher of the linguistic history of the late-medieval Iberian and Sicilian Jew and the development of Judeo-Spanish.[97]

This extensive description of the present state of the research into the domains mentioned, shows that the focus on the Jewish prayer book and synagogue liturgy is mainly on the Ashkenazi rite and practice. While manuscript prayers from Antiquity and the Middle Ages have been studied extensively, the early modern printed Jewish prayer book has been somewhat neglected, with the exception of a few specific editions, mostly because of the commentaries that they contain apart from the prayers themselves. The work of 19th-century Ashkenazi editors of prayer books like Wolf Heidenheim and Seligman Baer, as well as the German prayer book reform, however, got much more attention, leaving the early modern prayer book without special studies. Ample attention has been given to Jewish settlement in the Northern Netherlands, especially in Amsterdam, in the 17th century. The importance of the political, cultural and religious history of the young Dutch Republic for the immigrants with a Jewish background, however, has not received sufficient attention as will be shown in chapters 5, 7 and 8 of this study, especially in relation to the early prayer book production.

After this extensive description of the present state of the research in the various domains to be touched upon in this study, its corpus has to be defined.

0.3 THE CORPUS OF MY RESEARCH

This research is centred on the Jewish books containing obligatory prayers that were published in the Northern Netherlands in the period 1584-1700. The former is the year in which the first Jewish prayer book, containing obligatory prayers, was printed, even before Jewish settlement in this country had started. The year 1700 may be arbitrary, but is chosen as at the time Dutch Jewry had become more or less stabilized and their books had acquired international fame and attraction because the name Amsterdam had become a mark of quality for a free Jewish press.[98]

My research is restricted to books containing obligatory prayers as they stand in a long tradition of development and are subjected to clear, though not uniform, rules of rabbinic law. For those reasons they are an excellent starting point for the research of the Jewish prayer book. Books that contain mainly voluntary prayers, e.g. Selichot, Kinot, Hoshanot, Hakafot and Tikunim, are constructed according to completely different patterns and therefore deserve separate specialist treatment. Another class of prayer books incorporates mainly kabbalistic elements or commentaries. Again, their study certainly is very interesting and important, but the kabbalistic

[93] Faber, 2001.
[94] E.g. Den Boer, 1995; IDEM, 2003; IDEM, 2006; IDEM, 2011.
[95] E.g. Revah, 1968.
[96] See note 67.
[97] E.g. Minervini, 1963; IDEM, 2013.
[98] For that reason many title pages of Jewish books that were printed elsewhere mentioned them to be printed in Amsterdam type. (Likewise in the JNUL I once handled a non-Jewish book that was printed in Rotterdam, stated on the title to be 'near Amsterdam'.)

elements follow their own system and are in fact voluntary. However, my study had to deal with an eventual introduction of kabbalistic elements into the common, traditional book containing the obligatory prayers. Many prayers, the bulk of them from a later period, have been printed that were written for certain occasions, e.g. birth, death, engagement and marriage, eulogies on departed rabbis, the inauguration or jubilee of a synagogue, the introduction of a new Torah scroll, war and epidemics. These ephemera are of the utmost historical importance, but they do not have to follow established rules and for that reason need other methods of research.

Jewish obligatory prayer developed during more than one and a half millennium before being printed. At that moment the oldest existing manuscripts of more or less complete prayer books were about 500 years old. These manuscripts have been extensively and expertly researched by others. While they were written on command for the personal use of a wealthy individual or for the use by a community, printed prayer books are of a different nature as they provide many people with identical books, without the buyer having any influence on their content. The research of manuscripts and printed books demands different expertise and also for that reason I restricted my study to the printed prayer books, without at the moment entering their taxonomy.

My corpus has been compiled on the basis of library catalogues and bibliographies, the latter of which are known to include spurious entries and 'ghost titles' or editions. Many Jewish books have been lost or destroyed in recent history, for which reason I have only included works of which a copy is known to exist or existed until recently, in well-known and documented collections.[99] As discoveries by Harm den Boer have illustrated, many private as well as public collections may still contain copies of editions that have managed to remain unknown until now, and so my list is provisional and I welcome additions. Before describing the contents of this study in further detail, an explanation is in order regarding the author's personal involvement with the subject and the methodology of the research.

0.4 PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF THE AUTHOR WITH THE SUBJECT

Already early on, I developed an interest in printed works in various classes, from richly illustrated pre-World War II weeklies in German to religious books, some of which contained several Roman Catholic prayers. Intriguing were my paratextual encounters, e.g. with various fonts and reprographic techniques.[100] Growing up after World War II in a home that had been a centre of the Dutch Resistance, I learnt at an early stage that even fonts could become a political issue, as some of these weeklies were in German, and were printed with 'Schwabacher' typefaces[101]. As this typeface had been very popular in early Nazi Germany, it was conversely less than popular in post-war Western Europe.

The intricacies of the Missale Romanum could only be unravelled by a curious child through a careful analysis of its various constituent parts as indicated by the table of contents. To understand the liturgy in the church, a careful reading of the rubrics was very helpful. In my later life as a library professional, the same independent analytical method proved very effective to

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[99] The Ets Haim Library, for example, was looted during World War II and no reliable inventory control took place when the books returned. Regrettably I had to find during my term of office that some extremely rare books, including prayer books that were printed in Ferrara in 1552-1553 and were definitely known to have returned to Amsterdam after the war, have nevertheless disappeared from the collections in the course of the decades. The most recent general bibliography of Jewish books (mainly in Hebrew characters) is Vinograd, 1995.

[100] Paratextual elements have been given attention in my study as they are important for our appreciation of graphic material. Often these elements reflect changes in taste or differences between cultures which are often influenced by emotion rather than by ratio. As sociology and psychology have remained beyond my education and training, I decided to refrain from paratextual theories.

[101] Also called Fraktur ('broken type').

understand any work that was completely new and unfamiliar to me. I was given my first Jewish prayer book in Hebrew when I was already an adult (illustration 2). It could not lay claim to an attractive layout and its table of contents proved rather unhelpful, which motivated me to set out on a long journey of discovery, determined as I was to unravel the confusing secrets of the prayer book. After having already been confronted with the mysteries of the Missale Romanum, however, it did not take long to appreciate that this Jewish prayer book, too, was arranged in a quite logical order: starting with the Morning Prayer for weekdays, all the other weekday prayers were followed by prayers for special days and so on. What was left to resolve was the labyrinth of liturgical instructions, the variations in type, and other intricacies.

After a few months I had become more or less familiar with my companion through Jewish prayer, but often my neighbours in the synagogue used different prayer books and sometimes prayers or parts thereof were said that were not to be found in my book, whereas some prayers in my own prayer book were not said at all. There were many differences in typography, e.g. portions which in some editions were printed in small type, were set in large type in others. There also appeared to exist innumerable differences between various customs and rites. My interest in synagogue liturgy and the Jewish prayer book was further triggered when I started working in the Hebrew Cataloguing Department and subsequently in the Classification Department of the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL) in Jerusalem, now called the National Library of Israel (NLI).


סדור

תפארת ישרים

השלם

כולל תפלות לכל ימות השנה

עם הרבה הוספות

נוסח אשכנז

Printed in Israel

2. My first Hebrew prayer book, Jerusalem, 1965

For many years I have studied the rare and early printed book in all its many aspects, especially during my time as an assistant antiquarian book dealer after having graduated in Neo-Latin and Renaissance Studies. Only when I was privileged to become the librarian of the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos did I really have the opportunity – and duty – to concentrate on Jewish books. Like other collections of Jewish books, Ets Haim contains a relatively large number of Jewish prayer books from various periods and regions, in manuscript as well as in print, some of them unique copies or extremely rare specimen of a certain edition. Their origins range from Italy to Constantinople, from Amsterdam to Izmir, from France to Belarus and the Baltic States. Especially rare prayer books in Iberian Jewish vernaculars that were produced in the 16th and 17th centuries have attracted the attention of researchers, who mainly dealt with them from the point of view of their own specialism. This personal involvement has certainly contributed to the methodology of my research which will be explained now.

0.5 METHODOLOGY

The description of the Jewish people and their prayers from antiquity till Early Modernity (part 1 of this study) is based primarily on the study of secondary literature.[102] The earliest discussions on Jewish prayer are to be found in early homiletic-didactic rabbinic literature, while contemporary primary sources have not been preserved. The early rabbinic sources are fundamental for later halakhic discussions and decisions on Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy and for that reason their idiom and terminology, for example the authority that is known as the Men of the Great Assembly, is followed by me in this part. The list of books containing obligatory Jewish prayers that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands is compiled from bibliographies and the catalogues of the main collections of Jewish books. Editions of which no actual copy could be traced have been left out and, as new information continues to become available, my lists are preliminary and have to be used as work in progress.

The second and central part of this study contains a historical analysis, based on primary and secondary sources: the context of the settlement of immigrants with a Jewish background in the Northern Netherlands is described after analysing secondary sources. The analysis of the textual and paratextual components of the works described, however, is based on the autopsy of the prayer books or, when a physical copy was unavailable, on reproductions like photocopies or scans. My examination of the physical prayer books follows a bottom-up method which I like to call 'forensic bibliography' and which requires approaching any book as a possible 'contaminated crime scene', where only the book as physical object is the primary and conclusive source of information.[103] To enable an objective textual analysis of the prayer books to be discussed in this study, I used a spreadsheet (see the specimens, pp. 363ff.) in which I noted each paragraph of the works analysed.[104] Every edition got its own column in which I checked the presence of each paragraph and in this way the differences between editions become visible immediately. It is self-evident that the spreadsheet expanded in the course of the work.[105] The chief headings used by me in chapters 6-7 and in the bibliographical lists (pp. 231ff.) are preliminary as will be discussed in part 3 of this study. The analysis of the composition of the various prayer books caused me in some cases to question interpretations that have been presented previously in learned publications.[106]

A number of tools and references are provided in part 3 of this study as guidelines for bibliographers and cataloguers of Jewish prayer books which can also be used by students and researchers of Jewish prayer and liturgy. My analysis of the bibliographical challenges that are presented by Jewish prayer books is based on classical library science (chapter 9) and the

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[102] See the bibliography on pp. 385-419.

[103] The Jewish prayer book was used by men, women and children; the latter started by being introduced to the many blessings in daily life, as is evidenced by reading exercises at the beginning of numerous editions. The bindings reveal the financial and social status of their former owners: from cheap sheepskin, through calf to luxury morocco and richly gilded bindings with clasps, sometimes with gauffered edges. There are relatively few instances of Jewish prayer books in existence in silver bindings, which were quite common in Dutch Protestant as represented in the *Collectie Van Noordwijk*, a project of the Amsterdam Biblical Museum and the Vrije Universiteit. Many books contain former ownership inscriptions, sometimes combined with memorial days for the families. The typography and bindings of Sephardi prayer books are often richer than their Ashkenazi counterparts, reflecting the generally documented extreme poverty of many Dutch Ashkenazi Jews. Copies were often presented to boys on their coming of age, or by spouses on their wedding. This aspect of the social history of the Jewish books is not included in my study.

[104] Rubrics and instructions also were recorded.

[105] As my first analysis of the 1627 first edition of the Hebrew prayer book by Menasseh ben Israel preceded the creation of this spreadsheet, my registration lacked precision which to my regret could not yet be corrected as for over a year it has been impossible to visit a library that cherished a copy in its holdings.

[106] The bibliographical problems that had to be dealt with are discussed in detail in part 3 of this study.

proposed solutions are aimed on identification of the various editions and locating one or more copies of a certain edition. The surveys in part 2 have shown that prayer books were an important class in the time that Amsterdam became one of the main centres of Jewish book production and trade and for that reason such bibliographical problems deserve some solutions. Anonymous works like prayer books can only be studied and described by a careful method of identification. The first tool provided for the purpose of identification by traditional librarianship is descriptive cataloguing prescribing the use of uniform titles and subtitles when this is necessary, as is certain the case with Jewish prayer books. I first drafted a tentative list of uniform titles and subtitles, to be checked for their applicability in the course of the research (p. 169). These uniform (sub)titles are used in the bibliographical lists that are attached to this study for further discussion and decisions. For my descriptive cataloguing I devised a template[107] in Word 2013 which was used to program a custom-build application of FileMaker Pro 13, with special fields for bibliographic and paratextual data.[108] Another preliminary decision to be taken was, how to deal with prayer books that were printed in non-Roman characters. As many Romanisation systems exist for Hebrew, the use of one of those would not lead to uniformity and for that reason I decided to catalogue Hebrew books in Hebrew characters, as on their title-pages, notwithstanding some technical problems.[109]

This study contains concise records. The uniform titles correspond with those that are proposed on p. 169 and the other data are presented according to the rules published by Library of Congress in Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Material (Books) or DCRM(B) and contain the title, place of printing, responsibility statement and year of publication. Jewish years are accompanied by common years and Hebrew chronograms are presented as they appear in the book. These elements are followed by bibliographic references and the location of one or more copies, mostly with their call-numbers (a list of the abbreviations used is to be found on p. 324). More extensive bibliographic information has been provided for the very rare editions up to 1618 as an incentive to further research. The most common features of the Jewish prayer books that have been printed in the early-modern Northern Netherlands and are discussed in chapters 6-8 will be treated in chapter 10-14. They are primarily elements that distinguish between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, or were sometimes still common to both traditions, preceded by a survey of books containing Jewish prayers, both obligatory and voluntary (chapter 10). The differences between the various Jewish liturgical rites have not yet been described and studied comprehensively. As a first reference chapter 11 contains a survey of the best-known traditional liturgical rites according to their 'families', followed by a short list of non-traditional rites. A checklist of some distinctive differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites[110] is provided on p. 363 of this work, preceding the specimens, but it is important to stress the fact that occasionally a book professional has to consult a liturgical specialist for a full appreciation of a work in hand.

0.6 DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

This study is divided into three main parts: a) a description of the Jewish people and their prayers in history, starting with the discussion of Jewish prayer and its relation with exile and diaspora; b) the Jews and their prayer books in the Northern Netherlands; c) the Jewish prayer book in bibliography, cataloguing and research. Every part is relevant for answering the main questions of

[107] See the specimens at the end of this study, pp. 361-374.

[108] This is an instrument to store and sort the data used in the text and in the bibliographical lists. Al relevant data are incorporated in this study.

[109] E.g. problems of scrolling in bi-lingual records when the order of the sentence is disturbed. This is a problem that is common to even professional cataloguing systems. Another problem was the precise transcription of chronograms as typographical variations could not always be transcribed in the specific field. Such details had to be dealt with manually when preparing the bibliographical records that are included in this study.

[110] When an element became distinctive later, this is indicated in the checklist.

this study as stated on p. II regarding the Jewish prayer book and its early appearance in the Northern Netherlands to be discussed in chapters 5-8 of this study. The origins of Jewish obligatory prayers lie hidden in the post-Babylonian Exile period, when part of the Jewish people lived in the Diaspora. Previous research[111] has shown that prayer texts continued to develop synchronously in Palestine and Babylonia. In my description of the history of the period, I have decided to point to the differences between both centres of Jewish life and leadership which I believe need more attention: existing social, linguistic and cultural differences between Jews from the East and Jews from the West as they called each other, have left their traces in literature, but should also receive greater attention in the study of early Jewish prayer.

In my summary description of Jewish prayer in Antiquity, prayers in the Bible and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which are part of specialist research and are not immediately relevant for my study, are touched upon with references to relevant publications. The transition from Temple to synagogue and of religious authority from priests to rabbis and the creation of fixed obligatory Jewish prayer are followed by the description of medieval Jewry, an important period for the development of the Jewish prayer book. Attention is given to the differences between Jewish culture under Christian and Muslim rule and their influence on the diversification of Jewish rites and customs. Do medieval Jewish prayer texts show any influence of Islam or Christianity? To understand the position of the immigrants of Jewish origin into the early modern Northern Netherlands, attention will be given to the situation of Europe on the brink of modernity, the invention of printing, economic expansion and education. The first part closes with a description of the position of the prayer book in Jewish ritual Law and its codification and the language of prayer. Further the rise of Kabbalah and its influence on the prayer book is described, as well as the origin of Ashkenazim and Sephardim, necessary to understand the context of the Jewish prayer books that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands. Definitions are given for liturgical rite, binding custom and folklore and finally the question is answered if Jewish prayer was canonised, as it is shown that uniformity in daily obligatory prayer is lacking.

The second and central part of this study discusses the Jews and their prayer books in the Northern Netherlands, starting with the description of the importance of the political history of the rising Dutch Republic to provide the context of early Jewish life and printing in the country. As I have stated earlier, much attention has been given by authors like Jonathan Israel, Yosef Kaplan and Daniel Swetschinski to the description of the arrival and organisation of Jewish[112] immigrants in the rising Dutch Republic, as well as the (relative) freedom of the printing press. Nevertheless, some aspects of daily life earned some special attention as they undoubtedly deeply influenced society in which those newcomers tried to settle: the many discussions on war and peace, religious controversies, constitutional issues, the (relative) freedom of public debate and the constant clashes between the Calvinist Church and regional, as well as local leadership. Only in the second half of the 17th century would the relations between civil authorities and Jewish communities become more or less formalized, while in the earlier period it was really a matter of trial and error for both parties.

The description of the state of the Dutch Republic in statu nascendi and its constitution and of Amsterdam on its way to become the leading city of Holland is followed by the description of Sephardi settlement in Amsterdam, their secular and religious organisation and institutions, following some of the elements of early modern Jewry as discussed by David Ruderman. The first of those immigrants came from the Iberian Peninsula and both the founders of the first organised Jewish communities and the first printers of Jewish prayer books in Amsterdam originated from those circles. Towards the third decade of the 17th century Amsterdam harboured

111 E.g. by Naphtali Wieder ad Ezra Fleisher, see p. VI.
112 Or previous New Christians.

three Sephardi communities, which are described with some of their most important institutions, most of which will appear in the later discussion of the early editions of Jewish prayer books. This is followed by the description of Ashkenazi immigration and its communal organisation, hampered, however, by the lack of sufficient archival documentation both on personalities and institutions. Some earlier descriptions of Ashkenazi settlement receive a critical review, followed by a summarily discussion on the reception of the Dutch language by Ashkenazi and Sephardi immigrants. After this introductory chapter it is possible to evaluate the origin of the earliest editions of the Jewish prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands.

As stated previously, the prayer books that had been published in the Dutch Republic for more than 40 years contained the western Sephardi rite in an Iberian Jewish vernacular only. A precedent, as previous authors have pointed out, is to be found in the Italian cities of Venice and Ferrara. For that reason it was necessary to meticulously compare the Dutch editions with their predecessors from Italy as well as with Sephardi prayer books in Hebrew that were published in the same two cities. The bottom-up approach was seriously hampered by the difficulty to locate and identify the often extremely rare, occasionally even unique, copies of these editions. For this reason I have included descriptive cataloguing records of those editions I was able to identify. As it was impossible to correctly establish the format of each edition, the records only contain the respective collation formulas and other relevant data. When possible, the measurements of the printed area have been provided, though this was only possible in the case of the actual examination of a physical copy. The textual analysis of the Sephardi prayer books that were printed in Venice and Ferrara in the period 1519-1555 is followed by some paratextual remarks, necessary to establish the eventual resemblance and differences between these editions and those that would be printed in the Northern Netherlands.

In the next chapter the same method is used for the editions of the Sephardi prayer books in the vernacular that have been printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1584 and 1618. The records in this chapter follow the format that was used in the previous chapter and in the textual analysis of the prayer books the question will be asked if they show a reception of mysticism, Kabbalah and Messianic fervour. The paratextual remarks include elements of the title, prefaces, colophons and printer's devices and on these elements my (dissident) opinions on the early Portuguese Jewish institutions in Amsterdam and the editions of the prayer book until 1618 are based. The chapter continues with a list of personalities that were involved in Amsterdam Jewish printing in which special attention is been giving in the position of Menasseh ben Israel who was not only a printer and bookseller, but also a rabbi, teacher and a member of an international network of men of learning. Such an accumulation of functions influenced his livelihood, a subject that deserves further research, including a comparison with the salaries of the ministers of other religions[113] and teachers at various levels, which remained beyond the parameters of this study. Who were the printers and other personalities involved with Amsterdam Jewish printing and what was the position of the prayer book in their total output? The still unclear position of *Mevi ladefus* (or *Mevi leveit ha-defus*) is discussed, followed by the evaluation of the Jewish book in its contemporary Dutch context. What is known on the remuneration of employees and on work by non-Jewish employees on the Sabbat? The chapter ends with an evaluation of early modern Dutch Jewish population as a market for locally produced Jewish books. Why were so many Jewish books produced in a region with a limited Jewish presence?

Answering the question if it is possible to decide on the eventual existence of a 'national' Dutch Jewish tradition of prayer and synagogue liturgy is impossible without taking into account later

[113] On the income of a Dutch protestant minister at the time, see Prak, 2020 p. 143; Frijhoff & Spies p. 23.

developments, as will be discussed in chapter 8, ending the central part of this study. One of the more interesting discoveries from 18th century events was the involvement of the Amsterdam city authorities in Jewish ceremonial matters, redirecting the attention to possible precedent in the previous century. As Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Amsterdam lived, and for a short time also prayed together, some attention is given to the question on possible cross-fertilisation or even dependence. At the end of World War II Dutch Jewry was decimated and so a new era started of Jewish life, also touching synagogue practice and the production of new prayer books, a development that has been touched upon only. How trustworthy are statements on a title-page?

The third part of this study, as has been stated previously, discusses a number of more professional and specialist elements of the Jewish prayer book, including those that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands. Cataloguers and bibliographers of Jewish prayer books are faced with a number of problems, which did not diminish when digital cataloguing replaced analogue practice. To initiate a debate on possible future solutions, the third part of my study opens with a discussion of the aim of bibliography and uniform descriptive cataloguing, which is to enable the identification of specific editions and to locate at least one copy of such an edition. Current practice in WorldCat and various digital library catalogues are completely ineffectual in this respect, which is all the more regrettable as the advantages of trustworthy data that are available 24/7 worldwide are evident. Although many, often extremely rare, early printed books are being digitised, they only become fully accessible when accompanied by accurate and trustworthy metadata. An important work in progress is the STCN, the Short-Title Catalogue of the Netherlands (1540-1800) which includes many Jewish works, including prayer books. Of the 343 editions that are published before 1800 and are listed by me in list A (pp. 231-301), 99 are present in the STCN, which lists two editions that I did not find elsewhere. This project with its office in the Royal Library in The Hague (KB), the Dutch National Library, is of the utmost importance as it is much more that its title suggests: the records contain much more information than a short title unlike in the well-known short title catalogues of the British Library. So Jewish prayer books are recorded that are kept in various Dutch university libraries, but also in amongst others the British Library and the Cambridge University Library. It presents a national bibliography for the period when the Dutch Republic became the bookshop of the world and the name Amsterdam in the imprint of a Jewish book an international mark of quality, marking the book as uncensored. Of the utmost importance are the precise recording of the collation-formulas of the various editions, their fingerprints and the many illustrations, depicting title pages and colophons, but also the call-numbers of the copies that are listed. These data make it possible to identify the various editions to be encountered and provide a most useful access to actual copies. As said, the work is in progress, as are my lists, and shows some of the problems that will be discussed in part 3 of this study, but it has to be stressed that the inclusion of Jewish books that are not in Dutch or in the western alphabet is of great help to study and research of these books.

Like any bibliographical survey in which various institutions cooperate, the STCN is not perfect, but this does certainly not diminish its importance. Two such features relate to the Jewish book, first of all the Romanisation of Hebrew titles (including diacritics), illustrating that institutions and private professionals alike are accustomed to apply local rules, while some cataloguers are not familiar with the vocalisation of the Hebrew titles.[114] As no uniform titles for Jewish books are used, subject cataloguing could provide an efficient tool for researchers as now all books that relate to Jews and Judaism are classified 'Theology (Judaism)', later supplemented with a subdivision: 'Theology (Judaism); Prayer books'. Recognition of the international importance of the Northern Netherlands for of the production of Jewish books could be expressed by a more

[114] Although my own records contain a field which is dedicated to a romanised title, this is left empty for future use.

efficient classification of these books. Now Bible, talmudic tracts and prayer books are classified together with works that are intended to convert the Jews in the Netherlands. On the other hand it is interesting to notice how many efforts to such conversion in the country were undertaken in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is clear that in its present state the STCN is an indispensable tool for the study and research also of Jewish books that have been printed in the Northern Netherlands.

Within the labyrinth of Judaica and Hebraica, the prayer book has, as I stated earlier, found refuge in a special hidden niche, sorely in need of a 'Guide to the Perplexed in the Wilderness',[115] and as Macy Nulman's *Encyclopedia*[116] leaves many questions unanswered, I provide a number of tools to serve as reference for students, researchers, cataloguers and bibliographers of the subject. Confusion, if not chaos, results from the use of diverse terminology, and the unawareness that what may be seen as a synonym may in fact be a homonym. The treatment of the Jewish prayer books that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands have suffered from the same problems and as copies of early printed Jewish prayer books are often rare, the lack of uniformity in cataloguing makes locating them even more difficult, especially when they are not yet recorded in the STCN. I have compiled lists to serve as tools to benchmark Jewish prayer books, the first one dealing with the Ashkenazi and Sephardi books containing obligatory prayers, their titles and the different ways they have been collected in both families of liturgical rites. Next are lists of separately printed single obligatory prayers, voluntary prayers and related works, proving my point that it is inadvisable to try and bring them together under the same uniform title. Prayer books containing other rites than the Ashkenazi and Sephardi ones were also printed in the Northern Netherlands. To shed light on the intricate world of Jewish liturgical rites and their interrelationship, they are presented according to the still generally accepted division following their supposed origins in Palestinian, Babylonian and Maimonidean tradition.[117] Here, too, a note is included on non-traditional Jewish prayer books, all to benefit professionals and those who are interested in the subject.

The Jewish prayer book more or less follows the yearly cycle of the Jewish calendar with its special festivals and days of remembrance, which will be explained prior to an outline of the construction of obligatory prayers. As synonyms and different terminology often impede the correct identification of various classes and elements of Jewish prayer, this subject is treated, followed by a number differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, some of which have been touched upon previously in the discussions in the second part of this study. Perusing a prayer book, one encounters both textual and paratextual elements which not seldom need explanation, especially liturgical poetry, known as Piyyutim. Although many headings in Ashkenazi books may be commonly known, this is not the case with Sephardi nomenclature and it is not easy to find a survey of such headings. For that reason the Piyyutim and their headings that occur in the prayer books that are the subject of my research have been classified and listed for reference, while the texts themselves have not been studied in this research.

At the start of my research, an important question, which was raised by my study of the editions in the vernacular that were published in the Northern Netherlands, was the position of the vernacular in Jewish ritual law, the more so because of a number of explicit remarks on the language of prayer in Mishnah, Talmud and the halakhic codices. Obviously, former Conversos who were not yet accustomed to the obligatory prayer texts would profit from editions in the vernacular, but the use of vernacular in the rubrics in earlier, otherwise exclusively Hebrew editions of the prayer book, points to another possible use of the vernacular in Jewish prayer

[115] My thanks to Menahem Schmelzer for his metaphor.

[116] Nulman, 1996.

[117] Although I have not seen any specific research on the subject, some occasional remarks point to a reconsideration by researchers on the Palestinian origins of the Ashkenazi rite.

books. In the final chapter of this study an anthology of halakhic sources provides an historic overview of the changing attitudes to the position of Hebrew (and Aramaic) as the sole language to be used in private and communal obligatory Jewish prayer. This chapter, however, is not the end of this presentation of my research as some lists and appendices as well as specimens complete the material collected by me. Some questions arose in the margins of this study. For example on differences in pronunciation between the Ashkenazim and Sephardim in the Northern Netherlands. Only such cases that are relevant for the printed prayer book have been treated in this study.

A bibliographical list of Jewish prayer books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands 1584-2020 (p. 233) is followed by a list of Sephardi vernacular prayer books 1552-1820(p. 303). Appendix 1 (pp. 325-332) contains a chronological table as a reference to the events that have been mentioned, followed by appendix 2 (pp. 333-337), a glossary of Hebrew terms. For the sake of accountability in Appendix 3 (pp. 339-357) the complete sources used in my chapter on the position of the vernacular in Ashkenazi and Sephardi societies are provided, both in the original language and in my translation. In appendix 4 (pp. 355-358) a discussion of the vocalisation of biblical texts in the prayers since the 19th century is intended as an addition to my description of later developments in the prayer books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands since Early Modernity, as this element has been popularly interpreted as typical for a Dutch national custom. It appears, however, to reflect past academic theories on Hebrew grammar, accepted by Dutch editors and teachers of Hebrew, and abandoned later in linguistic theory, especially as it lacked early manuscript substantiation. These appendices are followed by a bibliography (pp. 385ff.), an index of primary Jewish sources and a general index (p. 429ff.). The bibliography illustrates the lack of uniformity in Jewish studies. When authors quoted in this study or digital references use Romanisation for Hebrew titles, they are recorded as such in the bibliography, illustrating the variety in systems used. In all other cases Hebrew titles are provided in Hebrew.

PART I
THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THEIR PRAYERS IN HISTORY

ויש־תקוה לאחריתך נאום ד׳ ושבו בנים לגבולם

There is hope for your future - declares the Lord: your children shall return to their country.
(Jer. 31: 17)

CHAPTER 1
JEWISH PRAYER, EXILE AND DIASPORA

This part contains a survey of the Jewish people and their prayers as a necessary background to understand the origins of the Jewish prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands in Early Modernity (see chapter 7) and is divided into 4 chapters. After a short general introduction to the subject of prayer in general, chapter 1 deals with Antiquity, being the era when Jewish statutory formulaic prayer came into being. Chapter 2 describes the development of this prayer in the Middle Ages, followed in chapter 3 by the transition from the Middle Ages to Early Modernity in Europe. In chapter 4 the Jewish prayer book as such will be described, together with a few subjects that are relevant for the understanding of the position of the editions that were printed in Early Modernity. The historical part ends with a description of the differences and parallels between the European Jewish centres, differences that are essential to understand the young Jewish communities that were established in the Northern Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century, some of whose members would soon start to publish prayer books themselves. There is no consensus on the dating of the various historical periods, but in this study Antiquity is the period ending around 600 CE when the Babylonian Talmud reached its final editing by the Savoraim. Early Modernity starts around 1500, while the intermediate period is referred to as Middle Ages.

According to common opinion, statutory formulaic Jewish prayer originated in the period that followed after the destruction, in 586 BCE, of the First Temple in Jerusalem that had been built by King Solomon. The main question that will be addressed in the first chapter is: what was the influence of the Babylonian Exile, the subsequent development of a Jewish[1] diaspora and the emergence of two centres of Jewish life and culture (in Israel and in Babylonia) on the development of statutory individual and communal Jewish prayer? To answer that question, four subjects will be discussed: 1) the Jewish diaspora; 2) the creation of the synagogue in the period of the Second Temple; 3) the transition of religious leadership from the Priests to the Sages and the Sanhedrin; 4) the institution of fixed obligatory prayers preceding or following the destruction of the Second Temple.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Prayer can be defined as the religious person's appeal to a Higher Presence on behalf of oneself or someone else. Spontaneous personal prayer wells from the heart and generally involves a unique formula. The person who prays may ask for favours, e.g. asking for help in need or distress, or express private thoughts and emotions, e.g. confessing guilt and asking for forgiveness and atonement. Being a social creature, however, people will not only pray privately, but will also want to share prayers and ceremonies with others. This has resulted in the communal prayer services we know from many religions that offer individual and/or communal formulaic prayers to be said at set times or on fixed occasions. Once people have become familiar with certain formulae, any change in such a formula may cause negative emotional responses, and such emotions are widely documented in Jewish literature on the subject. Even when accepted prayers are passed on orally,[2] lengthier and more complex formulaic obligatory or voluntary prayers were often written down by the religious leadership and collected in prayer books, works which by definition contain various prayers and liturgies for specific moments of the day, for weekdays and other special days during the year. Many such prayer books belonging to various religions and denominations have survived in manuscript from Antiquity until the end of the Middle Ages, sometimes richly illuminated. Such works often contain the established official liturgies of a religious community. When members of such a community migrated, their leaders often strove to ensure continuity and uniform adherence to the original liturgical practice in the

[1] Any differences between Hebrews, Israelites and Jews remain outside the scope of this research. See Reif, 1995.
[2] See Newman, 1999.

places of origin. In practice, however, such uniformity was seldom enforced as any canonisation that took place could only be implemented by a certain central authority.[3]

A Jewish prayer book generally contains traditional[4] formulaic prayers, both for personal use and for the liturgy of the community. When the first Jewish prayer books were printed in the Northern Netherlands, they showed a variety in rites, as had been the case since the beginning of printing. As manuscript evidence shows, variants existed already at an early stage and the question is whether a certain measure of canonisation was ever reached. For a correct interpretation of the first Jewish prayer books it is necessary to follow the development of Jewish prayer through history in which diaspora and the variety of Jewish cultures[5] take a central position. In traditional Judaism the Bible and oral tradition are considered to represent divine revelation, which includes the norms and rules covering all aspects of private and communal Jewish life.[6] Biblical texts only describe Jewish community service and clearly delineate the liturgy in the Tabernacle, which was continued in the Temple of Solomon. With regard to individual prayer, Jewish tradition[7] holds that all Jews have to pray at least once a day by biblical command, without stipulating requirements for the wording or the contents of the prayer. On the other hand the Bible contains many examples of prayers by individuals that are communications between man and the Divine, e.g. prayers and hymns of praise, such as the Book of Psalms.[8] Biblical individual prayers, all of them voluntary, may be quite simple, as when Moses asked for the healing of his sister Miriam (Numeri 12: 13), or can be more complex, like Abraham's plea on behalf of the wicked inhabitants of Sodom (Genesis 18: 22-33). Hannah's prayer (I Samuel 1: 10-16) is perhaps the most influential biblical source for later rabbinic ideas on how to pray. Hannah expressed anguish and desperation because she longed for a child, even to the point of vowing that a son that should be born to her would be consecrated to divine service. Another major biblical prayer is the one King Solomon offered on the occasion of the inauguration of the First Temple, which is recorded in I Kings 8 and II Chronicles 6. The many subsequent rabbinic discussions on the various prayers in the Bible would lead to the inclusion of numerous biblical verses in later prayer practice.[9]

In the pre-Babylonian Exile period Hebrew, the language of the Bible, was the common Jewish language and Akkadian/Babylonian was used as the international diplomatic language throughout the Middle East. The history of the Jewish prayer book starts after the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians in 586 BCE,[10] and is related to the rise of rabbinic Judaism and a

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[3] E.g. the central and hierarchic organisation of the Roman Catholic Church, which traditionally emphasised the universal character of its liturgy, resulting in an almost uniform content of the Missal which remained normative until Vatican II.

[4] In this study the term *traditional* is used to indicate that a work represents certain long-standing traditions in Jewish prayer. The question whether the term also indicates orthodox or heterodox religious views lies outside the scope of this research.

[5] Biale, 2002.

[6] Greenberg, 1983.

[7] Jewish tradition is quite complex as it starts with Oral Law, later included in the literature of the Tannaim, contained in the rabbinic collections called Mishnah, Tosefta, Mekhilta, Sifra and Sifrei, as well as in Talmudic Baraitot, traditions that were not incorporated in the redaction of the Mishnah itself. Many of these oral teachings later became part of Halakhah.

[8] Cf. Reif, 1995, pp. 22-52. For the biblical period I do not relate to historical criticism and the theories of textual sources but restrict myself to the text that has become accepted in its completeness.

[9] For a close study of biblical prayer in its Near Eastern context, see Miller, 1994.

[10] Jewish diaspora did not start in 721 BCE, when the Assyrians conquered the Northern Kingdom of Israel and deported its citizens, the Ten Tribes. The captives were not allowed to stay together, however, but were dispersed throughout the empire as was the custom of the Assyrians. It led to the irrevocable loss of those tribes and prevented the birth of a diaspora, however, in Jewish legend this may happen in Messianic times. The differences

gradually growing Jewish diaspora.[11] The main early sources for the origins and development of Jewish prayer and synagogue service are to be found in rabbinic literature and in fragmentary post-biblical manuscript material.[12]

1.2 JEWISH DIASPORA DURUING ANTIQUITY

The Babylonians vanquished the Southern Kingdom of Judea, destroyed the First Temple in Jerusalem, deported the political and cultural leadership[13] to Babylonia but left most Jewish inhabitants in their homes in Judea, as was their custom. After a number of decades the Medes supplanted the Babylonians, to be in turn overthrown by the Persians who from 538 BCE onwards allowed those Jews who wanted to return to Israel to go home. From this time onwards there were two main centres of Jewish life: Israel in the West and Babylonia in the East, the latter regarded by the former as a diaspora. "There is a certain people, scattered and dispersed among the other peoples in all the provinces of your realm …"[14] Since the destruction of the First Jerusalem Temple and the start of the Babylonian Exile until today, Haman's statement to King Ahasuerus correctly describes the situation of the majority of the Jewish people, living in diaspora.[15] The history of this diaspora will be summarily sketched for as far as it is relevant for the origins and development of Jewish prayer. The Babylonian Jewish community continued to grow in strength and creativeness to such an extent that for almost ten centuries after the destruction of the Second Temple the centre of Jewish leadership was to be found in Babylon as will be explained later. A new development started with the creation of the Hellenist Empire by Alexander the Great who, before his death in 323 BCE, established a Greek hegemony from Asia Minor to the Indus, including Israel (332 BCE) and Egypt. Jews would establish themselves all over the Hellenistic Empire and become influenced by Greek culture and would start to use the Greek language next to Hebrew and Aramaic.[16] After the period of the Babylonian Exile had ended, Aramaic started to replace Hebrew as Jewish *lingua franca*[17] and the old Hebrew script was replaced by the square, Aramaic alphabet, which even became obligatory for the writing of Torah scrolls.[18] The varieties of Aramaic spread throughout the Middle East, but in Jewish life Hebrew remained a central feature.

Political changes mark this Empire as the heirs to Alexander would often strive for hegemony. These heirs were the Seleucids, reigning in Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and even the lands across the Euphrates, whereas the Ptolemais were the overlords of Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene and Palestine. However, at the beginning of the second century BCE they had to hand over sovereignty to the

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between Assyrians and Babylonians in their dealing with the peoples they conquered as illustrated by archaeological objects was the subject of a series of lectures by M.N. van Loon on the history and archaeology of the Ancient Near East in January 1968 in the Amsterdam Allard Pierson Museum.

[11] For general historical reference at the end of this study a chronological table is provided in Appendix A, p. 325ff..

[12] For an overall impression of worship in the ancient Near East see Hallo, 2003.

[13] The use of these terms is preferable: "While the terms 'elite' and 'popular' may still be useful in thinking about Jewish culture, it is equally important not to be seduced by such polar opposites and to recognize the common ground that existed between the two", (Biale, 2002, p. XXVI). See also: Bickerman, 1984; Clifford, 1988, Geertz, 1973 criticised by Ortner, 1999; Zadok, 1979.

[14] Esther 3: 8. All translations from Biblical Hebrew are quoted from JPS Tanakh.

[15] The Babylonian Exile is aptly named, as it was created by force, nevertheless one should remember that the Jewish diaspora through the ages was more often than not the product of voluntary migration.

[16] On Hellenistic Judaism, see Gruen, 2002; Levine, 1998.

[17] *Imperial Aramaic* had replaced Akkadian/Babylonian and already served as a diplomatic language for centuries. From this time on, however, Aramaic started to diversify into several regional variants with different grammars and lexicons. The language of the Palestinian Talmud differs widely from that of the Babylonian Talmud while even in Galilee a regional Aramaic literature came into being. It was Yechezkel E. Kutscher and his students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem who gave a new and strong impetus to Aramaic studies in the 20th century.

[18] The square script has to be used in all ritual writings. Jewish nationalists reintroduced the old Hebrew script on their coins and in their documents during the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136 CE).

Syrian Seleucids. In this period pietistic and chiliastic groups like the Essenes, mentioned by Flavius Josephus, came into being, partly developing into sects,[19] some of which moved to the Judean Desert in the Dead Sea area. The best-known literary products of these groups are the Apocrypha, Pseudepigraphs, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, which include some prayers.[20] After the Maccabean Wars (166-164 BCE) the Hasmoneans askes Rome to intervene in Palestine and in 63 BCE Pompey conquered Jerusalem. The First Jewish-Roman War (66-70 CE) ended in the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. At the time the Jewish diaspora had spread all over the Roman Empire from Morocco to Iberia, from Mesopotamia to the Rhineland in Germany. Jews are known to have travelled with the Roman legions in Europe and to have settled along the trade routes, especially in the vicinity of large rivers like the Rhône and the Rhine. There is no detailed information available, however, about these settlements in France and Germany.[21] The scarce information on the European and North African Diasporas of this period does not relate to the Jewish prayer book.[22] Roman rule in Babylonia was replaced by the Sassanian or Neo-Persian Empire (224-651 AD)[23] which enabled its Jews to become eventually the leading centre of the diaspora. There would always remain a Jewish presence in the motherland, but many if not the majority of Jews from then on lived elsewhere which explains the development of various parallel though diverse traditions, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter. During the final centuries of Antiquity, Diaspora Jewry as a minority met with three majority religious cultures: Christianity in the Hellenist/Byzantine Empire,[24] Zoroastrian cult in the Sassanian Empire,[25] and Arabic culture,[26] especially in the Muslim Empire. The impact of those contacts will be discussed in the next chapter of this study.

Contrary to popular belief, it was not the destruction of the Second Temple that marked the beginning of the synagogue and of obligatory individual and communal Jewish prayers,[27] but their origins lie in an earlier stage as will be explained later in this chapter.

1.2.1 FROM TEMPLE TO SYNAGOGUE

After the return of Jewish leadership from Babylonia to Israel under Ezra in 538 the Second Temple was built in Jerusalem and Jewry was spread from the West (Israel) to the East (Babylonia).[28] It is evident that the cessation of Temple service following its destruction by the Babylonians in 586 BCE would ultimately lead to the creation of an alternative communal liturgy both in the East and in the West, though there is no specific historical information on the earliest stage of this development.[29] When Temple service in the motherland was reinstituted after 538

[19] Cf. Meyers, 2002, pp. 149-152.

[20] The study of prayer as found in the Dead Sea scrolls is a separate subject that has been covered by others and has no direct relation to the development of the Jewish prayer book. See: Charlesworth et al., 1997; Chazon, 2004; Nitzan, 1994; Parry, 2005; Reif, 1995, pp. 45 ff.; Weinfeld, 1975-1976.

[21] Apparently a second, probably more important, migration from Italy to France and Germany took place in the ninth century, see Biale, 2002, p. 306.

[22] JT Sotah 7: 1 (21b) discusses the saying of the Shema in Greek – a subject that will be discussed in chapters 4 and 15 of this study. On the position of Greek in Hellenistic Jewry see Lieberman, 1942; IDEM, 1962. On the Hellenization of the Jews see Wasserstein, 1995. Language is an important part of culture and it has been recognized that throughout history Jewish minorities have acculturated with their surrounding majorities, resulting in the existence of many cultures of the Jews, although there remained a consciousness of a common identity (Biale, 2002, introduction).

[23] See Payne, 2016; Rezakhani, 2017.

[24] Irshai, 2002.

[25] Gafni, 2002.

[26] Firestone, 2002.

[27] See my remark on the positionon of Eric Meyerser hereafter, p. 6, note 40.

[28] In this chapter the terms East and Eastern Jewry are used referring to Babylonia and the terms *West* and *Western Jewry* for the Land of Israel and Palestinian Jewry during Antiquity.

[29] See Neusner, 1965-1970.

BCE by Ezra, who was called ha-Sofer, it was – according to later tradition - resumed according to Biblical Law.[30] One of the most important features of the period was the emergence of another new feature of Jewish life: the synagogue.[31] A number of archaeological finds prove that synagogues were built both in Israel and in Babylonia in that period, though the oldest remains are found outside Israel.[32] It was originally a place for reading the Scriptures, exegesis and homiletics, but contemporary written sources are lacking. Early rabbinic sources strongly suggest that the synagogue became a place for communal prayer already in the late period of the Second Temple.[33] Other descriptions of the synagogue and its development into the designated place for Jewish communal prayer service are contained in later rabbinical literature, Flavius Josephus,[34] Philo of Alexandria[35] and the New Testament.[36] The development of statutory prayer in rabbinic Judaism is not primarily connected with the synagogue[37] but rather with a significant change in religious leadership in the period of the Second Temple.

1.2.2 THE TRANSITION OF RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

After the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai,[38] several strata of Jewish leadership developed, as described in biblical literature. Some decisions were the exclusive domain of the Priests, while other matters were arbitrated by lay courts and higher courts of religious specialists. Temple service was in the first place a matter of the Priests and Levites whose tasks were clearly described in the Pentateuch.[39] Except for some prescribed declarations when bringing certain private offerings and separating and presenting the obligatory donations to the Priests and Levites, the lay population did not play any role in Temple service. After the period of Joshua, when the Jewish people still lived in their own country, the Judges assumed civil, military and

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[30] The Torah repeatedly states that offerings must be restricted to the site where the Holy Ark reposes, but it is well-known that after Solomon's reign temples were erected in Dan and Bethel by Jeroboam (II Kings 12), contrary to biblical Law. A special position was taken by a largely unknown post-exilic temple as documented by the Elephantine papyri (see Cowley, 1979). When Jewish soldiers arrived with the armies of Ashurbanipal in the southern end of Elephantine, a small island in the Nile near Aswan, around 593 BCE, they built a temple there that would function until its destruction in 411 BCE. The papyri include a number of letters to the priests in Jerusalem to ascertain some regulations on offerings, which were partly answered. Talmudic references to this temple explicitly state that the Elephantine Temple had no intention to rival or replace the one in Jerusalem. Apparently only meal and incense offerings were brought here. See also Meyers, 2002, p. 137.

[31] Levine, 2000, examining all the primary sources, including the question whether the synagogue activities included fixed prayer.

[32] E.g. Dura Europos in Syria, erected around 244 BCE. Fine, 2005, pp. 41-71.

[33] Levine, 2000, pp. 357-386 discusses the synagogue as a community centre. On the position of the rabbis in the synagogue (cf. Irshai, 2002, p. 195 f.) I do not comment other than that the function of rabbi was shaped only in a later period; it were the Sages (*Talmidei Chakhamim*) who were teachers and may have delivered homilies in a synagogue. In a later source (Teshuvot ha-Geonim) it is said that titles evolved from Ribi through Rabbi to Rav, pointing to a recognized historical change in titles, probably including functions. Irshai, 2002, p. 196 remarks: 'The growth of the synagogues may well have further weakened the social cohesion and solidarity between the different communities, especially those of the Babylonians, Alexandrians, Tyrians, and others who had returned to Palestine with a sense of common origin, established their own synagogues, and made little effort to integrate with the larger community.' Such a situation also developed in Early Modernity as will be discussed by me in chapter 6, p. 65.

[34] Jonquière, 2005

[35] Leonhardt, 2001.

[36] On the synagogues in Byzantine Palestine see Irshai, 2002, passim; in Babylonia, Gafni, 2002, p. 232; Levine, 1987; Meyers, 2002, p. 159. Levine p. 17, quotes a Jerusalem inscription from the Second Temple period mentioning a.o. '… as a hostel with chambers and water installations to provide for the needs of itinerants from abroad …'

[37] See McKay, 1994.

[38] In this section I follow rabbinic tradition as it is relevant for its continuous treatment of prayer.

[39] Kraus, 1966 has argued that there must have been a link between the cult and the praying community. See also Haran, 1985, Knohl, 1995 and Rowley, 1967. The Priests served in the Temple in groups, Ma'amadot (see: Tabory, 1999). This term should not be confused with the title of 'Separate sections of scriptural, mishnaic, and talmudic selections for each day of the week, recited after the Shaharit service' (Nulman, 1996, p. 286 s.v. seder hama'amadot).

political control, with the Prophets gradually turning into important religious advisors. The Jewish Kings were given certain powers from the time of the coronation of King Saul onwards, but biblical sources do not provide exact details about the division of religious and secular powers. Sometime after the rebuilding of the Temple, a new class of specialists in religious matters came into existence both in the motherland and in Babylonia who operated outside the exclusive jurisdiction of the Priests.[40] These specialists were the Rabbis, the Early Sages and about their leading body tradition is unclear: later sources attribute the origins of obligatory prayer to an entity which is called *Anshe Kneset ha-Gedolah*, the Men of the Great Assembly who laid the foundations of what would become Rabbinic Judaism and its liturgical system.[41] Whether this body is identical with the Sanhedrin,[42] the rabbinical High Court, remains a matter of debate in Jewish tradition. The Sanhedrin consisted of 70 members[43] and a president (Nasi)[44] who might derive from any of the various classes of the people, including (High) Priests, Levites but also the lay population.[45] Nothing is known about its early members, but their importance and authority towards the end of the period of the Second Temple is evident. Decisions were taken by a majority vote and were binding for all.[46] The first period of rabbinic leadership is known as the period of the Sages of the Mishnah[47] and lasted from the final days of the Second Temple until the end of the Sanhedrin, after the final redaction of the Mishnah in around 390.[48] Its final recorded decision was to establish the calendar[49] for almost two millennia in 358 CE. Few, if any, instances of clear and unanimous rulings of the Sanhedrin have been recorded. The main purpose of the Mishnah apparently was to define the exact contents of the Oral Law which, combined with the Written Law and the Pentateuch, contained the complete Sinaitic revelations according to rabbinic reasoning. The regulations of the rabbis in traditional Judaism are as binding as Biblical Law but changing circumstances and social conditions were as a rule always weighed against Biblical Law in response to daily reality. The rules to be followed in this process, as well as the decisions made, have been laid down in the normative part of Jewish doctrine called

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[40] My description differs from the one given in Meyers, 2002 who dates this process after the destruction of the Second Temple. Rabbinic sources, though edited much later, contain a long oral tradition which to my opinion cannot be totally rejected. On the same grounds I question his remark on p. 163: 'There can be little doubt that he [i.e. Yochanan ben Zakai, AWR] and his disciples began the process of priestly Judaism into the rabbinic culture that developed in subsequent years.' Likewise the 'reemergence of the priests' as described by Irshai, 2002, p. 193 ff. seems to me far-fetched, especially in relation with the development of the synagogue in which they had no specific function and few privileges (the priestly blessing and the right to be called first for the reading of the Torah).

[41] This subject is widely covered by academic introductions to rabbinic literature, e.g. Fonrobert, 2007. See also Meyers, 2002, p. 138: 'A body whose historicity cannot be definitively established.'

[42] The biblical origin of this religious court is found in Num. 11: 16 ff., where it functions as a support for Moses who was unable to 'bear the burden of the people' alone, even after the introduction of various layers of leadership as proposed by Jethro, Ex. 18: 17 ff.

[43] Including the Av Bet Din, the vice president.

[44] For the Nasi as a Patriarch, see Habas, 1999; Irshai, 2002, p. 182; Meyer, 2002, p. 162; Schwartz, 1999. On the hereditary office of the Patriarch see Irshai, 2002, p. 189. Although the Patriarch had authority over some ritual subjects like the calendar and public fasts, this did apparently not reach into the establishing of authoritative texts of obligatory prayer and for that reason his authority remains outside the parameters of this research.

[45] According to some authors a number of the Minor Prophets were members of the Sanhedrin.

[46] The best outline of Talmudic sources on the subject is Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, Seder Shoftim, tractates Sanhedrin and Mamrim (for the identification of the exact sources it is necessary to check the standard commentaries).

[47] Divided in periods: Anshei Kneset ha-Gedolah, Zugot (pairs) and Tannaim, the Sages of the Mishnah.

[48] The Mishnah consists of concise descriptions of discussions of the Written and Oral Law (Torah) by the Tannaim, the Sages of the Mishnah. It underwent further redaction after R. Judah ha-Nasi, see Albeck, 1967. The construction of obligatory prayers, their individual elements and the relevant references are provided in part III of this study, pp. 183ff.

[49] See Irshai, 2002, p. 195 and his note 64 and also chapter 12 of this study.

Halakhah.[50] The development of the halakhic system which continues to evolve today, is connected with a new type of educational institute, the academy,[51] amply illustrated in the Talmudic literature. It came into being after the destruction of the Second Temple, initially in Roman-ruled Israel where twice a year students of different levels studied intensively with the leading Sages of the time. The academies were mainly established in the seats of the Sanhedrin after it had been banned from Jerusalem subsequently Yavneh, Usha, Bet She'arim, Sepphoris and Tiberias, i.e. from Judea to Galilea where lived most leading Sages of the Mishnah period. The shift to Galilea resulted mainly from the disastrous end of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136 CE) and the banishing of Jews from Jerusalem in 138 CE. The academies in the Motherland (the 'West' as it was called in Jewish sources) would remain active during the late Hellenistic through the early Byzantine period, until c. 425. The main literary products of the western academies are the Mishnah, finally edited around 200 CE, and its counterpart the Tosefta, finalised around 220 CE, as well as the halakhic Midrashim all written in a modernised Hebrew with many Aramaic influences. They were followed by a range of more exegetic or homiletic agadic Midrashim, written in the colloquial Western Aramaic, a literary style that would remain popular through the Middle Ages.

In Babylonia (dubbed 'The East' in the same sources) such academies would be founded from 225 CE onwards under Sassanian rule in Surah, Pumbeditha and finally Nehardea. Although the heads of these academies paid much respect to their Palestinian colleagues, they developed their own system and traditions, without being subservient to 'the West', but it is difficult to identify synchronous parallels and one has to conclude with Eric Green that there was felt intertwined identity and a tight solidarity between centre (Israel) and Diaspora.[52] Now the centre of Jewish learning, culture and leadership gradually shifted from Israel to Babylonia where the heads of the academies became the spiritual leaders and most important Talmudic Sages, the Amoraim.[53] Secular leadership there belonged to the Exilarch (c. 140-1040).[54]

The Sages of the post-Mishnaic period continued the discussions of their predecessors, and their decisions on still open questions became binding for all Jews.[55] The summaries of these discussions are contained in the Talmud, which exists in two versions: one is the Jerusalem or Palestinian Talmud, completed around 390 CE and written in Western Aramaic. The second version, the Babylonian Talmud, is far more extensive and written in Eastern Aramaic, the lingua franca of Babylonian Jewry.[56] It was finished in its first redaction around 499 CE and given its

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[50] The word is derived from the root *HLKH* meaning to go, to continue. Various interpretations have been proposed, one of them being that Halakhah defines the way prescribed for Jewish life, another that Halakhah means continually evaluating the changing circumstances in light of eternal Divine Law. On the subject of Halakhah see: Urbach, 1984; Lewittes, 1989; De Vries, 1959.

[51] Yeshivah in Hebrew. It should be stressed that the ancient Yeshivot were quite different from their medieval and early modern namesakes. See e.g. Reiner, 1993.

[52] Green, 2002, p. 122. As stated earlier in note 44 the position of the Patriarch in Babylonia needs not to be discussed in the context of the development of obligatory Jewish prayer.

[53] On the shift of leadership to Babylonia, see Gafni, 1997, who on p. 224 aptly remarks: 'In time the sages of Babylonia would come to be recognized as the outstanding Jewish intellectuals of their day, vying with and ultimately surpassing their colleagues in Palestine.' See also Gafni, 1990.

[54] See, however, Gafni, 2002, p. 255 note 21 stating that no Exilarch can be identified prior to the third century.

[55] Jewish religious education for many centuries focused on an extensive corpus of normative and legal texts which shaped the Jewish mind and conditioned Jewish emotional dealings with liturgical changes. The difference between a theological, philosophical and philological discussion on the one hand, and the decision-making based upon the strength of precedence on the other, should be recognized in Jewish liturgical research. On the position of the Exilarch see Beer, 1970.

[56] Gafni, 1997, pp. 225f. rightly illustrates the lack of trustworthy information on Babylonian Jewry at least before 220 CE and the replacement of Parthian by Sassanian rule.

final redaction about a century later by the Sages that are known as Savoraim who were the last group[57] with some measure of central Halakhic authority. These two versions of the Talmud also reflect the cultural differences between the Jewish motherland and the Diaspora and the completion of the Babylonian Talmud marks the end of Jewish Antiquity and the beginning of the Medieval Period.

This survey of Jewish religious leadership in Antiquity ends with a life-changing moment in the history of especially European Jewry: the decision of Constantine the Great (c. 280-338), to turn Christianity into the state religion. This decision had a great impact on the Jews, as the Fathers of the Church and the church itself often expressed anti-Jewish opinions.[58] In the final period of Antiquity the histories of the Jewish communities in Europe living under Christian rule began to diverge but no evidence of Jewish religious authorities in those regions during Antiquity has been recorded.

1.2.3 THE CREATION OF FIXED OBLIGATORY JEWISH PRAYER

The Torah confronts the individual Jew with many obligations and prohibitions, including the obligation to say the Shemah[59] every evening and morning[60] and pray once a day. The lack of reliable external documentation makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish the exact development of Jewish prayer and synagogue service in the period of the Sages.[61] In this period Israel was conquered by Alexander the Great and subsequently ruled by his successors, the Seleucids, until Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215-164 BCE) and the time of the Maccabean wars. The major historical events of this period, from the Apocrypha to the Dead Sea Scrolls, have left only scant echoes in Jewish obligatory prayer.[62] However, the early forms of formulaic Jewish prayer show parallels with biblical practice, but do not yet present a clear tradition of obligatory prayer texts.[63] Talmudic literature suggests that all this material has originated in the setting of *Erets Israel*, the original Jewish homeland, called *Provincia Judaea* by the Roman conquerors[64], and in its raw form was accepted and subsequently developed independently in Babylonia.[65] No evidence is recorded for the development of prayer in other parts of the Ancient Jewish diaspora. As will be discussed later, the continuing dispersion of the Jews into a diverse diaspora greatly influenced the evolution of multiform Jewish prayer and prayer books and led to distinct geographical and cultural perspectives.[66]

According to Jewish tradition,[67] the Men of the Great Assembly coined the Berakhot, Blessings, which would become the heart of obligatory prayer. Berakhot not only are the constituents of the

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[57] No evidence points to them as a formal body with Halakhic authority.

[58] For an evaluation of this period, including its repercussions on Near Eastern Jewry, see Irshai, 2002. See also: Avi-Yona, 1976; Drake, 2000; Stemberger, 2000. For the acculturation of the Jews in Late Antique Graeco-Roman Empire, see Lieu, 1992; Rutgers, 1995.

[59] Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Numeri 15: 37-41. See Kimelman, 2001; Marx, 2010.

[60] The Jewish day starts after dark, Cf. Gen. 1: 5-31. The first chapter of Mishnah Berakhot deals with the times that are appointed according to Oral Law for the Shemah in the evening and morning.

[61] On the influence of spontaneous prayer on early Jewish religion see Greenberg, 1983.

[62] E.g. insertions for the prayers on Purim, Chanukkah and special prayers for the 9th of Av. On the social and political background of the development of the major rabbinic prayer texts see Zahavi, 1991 but part of his identifying arguments are still a matter of debate.

[63] Weinfeld, 2004.

[64] After the Bar Kokhba revolt changed to *Provincia Palaestina*. See also Reif, 1982-1983.

[65] As no manuscript evidence from this early period is known, it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover independent parallel creative liturgical activity in Babylonia.

[66] Eventual relations between early Jewish and Christian prayers remain outside the parameters of my research. See e.g. Petuchowski 1978.

[67] As this Jewish tradition has been central in halakhic discussions on prayer and liturgy, I have given it a central place in my historical survey, and will refer to academic reflections on the period.

obligatory prayers for weekdays, Shabbat, festivals, fasts and some days of remembrance, but many are also prescribed for life events, including circumcision, the redeeming of the firstborn and marriage ceremonies. Early rabbinic sources stress that nobody is allowed 'to change the wording of the berakhot as coined by the Sages', a prohibition that has prompted a great deal of debate through the ages as there is extensive evidence of accepted variant readings.[68] The early Sages also decreed that all individual male Jews[69] from the age of 13 years[70] were obliged to pray twice a day: in the morning (Shacharit), and in the afternoon (Mincha), though the afternoon prayer could also be said at night.[71] The discussion in BT Berakhot 3a shows that people already prayed three times a day in the second half of the second century CE, although the evening prayer (Ma'ariv or Arbit) was not considered obligatory until much later.[72] It is difficult to distill the exact historical facts from early rabbinic literature, as the rabbis and other Jewish authors of old were not interested in writing history according to modern standards: they mostly tried to provide a context for their teachings, although we do find references in the Mishnah and Talmud which prove that certain important chronological facts were well known.[73] Their homiletic and educational texts were mostly intended to communicate the thrust of a devout Jew's religious duties, and this is reflected in various early rabbinic stories on obligatory prayer. Once the outline of obligatory Jewish prayer and synagogue service had been established, the Sages in their sayings often introduced references to various strata of ideas on Jewish prayer, such as the pairing of day-to-day practice with the biblical Patriarchs: Abraham who woke up and prayed in the early morning,[74] Isaac who went out into the fields in the afternoon to pray[75] and Jacob who prayed as he lay down for the night.[76] Another, later and often misunderstood statement refers to the connection between the institution of the prayers by the Sages and the destruction of the Temple, which caused the offerings to end. This statement in fact concerns the Musaph prayer, which was composed to refer to the special status of those days on which the Torah prescribed the additional offering, apart from the daily offerings in the morning and afternoon.[77]

A central element in the rabbinic views on prayer[78] is the position of the individual and the community. Essentially every Jewish individual is obliged to recite the prescribed prayers. As every man or woman is part of humankind and the individual Jew is a member of the Jewish people, (she or) he has to express awareness of this fact in the formulation of prayer, which should preferably be said within a community. The quorum for a community is at least 10 males

[68] Heinemann, 1977 argues by applying the form-critical method, against a monolithic format in favour of a variety of original versions. Against this, Fleischer, 1990 argues that the second-century Sage Rabban Gamliel introduced a totally innovative Amidah, which would acquire supremacy in the early centuries of rabbinic Jewry. This position is, however, seriously challenged by Langer, 1999-2000. Ehrlich's *Prayer in Rabbinic Literature: A Developing Database* is a project of the Ben Gurion University in Beersheva which apparently is not yet online.

[69] Women are exempted from positive commandments that are time-bound. As prayers by rabbinic order are time-based, women are exempt from this obligation. However, the rabbis decided that by Biblical Law women are required to pray once a day, irrespective of time and content.

[70] Mishnah Berakhot 3: 3.

[71] Mishnah Berakhot 4:1.

[72] When the majority of Jewry accepted the evening prayer it became obligatory by common law which differs from an obligation by rabbinical law..

[73] Where the Talmud often treats Jewish history quite casually, in other cases, e.g. when discussing two additional rabbinic categories of ritual impurity, this is linked to exact historical moments in the Hasmonean period. The process of narrowing stipulations of biblical law in this way is clearly connected with well-known historical facts. See: Milikowsky, 2017; Rubenstein, 2003.

[74] Cf. Gen. 22: 3 where Abraham rose up early in the morning to sacrifice his son Isaac.

[75] Gen. 24: 63. The verb *lasuach* means to speak and is here traditionally interpreted as to pray. The JPS Tanakh translates *went out walking*, adding: *Others: 'to meditate'; meaning of Heb. Uncertain*.

[76] Gen. 28: 16.

[77] On liturgical issues during the Second Temple period see Reif, 1982-1983.

[78] See Reif, 2006.

under the same obligation, i.e. 13 years or older,[79] and prayers are formulated in the plural to stress the communality at the heart of each prayer. The central berakhot of the daily obligatory prayers are called the Amidah,[80] or Tefillah (prayer), the latter a term which is used indistinctively in traditional Jewish usage, not only to refer to prayer in general, but in rabbinic literature also to specifically indicate the Amidah. On Shabbat, Rosh Chodesh and during Festivals, the Morning Prayer is followed by an additional prayer (Musaph). On Yom Kippur a fifth prayer is added after the Afternoon prayer, called Ne'ilah (meaning closing, as the start of dusk is seen as the moment when the Gates of Mercy of the Heavenly Court start closing).[81] Mishnah Berakhot[82] suggests that at the time the Amidah was a common feature of obligatory prayer and in the tractates Rosh ha-Shanah and Kipur the special additions for those days are mentioned. Interesting is the discussion in Mishnah Berakhot 4: 3 whether everyone is obliged to always say the complete Amidah or that it is sufficient to use a shortened version (*Havinenu*) which is explicitly named in BT Berakhot 29a.[83] To underline the special position of praying in a community, a lay-delegate of that community, the *chazzan*, leads the obligatory communal service and repeats the Amidah, adding some elements that may only be said in the presence of the quorum as is repeatedly stated by the Mishnah. The next step, a natural one, was the advice to organise the communal prayers in a synagogue as is stressed by the Mishnaic Sage Abba Benjamin[84] in BT Berakhot 6a.

According to tradition, it was originally only allowed to transmit Jewish statutory prayer orally, but the lengthier and more complex range of berakhot would gradually be written down with the approval of the religious leadership.[85] The absence of prayer books on which the masses could rely is illustrated by the question in the Mishnah whether the Musaph prayer of Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur should be repeated,[86] or that it would be sufficient for the individuals to carefully listen directly to the chazzan and answer every blessing with *Amen*. All berakhot were written in in post-biblical Hebrew,[87] but the subject of the language of prayer will be discussed in chapter 4 of this study.[88] Here it may suffice that the talmudic discussions on Mishnah Sotah 7: 1 that prayer may be said in any language, indicate that already at an early stage accepted local practice was considered as common law and that any changes that were proposed, even when based on strong halakhic arguments, met with emotional opposition.[89] Another conclusion to be

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[79] This is based on the exegesis of Num. 14: 27 where the term is used for the 10 spies (the 12, minus Joshua and Caleb) who spoke evil of Canaan.

[80] From the root עמד, meaning to stand, as they have to be said while standing. See on the early form Marmorstein, 1943-1944. On its development see Finkelstein, 1925.

[81] Mishnah Ta'anit 4: 1 states that Ne'ilah was also said on other communal fasts and on 'the Ma'amadot' (see p. 5 note39), but as is discussed in BT Ta'anit 26b it became restricted to Yom Kippur. See also p. 171, note 4.

[82] E.g. Mishnah Berakhot 5: 3 ff.

[83] Much later, until our time, halakhic decisors (e.g. Shulchan Arukh, Mishnah Berurah) discussed the position of Havinenu and ultimately took the position that as everyone has access to a (printed) prayer book, the shortened version has to be banned, unless one is under extreme stress, e.g. soldiers who may be attacked any moment. See Broyde, 2010.

[84] This is one of the many Talmudic discussions on prayer and synagogue.

[85] As the earliest examples of written prayer books that have survived, though not in contemporary copies, are contributed to Geonim, it is impossible to establish even roughly when the ban on writing the obligatory prayers was lifted.

[86] See also chapter 14.

[87] This has caused many discussions on pronunciation, depending on the grammatical controversy whether the *pausa vocalisation* of biblical Hebrew was continued in rabbinical Hebrew (e.g.: geshem – gashem; gefen – gafen), later marking the different traditions of pronunciation of Ashkenazim and Sephardim.

[88] On some early Jewish prayers in Greek, see Van der Horst, 2008.

[89] See e.g. BT Berakhot 12a which relates how Rabba bar Bar Chanah wanted the Babylonian Jews to start saying the Ten Commandments in the morning, as had also been done in the past. The custom was reportedly abolished to deny some sects the argument that the Ten Commandments had more authority than Oral Law. Rabba bar Bar Chanah's proposal met with repeated refusal, though, with the argument that a custom that was abolished should not

drawn from existing rabbinical literature towards the end of Antiquity is that Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy had not yet been canonised at the time.[90] Apparently the development of Christianity did not leave its mark on Jewish prayer with one possible, though contested exception which will be discussed later. Zoroastrian culture has left its traces in the Babylonian Talmud, as illustrated by Isaiah Gafni,[91] but has not been traced to obligatory Jewish prayer. The rise of Islam happened in the next historical period and will therefore be discussed in chapter 2 of this study.

Traditional obligatory prayers[92] are ruled by Halakhah and sometimes, as will be explained later in this study by binding custom. There is one halakhic stipulation that is easily overlooked: its qualification as *Avodat ha-Lev*, the Service of the Heart, a compensation for Temple offerings, *Avodat ha-Mikdash*. Service of the heart implicates that one is obliged to say the prayers with the intention (*Kavanah*) to fulfil a dear obligation towards the Almighty, originating in deep love. The second requirement is sufficient devotion (*iyyun*) to understand one's prayer to serve the Almighty with all one's heart.[93] As it is necessary to understand each word of the prescribed texts, understanding the language of prayer was for centuries a prerequisite according to most halakhic authorities.[94]

1.3 CONCLUSION

Many questions concerning the origins of obligatory formulaic Jewish prayer and liturgy remain unanswered because relevant sources from Antiquity are unavailable and we have to rely mainly on tradition as it was accepted towards the end of Antiquity. There is no reason to doubt the tradition dating these origins to the period following the Babylonian Exile (586-538 BCE) and preceding the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple (69 CE). In the same period a diaspora started to develop that would witness the birth of later decentral Jewry with its divergent culture, literature and liturgical rites. Notwithstanding the extend of this diaspora, from the Iberian Peninsula to Babylonia and from there to North Africa till Morocco, during Antiquity as far as we know now there would be only be two main cultural and religious centres that would markedly influence the development of Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy: Israel and Babylonia as will be discussed later.

The synagogue, which would by later rabbinic authorities be designated as the preferred place for communal obligatory Jewish prayer, came into being while the Second Temple was in existence. It is still unclear where the first synagogues were built as the oldest remnants stem from outside Israel. Originally they served the communities for reading the Scriptures and exegetic and didactic homilies. Subsequently they developed into study-centres and thereafter into houses of communal prayer. Again, no specific dates for these changes can be provided from primary sources. Obligatory prayer supposes the existence of persons or a body with the authority to implement the exclusive use of prescribed texts. In Judaism the transition from Biblical

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be reinstated, even if the reason for the original abolishment no longer existed. On the position of the Decalogue see Urbach, 1990; Yadin, 1969.

[90] In chapter 4 we will also try to answer the question whether it is possible to speak of a canonised Jewish Prayer, as does Hoffman, 2005.

[91] Gafni, 2002.

[92] Many data that are useful for reconstructing the historical development of aech of the prayers is provided by Jacobson, 1968-1983.

[93] See e.g. Sperber, 2010, pp. 131-142. It is an important topic in modern studies on Jewish prayer and liturgy.

[94] The importance of understanding the text of the obligatory prayers has been the subject of numerous discussions. In my appendix on the position of the use of vernacular in prayer, pp. 339-354, it will be shown that rabbinical authorities in our generation often argue that saying the words again and again may eventually help to reach at least a minimal understanding, as the inner strength of the obligatory texts will condition man to open his heart to their intrinsic supernatural powers.

authorities, whether Priests in charge of the communal Temple service[95] or the 'Elders', i.e. those in charge of legal issues, to the rabbinical Sages with the Sanhedrin for some time at their head, has been of the utmost importance. In later Talmudic literature the involvement of those Sages with prayer and liturgy is essential and for that reason I have cursorily described the developments during and following the late Second Temple Period through the Western (Israel) and Eastern (Babylonia) academies until the end of Antiquity. Finally, the question whether fixed obligatory Jewish prayer preceded or followed the destruction of the Second Temple was answered in favour of the former date, although it remains impossible to establish irrefutable dates on the base of contemporary evidence. The subject of canonisation will be discussed in chapter 4 which deals with the Jewish prayer book proper. In the next chapter the development of Jewish prayer and liturgy in the medieval period will be described.

[95] Here it is irrelevant to distinguish between the service in the mobile Tabernacle and in the permanent Temple.

Chapter 2
THE MIDDLE AGES

As stated earlier, in Jewish history the medieval period starts around 600 CE, after the final editing of the Babylonian Talmud, and ends around 1500, the beginning of Early Modernity. In this era two monotheistic religions, Christianity and Islam, dominated much of the world as it was known at the time in the West, Europe, North Africa and Western Asia. The main question in this chapter is whether, and if so, how, these two realms influenced the development of obligatory Jewish prayer. The beginning of the early medieval period coincides with the rise of the Muslim Arab Empire, which meant that the majority of the Jews soon came to live under Muslim rule, and only a minority in Christian Europe. More contemporary sources from this period have been preserved. The synagogue, described in the previous chapter, had become the central place for communal prayer, while study was reserved for the Beit Midrash,[1] often a special room in the same building which also included accommodation for travellers over Shabbat or any of the Jewish Festivals. As both diasporas had developed separate liturgical rites during the Middle Ages, their histories will be described in geographical order, starting with the eastern diaspora under Muslim rule, as it is from there that the oldest Jewish prayer books have been passed down. A cursory history of the spread of the European Jewish Diaspora will be followed by a digression on the Inquisition, on forced conversion and on expulsion, as they provide an important background to understand Jewish migrants to the Northern Netherlands and their early prayer books (see chapter 5).

With the final editing of the Talmud, the era of a central Jewish authority exercising universal jurisdiction had ended, to be replaced by a body of learned men (rabbis) whose decisions would be acknowledged by local or regional Jewish communities. No longer did the terms Eastern and Western bear any relation to the earlier centres in Babylonia and the Land of Israel, and although Jewish life and activities continued in the latter, its leadership lost power over other regions. Babylonian Jewry thrived in this period and the Geonim, the heads of the academies of Surah. Pumbedita and Nehardea, emerged to become the spiritual heads of Arabic-speaking Jewry under Muslim rule.[2] They left a rich literary heritage, including numerous discussions and decisions on Berakhot and prayer, the most important of which with respect to the present study are complete[3] prayer books that were allegedly composed by R. Amram ben Sheshna Gaon (c. 860), R. Saadiah Gaon (c. 882-942) and R. Hai ben Sherirah Gaon (939-1038). Specific details on Jewish leaders, halakhic authorities and Jewish prayer in Europe under Christian rule until the end of the first millennium CE are virtually absent, but Genizah studies have brought to light some correspondence from Germany and France by rabbis who applied for decisions to Babylonian Geonim. The chapter ends with the description of the development of Jewish obligatory prayer in medieval Europe.

2.1 EASTERN DIASPORA UNDER MUSLIM RULE

Most of the preserved sources for Jewish history in the early medieval period come from the Eastern diaspora, the bulk of which would soon come under Muslim rule.[4] At the end of Antiquity, as Roman rule in the Provincia Palaestina was followed by Christian Byzantine rule, Jewish life and literary production in the homeland became marginalised as was described in chapter 1. The Byzantine Empire was at its most extensive under Justinian (527-565), when it even included Italy and North Africa. However, after the loss of Persia to the Sassanians in the third century, the provinces of Egypt and Syria were lost to the Arab conquerors around 630. After the death of the founder of Islam Muhammed (c. 570-632), the new religion soon became the dominant religion in the expanding empire that was established by Muhammed's successors. Arabic also became the lingua franca of the Jews, although they wrote it in Hebrew characters.

[1] Cf. Mandel, 2005.

[2] Brody, 1998.

[3] Though not completely preserved, as all extant manuscript copies are incomplete or of a later date, and often emended and complemented.

[4] Scheindlin, 2002.

The Jews under Muslim rule were socially segregated,[5] but they had an active share in Arabic science and literature and enjoyed religious freedom, even though their centres periodically suffered under the storms of ultra-religious fervour. In Babylonia secular rule over the flowering and autarkic Jewish community was given to an Exilarch (*Resh Galuta* in Aramaic) around 140 CE, long before Muslim rule. The role of the Exilarch would end in 1040 with the death of Hezekiah, the last Exilarch and at the same time the last Gaon of Pumbedita.

Jewish communities were even founded in the Far East, though early manuscript liturgical material from these countries has only been preserved fragmentarily. In India Jews hold on to their own tradition that their predecessors already settled in Kochi (also known as Cochin) in biblical times. In the 11th century Benjamin of Tudela reported in his travel reports that Jews had settled on the Malabar Coast and later they even lived in China.

On the Balkans, on the north-western borders of the Muslim world, the situation was different. It is a region where Jews already settled under Roman rule and has always been the theatre of war and conflicts, political as well as religious, especially between Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Islam, a chaotic history which explains why historical documentation is, to say the least, fragmentary.

2.1.1 AL-ANDALLUS (ISLAMIC IBERIA)

The Iberian Jews were originally allowed to possess land, vineyards and olive groves, and were able to practise various trades and crafts, but gradually this fairly privileged position diminished under a growing climate of religious intolerance and social discrimination. The persecution of the Jewish population in certain cities is documented as early as around 600. The Moorish conquest in 711 led to a remarkable change in the position of Iberian Jewry, in spite of their status as dhimmis[6] with its attendant restrictions. From then on they were allowed a flourishing religious and cultural life and were able to develop their religious institutions to such a degree that after the decline of the Babylonian Gaonate, Iberian rabbis gradually rose to become the leading authorities for international Jewry in many fields. The Iberian history of the later Middle Ages is primarily marked by the Reconquista, the recuperation of territories under Muslim rule by the Spanish kings. Although Iberian or Sephardi[7] Jewry at first continued to flourish under Christian rule as is illustrated by an extensive and diverse Jewish literature and even would extend its influence to the North, conditions started to change during the 14th century. The history of Iberian Jewry during the late medieval period for that reason will be continued with that of south-western Europe under Christian rule, later in this chapter.

2.2 WESTERN DIASPORA UNDER CHRISTIAN RULE

Since the start of the Wissenschaft des Judentums historiographers of European Jewry used as their main sources the chronicles of sufferance, dirges, martyrologies and religious poetry from the period of the Crusades and epidemics. Likewise, legends about the founding of some Jewish communities, e.g. in Mainz, by Charlemagne have been classified as literary fiction.[8] A new approach, based on other sources, led to a serious re-appreciation and more diverse understanding of this western Diaspora.[9] As will be explained further on in this chapter, there exists archaeological evidence of early Jewish presence along the Rhone and Rhine rivers, but

[5] "For the Muslims, the Jews (like Christians and Zoroastrians) were *people of the book* … [Koran 2:105] but still a venerable precursor to the revelation of Islam. As such, they were tolerated but subjected to what we would today call *second class* status," (Biale, 2002, p. 305). See also Scheindlin 2002, p. 318.

[6] This term refers to non-Muslims who enjoyed special protection in Muslim society, amongst them Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, see the previous note.

[7] Sefarad is a biblical name (Obadiah 1: 20) that later became assigned to the Iberian Peninsula.

[8] Marcus, 1998.

[9] A reader on the Jews in the Christian World 315-1791: Marcus and Saperstein, 2016.

written sources about European Jewry at the beginning of the Middle Ages are extremely scarce, a situation that gradually started changing at the onset of the High Middle Ages (1000-1250).[10] Christians and Jews lived together and met each other in trade, medicine and moneylending, but confronted each other in the field of religion: trials to converse Jews, religious (public) arguments and restrictions on sexual relations between Jews and Christians. Nevertheless, many Jewish communities were established in North Western Europe (England, Northern France and Germany) where learning, philosophy and the creation of a vast literary corpus flourished. A new class of teachers, thinkers, pietists and decisors emerged whose creativity shows the abundantly present positive aspects of the period. Nevertheless, living together did not necessarily lead to mutual tolerance or even appreciation.

At the onset of the High Middle Ages in this part of the world agricultural society gradually started to urbanize and the feudal division of power between secular and ecclesiastical overlords had to accept the cities and their free bourgeoisie. The position of the Jews in the countries under Christian rule depended therefore on the attitude of their rulers who constantly defended their position against nobility and clergy. One of such battles was the competition for hegemony between the Popes on the one hand and the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire as well as the Patriarchs of Byzantium on the other. The Jewish literary production of this period[11] has to be used carefully for historical facts, as the authors were mostly interested in what they saw as necessary to remember for coming generations: it is marked by the feelings and experiences during a succession of wars, raids and epidemics. Central in this memory is the period of epidemics and the Crusades which were called for by Roman Papacy which tried to salvage its compromised esteem and declining influence by calling for crusades[12] 'in order to free the Holy Places of Christianity from the Muslim yoke'. The resulting religious frenzy sent rampaging masses and looting armies from Western Europe to the Levant, annihilating also many Jewish communities in their trail. The deep resonance of these troubles in liturgical texts from this period 'does not express the past itself in all its complexity.'[13] As such liturgical texts are the subject of my research, this background is relevant but not historically decisive. As the liturgical rites which I will further discuss in chapter 4 developed during the later medieval period in various regions, my description of the Western diaspora is presented geographically.

2.2.1 NORTH-WESTERN, CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

In this part of the world it was only France where a more or less uninterrupted Jewish presence existed from Antiquity until deep in the medieval period.[14] In the medieval period France was divided into various political entities: the northern part during the High Middle Ages formed the Kingdom of France where Jews started to settle from the 8th century onwards. As long as they were undisturbed by riots and persecutions that affected all religious minorities at the time, produced a treasure of Jewish literature as proof of a climate of relative prosperity and cultural development. Louis the Pious (778-840) had granted some Jewish merchants charters of protection but in 1322 the King of France would expel its Jews who would settle 'in lands that form a crescent from the northern European lowlands in the north to Catalonia in the South'.[15] In southern France, where Jews had followed the Romans alongside the Rhone River, important Jewish communities had already existed in the Provence, Languedoc and in Aquitaine since

[10] For studies of this period see e.g. Chazan, 2006; IDEM, 2010; Marcus, 2014.
[11] This summary is largely based on the description by Marcus, 2002.
[12] There is still no consensus on some aspects of the Crusades; some recent authors on the subject are Ansbridge, 2012; Catlos, 2014; Phillips, 2010; Tyerman, 2006.
[13] Marcus, 2002, p. 451.
[14] Chazan, 1973; Nahon, 2004.
[15] Marcus, 2014b.

Antiquity and its medieval centres of Jewish learning are well-known.[16] Again, earlier descriptions are concentrating on persecutions like those by the Bishop of Lyon at the beginning of the 7th century, but a flowering Jewish life continued in these regions through the Middle Ages into the early modern era. Some interesting works on Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy have been preserved as will be explained later in this chapter.

There exists evidence showing that Jews were living in Cologne in 321 CE but apparently there was no continuous Jewish presence until in the 10th century the first community was established in Mainz, from where they would spread through the Rhineland. The settlement of this region of Germany, called *Ashkenaz*[17] or *Rinus*, apparently was marked by some important families that would for a long time put their mark on German Jewry, one of the most important of which was the Kalonymus family[18] which came from Lucca, Italy. Their origin is recorded to have been Palestine under Roman rule, from where they came to Magna Graecia, Greek speaking southern Italy. Other families arrived from Le Mans and Metz in northern France but the arrival of the earlier mentioned influential immigrants from Italy with a relation to ancient Palestine may explain their claim to keeping to the early Palestinian liturgical rite as will be discussed later.[19] An abundant literary Jewish output provides information on Jewish life, culture and religious development in Ashkenaz during the High Middle Ages. The 1096 Crusade greatly influenced Ashkenazi life as is witnessed by an impressive corpus of liturgical poetry, documenting a martyr culture which is unique in Jewish history. This will be discussed later in this chapter. There was a Jewish presence in Austria already in the Roman period as is borne out by archaeological finds, but the earliest contemporary sources to document the existence of a Jewish community, in Vienna, date from the 12th century.[20] No information about a Jewish presence in the neighbouring country Switzerland has been preserved before the 13th century.

Jewish presence in England apparently started in the wake of and under the auspices of William the Conqueror in 1070.[21] Amongst the manuscript sources that remained, often preserved as quotations in later texts, provide evidence of rabbinical decisions by English rabbis, also on prayer, though apparently no liturgical works were written down or preserved.[22] In 1290 the Jews were expelled and would return only in the second half of the 17th century.

The history of the Jews in the Low Countries or Netherlands during the Middle Ages, earlier mostly a pre-World War II subject has been given new input since 1950.[23] Christoph Cluse[24] left Stengers's quantitative data unchanged, but added important new material on the settling of the Jews in the Netherlands (c. 1200-1350), their social and cultural position and the way they were used by regional overlords as political pawns. The Netherlands were an amalgam of relatively small regions that often came under the rule of various rulers through heritage or marriage. Most Jews were living in the regions that bordered German regions and it is logical that the Jews of Gelder, Limburg and Brabant were mostly connected with their brethren in Cologne. From the

[16] Iancu-Agou, 2004.

[17] Ashkenaz is a biblical name (Gen. 10: 3; Jer. 51: 27 and 1 Chronicles 1: 6) that came to denote Germany, but also more generally the German sphere of interest and German-speaking countries, as well as France, England, Central and Eastern Europe. See also Krauss, 1931-32.

[18] See lemma *Kalonymus* in EJ, 2007[2] vol. 11, col. 747-749.

[19] However, Grossman, 2001a pp. 424-435 denies a cultural connection between Israel and Ashkenazi Jewry, not only because they did not give preference to the authority of the JT. For another critique of Grossman, see Soloveitchik, 2013-2019, vol. 2 pp. 3-215.

[20] A document from the 10th century deals with the rights of Christian and Jewish traders in Vienna.

[21] Mundill, 2004.

[22] On the sphere of Halakhah in 13th-century England, see Brodie, 1962-1967 (contains also some prayer texts).

[23] Stengers, 1950.

[24] Cluse 2000.

second half of the 15th century any evidence of Jewish presence, literary production or liturgical activity in the Northern Netherlands is entirely lacking.[25]

The first Eastern European country to have an organised Jewish presence was Poland,[26] a fact already witnessed by the Spanish chronicler Ibrahim ibn Jakub in 965 or 966. The first Polish chronicles date from the 11th century when Jewish refugees from Prague[27] arrived in the country. The Polish Kingdom, founded in 1025, was one of the most tolerant states in Europe as far as the acceptance of Jewish inhabitants is concerned, a fairly exceptional situation that lasted into the initial stages of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.[28] Jewish communities in the Baltic region were apparently established in the 14th century. Although external sources document the repeated admission and expulsion of Jews, any descriptions of medieval Jewish life and prayer in this part of Europe are altogether absent. The same can be said about the Crimean Jews, who already enjoyed considerable freedom in the Khazar Kingdom in the Early Middle Ages. No contemporary documentation on the life, prayer and institutions of the Khazar Jews is known to have survived.

2.2.2 EXCURSUS: DIFFERENT RESPONSES TO DISASTER: RHINELAND AND MOROCCO

The preparations for the First Crusade in 1096 lead to a fervour of the masses against the 'enemies of Christ', the Muslims and the Jews. In Ashkenaz this caused an unprecedented anomaly[29] in Jewish history: the choice for martyrdom by ritual slaughter, compared by contemporaries with the animal offerings in the Jerusalem Temple and with the preparedness of Abraham to offer his only son Isaac when so commanded. According to Jewish Law in three cases one has to undergo death instead of saving one's life under duress: idolatry, murder and incest.[30] To avoid any misunderstanding: the killing has to be done by the suppressor and in this way the victim becomes a martyr. In medieval Ashkenaz, however before being compelled into conversion or being killed, Jews killed each other to become martyrs as Catholicism was declared to be idolatry. In the 13nd century Tosafot ruled that only the ritual of the mass was qualified as idolatry. This period reverberates in many dirges and other piyyutim which are especially prominent in the Ashkenazi Yom Kippur prayers.

About 1162-63 while the young Moses Maimonides lived and studied in Fez he was confronted with the plea of Moroccan Jewry which was subjected to compulsory conversion to Islam on the penalty of being killed by the Almohad rulers. Some had written to a Babylonian rabbi who had answered that, as he considered Islam to be idolatry, they had to choose for martyrdom. Asked on this decision by a Moroccan Jew, Maimonides wrote a loving pastoral epistle in which he declared that Islam was not idolatrous and that it was therefore obligatory to safe one's life, the more so as the public utterance of the so-called conversion sentence was no religious act as defined in Halakhah. Even if those present at the occasion might not have understood the legal details, he stipulated that is was forbidden to become a martyr in this case.[31] Martyriology,

[25] See for further information Peet, 2017; Speet, 1984; Stutvoet-Joanknecht, 1986; Van Schaik, 1997.
[26] Polonsky, 1993; Weinryb, 1972.
[27] Prague had a Jewish community c. 1091.
[28] Founded in 1569.
[29] Josephus of course reports the massive suicide at Masada before the stronghold could be captured by the Romans, but this never became an ideal in Jewish consciousness.
[30] Transgressions under duress are not punishable, but in those three cases one has nevertheless the moral obligation to be killed, cf. TB Sanh. 74a; Maimonides, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah 5: 3.
[31] As in his Mishneh Torah Maimonides states the Law, that anyone who lets himself be killed without obligation is guilty for his own manslaughter, many commentators find the author contradicting himself when towards the end of the letter he states that in the Moroccan situation one is obliged to transgress and safe one's life, he continues to say

therefore, is absent from western Sephardi liturgy with the exception of the Midrash of the ten Tannaim who were martyred by the Romans.

2.2.3 SOUTH WESTERN EUROPE

The Italian diaspora is quite diversified due to the constantly changing political and cultural landscape, although no trustworthy sources have been preserved for the history of the Jews and their institutions in Antiquity and in the early medieval period. Medieval Italy was divided in three regions.[32] In all three the Jewish minorities faced different conditions:
a) Northern Italy had been part of the Holy Roman Empire (Germany) for centuries and was a patchwork of states ruled by rivalling families. The position of the Jews here fluctuated with the political and financial interests of the rulers. Restrictions were imposed on Jews as to where they could live, how they should dress and which professions they were allowed to practise, caught as they were between the hammer of feudal conflict and the anvil of religious fervour. Here the Ashkenazi liturgical rite was most common.
b) The papal estates allowed a limited number of Jews to settle within the realm. Papal attitude towards the Jews may be called volatile.[33] The Jews of the papal estates were often subjected to the same restrictions as their sisters and brothers in Northern Italy. Roman Jewry is proud of its continued adherence to the original Palestinian liturgical rite, whereas other parts of Italian Jewry at some point accepted either the Ashkenazi or Sephardi rites.
c) Southern Italy (later the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily) had experienced a hectic political and economic period prior to the founding of the Kingdom in 1266, which explains the lack of documentation regarding Jewish life in the region. The Kingdom of Naples[34] was ruled by the French House of Anjou, and remained under French rule following the loss of Sicily to Aragon after the Sicilian Vespers of 1282. In 1442 Naples also came under the rule of Aragon and as the conditions for Jews at the time were quite favourable, many Jews from other countries settled there, especially after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Spain, however, conquered the Kingdom after the Italian Wars (1494-1495), and the first expulsion decree was issued in 1496, followed by decrees in 1510, 1515 and 1533. It must be said that these decrees, unlike the final decree by Emperor Charles V in 1541, were not implemented, so that many Jews were able to remain. Charles was not only ruler of the Habsburg dominions but also Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as well as King of Spain and its possessions in the New World, which explains why the situation of the Jews in the Kingdom of Naples under his rule was similar to that of the Iberian Jews. Understandably the Jews in this region mostly kept to Sephardi liturgical rite.

Spain and Portugal at the time were separate kingdoms, while the former was divided into various kingdoms such as Catalonia, Leon, Navarra, Aragon and Castile. When Iberia with the exception of Andalusia had again completely come under Christian rule, conditions for the Jewish population at first remained the same, enjoying high standards of economic and cultural activities. This changed dramatically from 1380 onwards but this must be seen against a general instability all over Europe and the Levant.

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that those who had done so in the past, following their mistaken interpretation of the situation at hand and have to be recognized as martyrs. To my opinion this is the difference between the Law and upholding that Law. A posteriori it is clear that these people had been mistaken in their interpretation of the situation, perhaps following the Babylonian's decision. Anybody who transgresses without knowing is exempt of punishment. (See for another example of such cases Maimonides discussion of three cases in which a summarily killing of non- apital offenses was accepted á posteriori (see Rosenberg, 1978, p. 87).

[32] Luzzati, 2004.

[33] On the papacy see e.g. Barraclough, 1979; Collins, 2009; Norwich, 2011.

[34] Also called the Kingdom of Sicily.

2.3 THE INQUISITION, FORCED CONVERSION AND EXPULSION

A series of persecutions in 1391 led to a period of decline for Iberian Jewry.[35] The issuing of statutes on the purity of blood (limpieza de sangre)[36] created the ideal conditions for the voluntary or forced conversion of many Iberian Jews. The main threat to Iberian Jewry, however, came from the Inquisition in all its breadth. The Inquisition, officially named *Inquisitio haereticae pravitatis*, was originally established on a diocesan level in 1211. Pope Gregory IX (reigned 1227-1241) decided to place the inquisitors directly under papal jurisdiction to deal exclusively with heretics within the Church, and as such they had no jurisdiction over the Jews. In 1232 Gregory IX delegated jurisdiction over the Inquisition to the Dominican Order[37] and in 1237 also to the Grey Friars.[38] Both mendicant orders strove for supremacy as the guardians of the faith and keepers of the rules of poverty. The Dominican concept of inquisition was based on dogmatic theology, whereas Franciscan activities in this respect were often of a more populistic nature, inciting the people against all those who were seen as the enemies of the Church. In addition to the Papal Inquisition, three national Inquisitions came into existence that were not directly subjected to the Pope: the Spanish (1478-1834), the Portuguese (1536-1821) and the Roman (1542-1965) Inquisition.[39] Between the issuing of the Laws on the purity of blood in 1391[40] and the 1492 expulsion, the position of the Jews in Italy and on the Iberian Peninsula became more and more difficult: the Church gradually imposed more and more restrictions upon the Jews, such as the obligation to wear distinctive signs on their clothing. All Spanish converts to Catholicism (*conversos*) from 1391 onwards were called 'New Christians', considered prone to relapse into their old faith, were subjected to economic and social restrictions and looked upon with suspicion by their Christian countrymen and by the Inquisition as a result. In 1481 the Dominican Tomás de Torquemada became Grand Inquisitor of Spain.[41] His religious fervour reached its peak when the Reconquista was completed by the capture of Granada in 1492.[42] He persuaded the 'Most Catholic monarchs' Ferdinand of Aragon and his spouse Isabelle of Castile to sign an edict compelling Muslims and Jews to leave Spain. From that moment on living Judaism and its traditions effectively came to an end in Spain. Jews who did not want to leave Spain were forced to convert to Catholicism. Others left for Portugal, the Kingdom of Naples, North Africa,[43] Northern Italy, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, where they either integrated into existing Jewish communities or founded new ones of their own. Iberian conversos[44] would continue to leave the Iberian Peninsula until the end of the 18th century.

The Portuguese Jews, including the recent immigrants from Spain, were also confronted with radical changes when in 1497 King Manuel suddenly decreed the conversion of all Portuguese Jews, both native and of Spanish origin, which abruptly ended public Jewish religious practice. A number of pogroms, notably the Lisbon massacres in 1506,[45] exacerbated the position of the *conversos*, but it was the institution of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536 that further aggravated the situation to such an extent that even the memory of living Judaism quickly faded. No

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35 Gampel, 2004.

36 Kaplan, 2012; Yerushalmi, 1981, pp. 12 ff. For a comparison between Spanish medieval and German Holocaust racial laws see: Yerushalmi, 1998, pp. 254-292 and notes.

37 Also known as the Order of Preachers or Black Friars.

38 The Franciscan Order.

39 The name of the latter was changed to Holy Office in 1908 and was de facto replaced by a Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith with different tasks on December 7, 1965.

40 Cf. Kaplan, 2012.

41 His successors as Great Inquisitor were also mainly Dominicans.

42 For the consequences of the expulsion on the formation of the subsequent Sephardi diaspora see: Ray, 2014.

43 The Iberian rite was kept alive in various Jewish communities in Morocco although Moroccan Jewry later mainly followed the Eastern Sephardi rite.

44 Gerli, 2007; Gulbenkian, 2004; Yovel, 2009.

45 See: Yerushalmi, 1976.

distinction was initially made between Old and New Christians in Portugal, but this changed when the country was annexed by King Philip II of Spain in a personal union in 1580. It meant that Spanish rules were immediately imposed, including the legal distinctions between Old and New Christians, leaving the latter as an underprivileged class of citizens.

In the 16th century the Spanish Inquisition gradually shifted its focus from the New Christians to the rapidly growing population of Protestants in the lands under Spanish rule, although the Portuguese Inquisition apparently did not adopt this new development and continued to give New Christians its undivided attention. Often Portuguese New Christians tried to escape the new and harsh conditions by emigrating to Spain where the immigrants were originally distinguished not as *cristãos novos*, but as *homens de negócios,* and later as *homens da naçao* – the *Men of the* [Portuguese] *Nation* – always understood as the Jewish Nation.[46] There are a number of anomalies which can be perceived to exist with respect to Converso memory: the adulation of the King or other rulers and their families, beginning with Manuel I of Portugal[47] and a nostalgic *saudade* (melancholic longing) focusing on the glory of life and culture on the Iberian Peninsula which still exists today.[48] Like Israel in the desert, choosing to remember only the fleshpots of Egypt,[49] the Conversos apparently forgot the tribulations of Iberia and Lusitania. After this survey of the history of both Diasporas, and before discussing the development of Jewish prayer, it is necessary to depict the similarities and differences in religious leadership.[50]

2.4 EASTERN RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP UNDER MUSLIM RULE

Babylonian religious leadership would become responsible for the composition of the oldest Jewish prayer books that are known to have survived. Under Byzantine rule Jewish literary production in the settlements on the Eastern Mediterranean coast lessened, with the exception of the earliest known liturgical poems. The heads of the important Jewish academies of Surah, Pumbedita and Nehardea, known as the Geonim,[51] provided regional leadership, also becoming the acknowledged religious authorities of Babylonian Jewry and of Jewish communities throughout the Eastern and North-African Mediterranean. The Geonim, were well also versed in Arabic science and literature, as is obvious from their literary production. Their religious rule lasted from 589 to 1038. In the Middle East, Jewish Arabic would remain the main language of rabbinic literature for centuries, as witnessed for example by the chief works of Moses Maimonides.[52] Babylonian rabbinic leadership gradually lost its central authority in the eastern Jewish diaspora. Although the Sages originally prohibited the writing down of the obligatory prayers,[53] many early manuscript fragments have been preserved that contain such prayers. The

[46] See Yerushalmi, 1981, pp. 12-21.

[47] See Yerushalmi, 1976.

[48] A comprehensive study of this phenomenon is long due; in the Amsterdam Portuguese Community homilies were delivered in Spanish and Portuguese until 1852 (Wallet, 2000), although those languages had strongly declined. Cf. Teensma, 1993; Kerkhof, 2003; Salomon, 2000.

[49] For conversos in Southern France who sought to return to the Iberian Peninsula see Graizbard, 2004. For Amsterdam Sephardi Jews see Kaplan, 1985.

[50] Secular leadership may be not less important, but it has less, if any, relation with the prayer book. It may suffice to say that both under Muslim and under Christian rules the Jewish communities gained some autonomy and were represented by official liaisons to the various rulers.

[51] Singular Gaon.

[52] Maimonides' choice of Mishnaic Hebrew as the language of his *Mishneh Torah* was made for didactic reasons: after having published his commentary on the Mishnah in Arabic, he wanted to make his readers aware of the status of the Mishnaic literature (Oral Law) as the ultimate source of Halakhah. The position of Maimonides as a leader remains undiscussed here as it has no relevance for the subject of the prayer book. Although his decisions gained much authority, subsequent codifiers of the Halakhah often made other decisions. It is, however, interesting that Maimonides repeatedly stressed the existence of many and various liturgical traditions, each with its own right of existence as he instructs people to keep the traditions of their forefathers.

[53] BT Shabbat 115b.

Geonim for their part decided to completely disregard this prohibition, apparently in response to contemporary needs. The earliest known Jewish prayer books came to us from the Geonim, when Iberian Jewry requested information on prayer from R. Amram Gaon (died 875 CE) and subsequently from R. Saadiah Gaon (892-942). Both authorities dispatched complete prayer books in response to those requests, but the originals have been lost and only a few copies of a much later date have survived.[54] They represent the first works to contain the complete Sephardi[55] liturgical rite. The Geonim in their extensive literature provide thorough discussions on the many existing variants in benedictions and other prayers, another testimony to the fact that Palestinian and Babylonian liturgical traditions continued to diverge as will be explained in chapter 4 of this study. The writings of the most important Geonim have been preserved,[56] whereas others were frequently referred to by their successors. At the onset of the second millennium the religious hegemony of the Geonim waned, not to be replaced by a person or body with comparable authority. Gradually local or regional rabbis with a wide reputation of learning would, as authors of widely-spread decisions (teshuvot), gain halakhic influence. The most important available source for additional information on the period is the discovery of the Genizah in the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat or Old Cairo in 1896, a repository of old and discarded copies of Jewish writings from 870 CE until c. 1880.[57] The material on prayer and synagogue issues often illustrates local and regional practice that was either supported or rejected by the Geonim in their responsa and in other, often contemplative or polemical works. Later developments in Sephardi rite are best mirrored in the early codices. The Ashkenazi rabbis, later would find cause in Geonic literature to fiercely defend deviating Ashkenazi traditions. In Jewish tradition, as stated earlier, the biblical place names Ashkenaz and Sefarad became respectively synonymous with Germany and with the Iberian Peninsula, especially Spain.[58] It must be said, however, that the common division of Jewry into Ashkenazim and Sephardim is an oversimplification.

2.5 WESTERN RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP UNDER CHRISTIAN RULE

In general, rabbinic leadership in the medieval Ashkenazi world was exercised by acknowledged local experts, beginning in Mainz, followed by Speyer, Worms[59] and Cologne, all on the river Rhine, and Danube bordering Regensburg.[60] Intimately connected and in written contact with the Rhineland communities in Germany were the Jewish communities in the Troyes and Loire regions in Northern France. One of the most influential Jewish leaders was Rashi, the acronym of **Ra**bbi **Sh**elomo ben **I**saac (Troyes 1040-1105), who studied in Worms and Mainz. His sons-in-law, grandsons and other students became known as Tosafot, a school of Talmudic and halakhic scholars which until today remains one of the pillars of halakhic tradition based on Talmudic interpretation. Ashkenazi prayer traditions were initially mostly a matter of family tradition and

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[54] Siddur R. Saadiah Gaon see Davidson, 1963. Seder Rav Amram Gaon see Goldschmidt, 1971.

[55] Sefarad is a biblical name (Ob. 20) that later became assigned to the Iberian Peninsula. The Sephardi rite goes back to the Babylonian rite and was spread from there to the Levant, North Africa. Spain and Portugal. After their expulsion in 1492, the exiles from Spain and Portugal would preserve their rites in their new homes. See also Francesconi, 2018; Krauss, 1931-32.

[56] E.g. Ginzberg, 1909.

[57] Although the Genizah is intended as a temporary storage for religious texts which contain one of the divine names that must not be destroyed, the Cairo Genizah also contains literary texts, personal and business letters, contracts, inventories, amulets, etc.

[58] The halakhic system and rite of Iberian Jewry in the medieval period followed other regions under Muslim rule, its religious leadership cannot be described with the rest of South-Western Europe, even when after the Reconquista most of the region was under Christian rule, but held on to its existing culture and tradition. On the history of Spanish Jewry see Beinart, 1992.

[59] Eventually the so-called **S**h**UM** (**S**peyer, **V**ermeiza=Worms) and **M**agenza=Mainz) would establish some common institutions, but their liturgies were not uniform.

[60] Regensburg lies some 340 km east of the Rhine and is not part of Rhineland as Rosman, 2004, p. 525 states.

during the late medieval period various authors (German Pietists, commentators and early Ashkenazi decisors) would express their vision on individual or more comprehensive subjects, like the number of words or syllables.[61]

2.6 THE DEVELOPMENT OF FIXED OBLIGATORY JEWISH PRAYER

In the historical section of this chapter already has been told about the extensive medieval manuscript remains of prayers.[62] The Geonim in Babylonia are the first known editors of complete Jewish prayer books, but no contemporary copies are known to have survived and the later copies contain so many emendations and additions that it is, according to common opinion, impossible to distil the original texts.[63] It is, however, clear as proven by abundant Genizah evidence that at the time Palestinian ad Babylonian rites, each with many variants, existed.[64] This proves that data on local and regional usage or binding custom is at least inconclusive. Geonic responsa and other literature often deal with Berakhot and prayer but at the time no codification was reached.[65] The Middle Ages witnessed much creativity in the development of Jewish prayer and liturgy, not only by the numerous Piyyutim that have been created,[66] but also by the development of local and regional rites and customs.[67] In Western Europe four regions created their own traditions to which they painstakingly cleft: Germany, France, Provence[68] and Iberia.[69] On the Balkans an own rite (known as Romaniot rite, see chapter 13) has been preserved. No manuscripts of prayer books containing the rites of Kochi and Sri Lanka have been preserved and they exist only in print. Most Iberian Hebrew manuscripts of the pre-Reconquista period are Bibles, Pesach Hagadot and secular texts. Few medieval Iberian prayer books have survived and those that are recorded in public-accessible library catalogues are preserved in the National Library of Israel's Department of microfilmed manuscripts. The earliest Jewish prayer books from North-western Europe that have been preserved, were written in Germany and Austria in the 13th and 14th century.[70] However, the rich rabbinical and halakhic literature from German and Northern France communities has been handed over to later generations and became incorporated in the codices.[71]

German Pietism (Chasidei Ashkenaz) developed contemplative and mystical theories on the right amount of words or even syllables in a given Berakha, but special research is deserved to establish the reception of those theories into the later printed editions of the Ashkenazi prayer books.[72] However, there was no uniform Ashkenazi custom during the Middle Ages but e.g. Rhineland

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[61] Seligmann Baer in his Avodat Israel siddur (see p. 48) lists them with their authors, however, new research should shed light on the reception of these ideas and their implementation in the late-medieval manuscripts and the early printed Ashkenazi prayer books.

[62] E.g. Wieder, 1998. On the remarkable absence of Hebrew manuscripts from the 2nd through the 9th centuries see Beit-Arié, 1988.

[63] Goodblatt, 1975 provides arguments fort he constructive and innovative contributions to liturgical development by post-talmudic rabbis.

[64] Fleischer, 1988; Lewin, 1942; Margaliot, 1937.

[65] See, however, Hoffman, 1979.

[66] See Fleischer, 2007.

[67] In Ashkenaz the supremacy of existing customs over positions taken by the Babylonian Talmud was fiercely defended, explained by Fishman, 2011 as the result of the fact that Ashkenazy Jewry only at a relative late time accepted the halakhic authority of the BT over other (oral) rabbinic sources. See on the subject Berger, 2019 and the literature quoted.

[68] Sepher ha-Manhig, cf. Raphael, 1978.

[69] Cf. Abudraham, Wertheimer, 1963.

[70] E.g. the 2 volume Codex Michael (Bodleian Library Mss. Mich. 617 and Mich. 627 from 1258), Machsor Worms (NLI, 1272) and Codex Laud (Bodleian Library Ms. Laud Or. 321) from c. 1290.

[71] See e.g. Ta-Shma, 1999; IDEM, 2003; IDEM, 2004; IDEM, 2010.

[72] The ideas of the medieval German Pietists have been explained a.o. by Reif, 1995 and Sperber, 2010.

had a lot of common customs,[73] and within that region the cities Mainz, Speyer and Worms shared a number of halakhic regulations. The so-called Siddur Rashi (c. 1100) is not a prayer book but a synopsis of Rashi's responsa on prayer and as such an important source on the subject in Germany and Northern France.[74] The same can be said on Machsor Vitry which is not a prayer book, but a collection of liturgical decisions by Rashi's pupil Simchah ben Samuel of Vitry.[75] In Southern France it was David Abudarham who wrote a compendium of liturgical rulings.[76] A number of richly illuminated medieval prayer books from the Iberian Peninsula show the crystallisation of Jewish prayers and synagogue liturgy in a wide variety, all over Jewish Europe.[77]

In the medieval history of Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy the first important development is the introduction of Piyyutim,[78] religious poems, a tradition which started in Israel in the 5th century with Yose ben Yose[79] as its first known author. He is quoted by Saadiah Gaon, though biographical data are not available. The next Paytanim (composers of Piyyutim) that are known by name[80] were Yannai (active early 6th century) and Eleazar ben Kalir[81] (c. 570 – c. 640). They lived in Israel or the Levant, although again biographical information is lacking. These pioneers were followed by numerous known and unknown poets in East and West[82], of which the Spanish Paytanim Solomon ibn Gabirol (11th century), Judah ha-Levi (c. 1075-1141), and Abraham ibn Ezra (1089-1167) were the most influential in the Sephardi world, although some of their poems also entered Ashkenazi rite. The long tradition of poetry in Jewish religious literature and liturgy 'has had more than its fair share of scholarly attention for a century and a half'.[83] Piyyutim were inserted in Jewish liturgy in various places, a practice which gave rise to heavy criticism, especially from the Geonim. However, their popularity gained them an important place in the liturgy of Holidays, Fast Days and special Shabbatot.[84] The extensive corpus of Ashkenazi Piyyutim differs from both earlier and contemporary Sephardi Piyyutim in terms of language, style and scope.[85] This is a result of diverging Ashkenazi and Sephardi experiences and conditions of life as have been described earlier in this chapter. A Piyyut may contain praise to the Almighty for His grace to mankind and Jewry, but throughout the Middle Ages, especially in Ashkenaz, also dirges on martyrs and other victims of persecutions (especially the 1096 First Crusade), wars and epidemics. As such it became the main vehicle for Ashkenazi recollection of that period, in addition to the many chronicles that were written.[86] Special classes of this type of Piyyutim are Selichot and Kinot, prayers for atonement, resp. lamentations, Hoshanot and Techinot.

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[73] See especially Berger, 2019; Goldschmidt, 1996; Hamburger, 1995 and Ta-Shema 2004.

[74] Attributed to a pupil of Rashi. Published by S. Buber and Y. Freimann, Berlin 1912.

[75] Berlin 1891ishmael, new edition Nuremberg, 1923, 2 vols. by S. Hurwitz; a new edition was published by Wertheimer, 1963, another one by Goldschmidt, 2014.

[76] First edition Lisbon, 1489; printed in Amsterdam in 1726 and repeatedly reprinted.

[77] Contemporary medieval manuscripts from the Middle East are extremely scarce.

[78] Singular Piyyut. Zunz, 1865. My description of the Piyyutim in this study repeatedly contradicts Scheindlin, 2002 as will be explained in the relevant places.

[79] Mirsky, 1991.

[80] As many of their poems were written in the acrostic style.

[81] Also named Kaliri.

[82] N.B.: As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the terms East and West are now used in the common geographical sense. For a survey of Iberian Jewish poetry in general see Scheindlin, 2002.

[83] Reif, 1995, pp. 15-16.

[84] Zunz, 1855.

[85] Exemplary are the Piyyutim for the High Holidays. In the Sephardi poems the focus is on the readiness of the Almighty to accept the wrongdoer who returns from his wrongful ways, remembering Abraham's readiness to offer his only son on the Divine command. Ashkenazi tradition focusses not only on man's inclination to sin, but also asks for atonement after the many Jewish martyrs who were ritually killed, especially in 1096 (see Marcus, 2004).

[86] Yerushalmi, 1983.

Apparently the inclusion or exclusion of a certain Piyyut by a community or by the chazzan could fluctuate or was even left to the discretion of the chazzan.[87] Piyyutim are commonly used by liturgists[88] as markers for a local custom as officially used manuscript prayer books from various German communities are researched. Whereas those manuscripts were used strictly locally, subsequently printed prayer books for centuries did not contain a local rite,[89] but were intended for a much larger market and are for that reason not a reliable source for a specific custom. As the present study deals with obligatory prayers, the corpus of Piyyutim that is included in or excluded from the printed prayer books remains outside my research but deserve further specialist research. Their place in prayer and headings will be briefly described in chapter 16 of this study as a first tool of reference and here it should suffice to state that the Piyyutim that were composed by Iberian poets differ from earlier and also Ashkenazi ones in language, style and content. This was the situation at the brink of Early Modernity.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The Middle Ages show a wide and rich development of world Jewry, as well as various forms of acculturation, enabling for various groups to develop its own feelings of identification, without abandoning a sense of belonging to a larger entity. The already existing diversity in prayer texts and liturgical tradition unavoidably extended with the spread of Jewish communities in Asian and European Diasporas, each with its own language and culture. In this period the various Sephardi and Ashkenazi rites (see also chapter11) developed into the pattern that would serve printers in Early Modernity. The main question whether Christianity and Islam influenced the development of obligatory prayer remained unanswered as the differences between the regional medieval rites in the fixed parts of Jewish obligatory prayers do not point in that direction. The most evident product of medieval religious literary production is the Piyyut (see chapter14) which soon became widely popular and often caused heated discussions between halakhists on their admissibility in the corpus of obligatory prayer, the Shemah and the Amidah, as will explained later in this study (chapter 4). Generally speaking, later Sephardi printed prayer books would contain Piyyutim describing the divine Majesty and Mercy based on biblical precedent, whereas Ashkenazi tradition often referred to contemporary suffering and martyrdom, which was compared with biblical examples. These poetical stories, quite often associated with the memory of legendary persons who had no base in real life, long served as the only sources for Ashkenazi historiography, obscuring not only the fact that Ashkenazi Jewry in general was flourishing, but also eventually leading to a misunderstanding of certain Piyyutim in synagogue liturgy in our time.[90]

Rabbinical views and halakhic decisions continued to influence the development of prayer for many centuries (see the discussions on the language of prayer, chapter 15 and appendix 3) and for that reason it is important to mention some facts that must be borne in mind by researchers: actual developments always precede Halakhah, and not all opinions are accepted and implemented. As Lawrence Hoffman[91] has illustrated, Saadiah Gaon tried in vain to impose uniformity in Berakhot and other prayers and liturgical practices and I quoted Maimonides who not only condoned the existing pluriformity but even urged on to keep to one's private tradition as received from the parents. Although, as will be discussed later (chapter14), certain rules prevailed, e.g. the ban of Piyyutim in certain parts of the prayers, no uniform Sephardi rite

[87] As is demonstrated even at a later stage, e.g. in numerous remarks in the first printed Jewish prayer book, Casal Maggiore and Soncino, 1486, according to the rite of Rome.

[88] E.g. Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt and Israel Ta-Shma.

[89] Unless explicitly stated, e.g. Roman, 'Apam' (see chapter 11), Provence, and Kochi rites.

[90] In many Israeli 'modern orthodox' Ashkenazi synagogues, only few Piyyutim are said. On the 9th of Av a decade ago, one congregant loudly complained that not even a single dirge commemorating a medieval Metz disaster was said. He was the only one who felt bereft, as nobody else was familiar with that region and therefore did not feel the loss.

[91] Hoffman, 1979.

developed. Likewise, in Ashkenaz the numerous customs that were observed in private circles were not only condoned and defended against Gaonic objections, but were even hallowed, which eventually led to a rather extreme interpretation of the rule that custom overrides Halakhah.

Medieval prayer books have rarely been preserved complete. They were privately commissioned, either by a community or by a wealthy individual. Even when contemporary halakhic or contemplative sources may provide clues, it remains impossible to attempt a full reconstruction of the past. As will be discussed later (chapter 4) the relation between a manuscript that was used as composer's copy and a printed edition has not (yet) been established and for that reason it is impossible to interpret such an early edition as proof for a local or regional binding custom. Still the opinion of Joseph Heinemann that the Jewish prayer book in Antiquity was pluriform, remains valid for the medieval period.

Chapter 3
EUROPE AT THE BEGINNING OF EARLY MODERNITY

The term Middle Ages was coined by humanists after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 to denote the period following the fall of the Roman Empire at the end of the 5th century. It expresses the humanistic ideal to return to what was considered the apex of human knowledge, culture and literature in an era that they called Antiquity. This new generation saw its endeavours as a revival (Renaissance) of classical values and methods, considering the intervening centuries as the Dark Ages, which were regarded as devoid of science, art and literature to a high degree. The cause of this supposed decline following the end of the Roman Empire was attributed to a disregard for classical literature, ignorance of the three main classical languages[1] and imposed limits on the freedom of research. Successive generations of Renaissance scholars turned to Cicero's Latin as a means of international communication, trying to reconstruct the classical texts from manuscripts that had survived the turmoil of the Middle Ages and mainly came to Europe via the Byzantine Empire.

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the contextuality of Jewish immigration in the Northern Netherlands (see chapter 5) against the backdrop of general early modern history. First, the explosion of knowledge resulting from inventions and discoveries will be discussed.[2] One of the most influential inventions was printing with movable type, the impact of which was furthered by democratised education and increasing literacy. The mobility of the population rapidly accelerated through mass migration, which led to a widening of cultural horizons, the rise of mercantilism, the creation of a 'Republic of Letters,' and the encounter between various religions and religious denominations. These factors influenced the organisation of the new (as well as already existing) Jewish communities. Finally, the state of the Jewish prayer book at the beginning of Early Modernity[3] will be briefly discussed.

3.1 A KNOWLEDGE EXPLOSION

As explained in the previous chapter, Jews during the medieval period lived in cultural interaction with their non-Jewish neighbours. In Talmudic literature there are some deprecatory remarks on Greek philosophy, but together with Syrian Christians, Jews were important intermediaries in the preservation of classical texts from Antiquity to Early Modernity as they were the first to translate the great Greek authors into Arabic, later followed by the translation of important Arabic texts into Latin.[4] Their contribution to Catholic scholastic philosophy, which was mainly based on the works of Plato and Aristotle, is clearly demonstrated by the role which Maimonides' Guide for the Perplexed played in scholastic thought. Later in this chapter we will illustrate the renewed meeting of Jews and Christians and its effect on religious relations.

At the threshold of the early modern period the invention of new techniques, discoveries and the increasing attraction of the academic teaching of medicine and science[5] lead to an explosion of knowledge.[6] The techniques to build larger ships, construct astronomical and nautical instruments, more precise clocks and draw more accurate maps and charts, thus removing restrictions to travel and trade led to a major social, scientific and cultural renewal. Curiosity, critical reflection and creativity called for systematisation, a clear method of recording observational data and hypotheses. All these developments contributed to the discovery of new territories in the East and the West[7] and to a greater mobility as we will see later in this chapter.

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[1] Classical Greek, classical Latin and biblical Hebrew.

[35] Cf. Ruderman, 2010, p. 13.

[3] On the beginning of modern Jewish history see Meyer, 1975.

[4] Steinschneider, 1893.

[5] Cf. Bartal, 1997; Kaplan, 1997; Karp and Sutcliffe, 2018; Ruderman, 2001.

[6] See Ruderman, 2001; IDEM, 2010 pp. 99-132. On the absorption of new ideas and the international booktrade in Ashkenaz see Reiner, 1997b.

[7] Cf. Boorstein, 1991.

3.2 THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

After the introduction of papermaking in Europe in the 13th century, the invention of printing with movable type in the 15th century was one of the major events of early modern Europe. The former greatly reduced the cost of the material on which texts were preserved, but it was printing with mobile type that really made the reproduction and distribution of a wide range of books financially feasible and so greatly contributed to the dissemination of knowledge.[1] The copying of manuscripts had always been a time-consuming and very expensive process so that only the more affluent used to be able to afford books. The invention of printing revolutionised book production by simplifying the preparation of copy for typesetting, layout and printing. From now on, multiple copies could be produced in a fraction of the time it would have taken to copy the same number of manuscripts.[2] The rise of a new class of relatively affluent citizens at the beginning of the Early Modern Era meant there was a market for and interest in editions of a variety of books. It was also one of the main factors in the spread of literacy and knowledge. The invention of printing made prayer books available to a much larger public as the price per copy was greatly lowered. However, even so they would well remain beyond the reach of the poor.[3]

The transition from manuscript to printed book was not universally embraced, as the status of the manuscript still ranked higher in some circles. In Jewish circles, however, printing was mostly welcomed as 'the holy art of writing many copies of a text at once', as we often read in the colophons of early printed books.[4] Even a century after the invention of printing Joseph Caro wrote in the introduction to his Beit Yoseph,[5] published as a commentary to the Arba'ah Turim of R. Jacob ben Asher (Venice, 1550-1559): 'Lo, I received some decisions of R. Solomon ibn Aderet (1235-1310) written in a pen of iron and lead, in print …', which proves he considered manuscript and printed works to be equals. This does not mean that the invention of printing signalled the end of Jewish manuscript production, as calligraphy and luxury manuscript books were and continue to be highly valued.[6]

3.3 EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Education in Christian Europe, previously almost exclusively restricted to members of the clergy and the nobility,[7] became relatively 'democratised' in the early modern period.[8] It must be

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[1] For the impact of the invention of printing see: Eisenstein, 1997 and Eisenstein, 2016. The author unfortunately only refers to publications in English. Although the work is accepted as innovative, some of the assumptions also drew criticism. See: Johns, 1998; Verschoor, 2015, p. 16 ff. See also Bonfil, 1999; Chartier, 1989; IDEM, 1999; Gries, Lowry, 1999; Raz-Krakotzkin, 1999.

[2] For an initial introduction to the making of books and early printing see e.g. Eliot, 2007, McKerrow and Gaskell.

[3] It would be interesting to research Jewish communal archives on the role of philanthropy in the dispersion of printed prayer books. For a nice example see chapter 6 where is shown that the statutes of the Amsterdam Talmud Torah society explicitly undertook to supply its pupils with free prayer books. On the influence of printed books on intercommunal connections see Gries, 1992.

[4] On the effect of the transition from manuscript to print culture on the Ashkenazic elite see Reiner, 1997a

[5] The inconsequent spelling Yosef – Joseph is copied from the EJ.

[6] This is shown also in a growing number of publications on manuscript and print culture in Early Modernity, e.g. Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship, Oxford Handbooks Online, Oxford Scholarship Online and the fact that *The Manuscript, Book and Print Cultures theme* is a priority research theme of the Dublin Trinity Long Room Hub – Trinity's Arts & Humanities Research Institute. See also Ruderman, 2010, p. 257, note 18. The continued esteem for manuscripts next to printed works is a recurring theme in the publications of Emile Schrijver.

[7] Thompson, 1939; Grabois, 1975.

[8] Israel, 1998, pp. 9 ff. discusses the exceptional situation that arose from water management in the Netherlands. The Hoogheemraadschappen (water boards), as well as the relatively high rate of urbanisation created a demand for educated civil servants.

stressed that in Jewish communities, education had always been the norm, at least for males,[9] so that there was no difference between medieval *orality* and Renaissance *literacy* in the Jewish world in all its breadth.[10] Although oral tradition took and without doubt still takes a central position in Jewish life and studies, the level of Jewish literacy explains the early need for the exact tradition of written texts.[11] At the same time the position of Jewish leadership on secular education greatly shifted throughout the ages. Rabbinic authorities originally opposed an exclusive engagement with religious studies, insisting it was also necessary to practise a profession or a trade to earn a living. This ideal has only changed relatively recently.[12] Since the 19th century, strict Jewish orthodoxy, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, has been advocating an exclusive engagement with religious studies by Jewish males.[13] Any basic information on the secular education of the Ashkenazi Jews in the medieval and early modern period is virtually lacking.[14] Again, these developments arise from historical circumstances: the Ashkenazi Jews, as far as we know, were not allowed to participate in general secular education and were exclusively focused on their religious education.[15] By contrast, the Jews living under Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula on the whole took part in the general cultural and economic life even into the first period of the Reconquista. The Golden Age of Toledo Jewry occurred under Christian rule and its decline set in only after the anti-Jewish riots of 1391. In spite of their second-class status as New Christians, the conversos were able to benefit from all the improvements and opportunities offered by the Renaissance, including a humanist education and access to the network of the Republic of Letters, an international result of the widening of cultural horizons which was assisted by mobility and the expansion of mercantile relations.

3 Printer's device of Menasseh ben Israel referring to migration[16]

[9] On the education of women, see Kaplan, 2000, p. 659 (in early modern Amsterdam); Scheindlin, 2000, p. 346.
[10] Begley, 2005. For Jewish education see: Kanarfogel, 2007; Scheindlin, 2000, p. 346. Throughout the centuries Jewish leadership has been divided in its opinions on secular education; studies of Jewish education mostly focus on religious studies so that we lack even the most basic information on the secular education of the Jews in Italy, Spain and Portugal. The most comprehensive study of the history of Jewish education is: Assaf, 2001. On Jewish education in the Netherlands, see: Dodde, 2009. For a study of the famous Amsterdam *Academia y Yesibah* Ets Haim see Bergman, 2010.
[11] Gerhardsson, 1961.
[12] Through the ages objections against secular studies never was absent, but this differs in scope and emotion from 19th-century opposition.
[13] A recent survey on the topic is given in Shapiro, 2017.
[14] A study of the responsa, especially from Southern Europe, might provide some information.
[15] On the ritual start of education see Marcus, 1996.
[16] The motto means 'Outfitted like a pilgrim.' Another motto, in Latin is 'Peregrinando querimus', Traveling along we search.

3.4 MOBILITY AND THE WIDENING OF CULTURAL HORIZONS

Early Modernity saw an important growth in mobility,[17] not only driven by external factors such as wars, epidemics, expulsions or deportations, but also as a result of free choice prompted by curiosity, the urge to increase knowledge as well as expand international business relations and opportunities. The humanist negative views on the medieval period have been revised and now we realise that it was a time of constant change, from a purely feudal system to a more mixed society with a free bourgeoisie, from purely rural and mostly agricultural society to urbanisation. Also universities were first founded during the Middle Ages and now the period is no longer seen as isolated, but as another era of development and changing societies. New cities attracted numerous newcomers, and both professionals and unskilled labourers were able to find employment there, even if only temporary.[18] Migration on this scale inevitably involved an encounter between different cultures and religions, though it was also multidirectional: people easily returned to their places of origin,[19] or moved to places offering new opportunities, supported by new knowledge, technology, and rapidly expanding international and intercontinental trade.

3.5 MERCANTILISM AND THE *MERCATOR SAPIENS*

Doubtless the most important economic feature of the early modern period is *Mercantilism* or *Commercialism*, a system that allowed nations to create affluence through international trade.[20] To realise this, it was necessary to transform the economy from one based on agriculture and animal husbandry as the sole foundation of the national household to an economy based on international trade networks.[21] These networks operated on the basis of the extensive correspondence between merchants, which created the ideal climate for the Mercator Sapiens[22], a merchant who through his erudition was able to communicate (preferably in Latin) not only with his own trade partners but also with the prominent scientists of the time. The mercantile networks aided by a rapidly extending and thriving international book trade[23] further boosted the international dissemination of texts and ideas. The fact remains, however, that restrictive regional or local political and religious conditions often adversely affected book production and distribution. Many countries were not familiar with the phenomenon of a free press and often various obstacles were put in the way of Jewish book production. In many countries the ambivalent attitude of secular and religious authorities with respect to the position of Jews and their books survived the Middle Ages and continued in Early Modernity. Humanists experienced a need to share knowledge on an international scale, giving rise to international networks of exchange based on correspondence, the Respublica Literaria or Republic of Letters.[24] This was a wide, international network of men of learning, researchers and interested, well-educated non-specialists who all aspired to the ideal of the *homo universalis*, someone with a universal knowledge

[17] Bregoli and Ruderman, 2019; Canny, 1994; Kleinschmidt, 2003; Lucassen, 1994; Moch, 1992; Pagden, 2001. On the role of mobility in shaping Kabbalistic writing see Idel, 1998b.

[18] Amerlang, 2006; Calabi, 2006; Keene, 2006; Ruderman, 1992. On German Jewry in Early Modernity see Breuer, 1996.

[19] E.g. Graizbard, 2004. For Amsterdam Sephardi Jews see Kaplan, 1985.

[20] Israel, 2003.

[21] On the networks of conversos migrants see Israel, 2002; Oliel-Grausz, 2004.

[22] The phrase was coined by Caspar Barlaeus in his oration on the opening of the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* on January 9, 1632. The oration was titled: Mercator Sapiens, sive oratio de conjugendis mercaturae et philosophiae studiis. Where Dirk Volkertsz Coornhert in 1580 in an essay on the merchant always referred to the Christian merchant, Barlaeus deals with the humanist merchant who must ideally combine his profession with philosophy, i.e. science, culture and an open world view, resulting in *sapientia*, erudite wisdom. For this extended semantics of the term *sapiens*, Dutch Neolatinists generally translate the term not as *the wise*, but as *the learned* merchant.

[23] See Eisenstein, 2016, chapter 1, note 13. Israel, 1988; Swetschinsky, 2004, pp. 149-154; Kaplan, 2017, pp. 175-181; De Vries, 1995, passim.

[24] Eisenstein, 2016, pp. 102-120. Bots, 2018.

of the world and mankind.[25] A homo universalis was expected to have mastered the three classical languages, Greek, Latin and Biblical Hebrew. As the study of Hebrew in the Christian Middle Ages had been restricted to some scholars,[26] early modern scholars sought Jewish teachers who were seen as the ideal Hebrew teachers because they represented a continuous tradition in biblical studies. One of the paragons of early modern Jewish learning and thinking was the Italian historiographer and physician Azariah de Rossi (c. 1511- c. 1578) whose work *Meor Eynayim* caused fierce opposition from conservative Jewish circles.[27]

3.6 THE MEETING OF RELIGIONS

In the open intellectual climate of the Early Modern Period, Christian scholars[28] who wanted to read the Bible in its original language turned to Jews to teach them biblical Hebrew and traditional Jewish exegesis.[29] Knowledge, literacy and science had mostly been a privilege of the clergy and the nobility in Christian medieval society. Gradually, however, an emancipatory movement emerged and more and more people began to thirst after change. As mentioned before, the large-scale migration inevitably led to a widening of the intellectual horizon, creating encounters with ideas that were considered heterodox by the Church. In this context new universities were established, promoting intellectual exchange among an international community of scholars and students where people of various religious identities mingled.

The Reformation, started by Martin Luther in 1517, would rapidly spread over important parts of Europe, assisted by the wide availability of printed books, a flourishing international book trade, and an exponentially growing Protestant interest in the Hebrew Bible.[30] This new interest, however, did not always have a positive effect on the relations between Protestants and Jews in the countries of Europe.[31] Southern Europe remained Catholic, whereas North-Western Europe (with the exception of France) on the whole turned to Protestantism. Fierce interdenominational debates notwithstanding, sometimes also involving views on the Jews, there also emerged a certain interreligious acceptance, as a result of which Jews were gradually able to find some measure of religious freedom. Such relative freedom encouraged Jewish book production, including the production of prayer books. As the first Jewish (Sephardi) prayer books that would be published in the Northern Netherlands followed, as will later be explained, Italian predecessors, it is good to remember that the Jews in Northern Italy mainly lived in centres of humanist culture and were not seldom employed by Christian scholars. The latter were instrumental in the dissemination of the Renaissance ideals which soon also became familiar territory for the Jewish intelligentsia.[32] All the same, this does not provide any specific information on the level of their Jewish education and knowledge. Undoubtedly a high level of Jewish education and knowledge was common as long as Judaism was a living and visible religion, as is also demonstrated by the constant production of high-standard Iberian Jewish literature in all its diversity.[33] However, as the expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the ultimate

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[25] Gilmore, 1962. Hale, 1973.

[26] See Klepper, 2007.

[27] See the English edition, Weinberg, 2001.

[28] Burnett, 1996; Coudert and Shoulson, 2004; Friedman, 1983; Grafton and Weinberg, 2010; Manuel, 1992; Rosenblatt, 2006. On medieval Christian Hebraist scholarship see Klepper, 2007.

[29] See Marsden, 2012.

[30] In this atmosphere developed Christian Hebraism, an important element in the meeting of Christians and Jews, but without relation with the development of the Jewish prayer book and so of no relevance to this study. On the subject, see Ruderman, 2010, pp. 111-120 and the literature cited there.

[31] For the growing impact of widening horizons on Ashkenazi Jewry see Elbaum, 1990.

[32] Yerushalmi, 1972, pp. 201-209 also deals primarily with the religious education and awareness of the conversos. For an account of literacy among the Portuguese immigrants to Amsterdam, see: Swetschinski, 2004, pp. 88-90.

[33] This does not necessarily include knowledge of the Hebrew language other than biblical Hebrew, though this was also the case in Geonic Babylonia and in Egypt in Maimonides' time.

forced conversion in 1535 of the Jews of Portugal ended active Jewish life there, the conversos must have lost much knowledge of their original religion. At the same time, crypto-Judaism was most certainly not a fantasy of the Inquisition. During the last decades Converso studies received fresh attention[34] and have disproved the earlier idea: 'Der Marrane ist Katholik ohne Glauben, und Jude ohne Wissen, doch Jude im Willen' [35] is not really supported by the facts,[36] and the view that is often expressed for the prayer books that were printed in an Iberian Jewish vernacular are proof of the fact that conversos had no Jewish knowledge whatsoever should at least be modified.[37] Conversos who fled from Spain, Portugal and the Kingdom of Naples following the expulsion that started in 1492 were often highly educated and many of them had studied at Latin Schools, which in the course of the 16th century increasingly became trilingual. It may therefore be assumed that the Iberian New Christians who arrived in other European centres of activities were able to integrate into their new environments relatively easily.[38] The prayer books that most probably were printed for the conversos will be discussed in the next part of this study, but the question of the presence or absence of Jewish knowledge of the conversos cannot be answered conclusively on the basis of the prayer books only.

3.7 COMMUNAL ORGANISATION

At the onset of the early modern period Jewish communities in both Ashkenazi and Sephardi societies had a history of autonomy.[39] Community leadership generally was responsible for tax-collection and keeping the public order and peace.[40] Internally it was supposed to take care for social services to the members of the community: providing food and clothing to the poor, visiting the sick and burying the dead,[41] building and maintaining a ritual bath, providing Jewish education and the construction and maintenance of a synagogue. The rabbis were responsible for all halakhic needs and the availability of kosher meat and cheese.[42] Some of the early modern changes in relations between lay leaders and the rabbinate[43] will be discussed later in relation with the situation in the Northern Netherlands.

3.8 THE JEWISH PRAYER BOOK

In the medieval period, Jewish prayer books were commissioned either by a community or by wealthy individuals. Books for a community, to be used by their chazzanim, were mostly written in a folio format, whereas prayer books for personal use were generally of a much smaller size. The scribes included anything dictated by the patron, or worked from a copy that was provided for this purpose. As the number of regular prayers was still relatively limited, the scribes were often able to include daily and festival prayers in a single volume. The margins of communal manuscripts often contain additions by subsequent chazzanim, e.g. newly composed Piyyutim or material that was introduced from elsewhere. Occasionally we also find comments, for instance that a given portion of text was excluded from the local liturgy, sometimes even supplied with an

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[34] E.g. Gerli, 2007; Kaplan, 2000; IDEM, 2012; Ray, 2013; IDEM, 2014 and the studies by Claude Stuczynski. Bar Ilan University has a special *Center for the Study of Conversion and Inter-religious Encounters*; Ben Gurion University has a *Center for the Study of Conversions within Abrahamic Religions*.

[35] Gebhardt, 1922, p. XIX.

[36] Yerushalmi, 1972.

[37] See Ruderman, 2010, passim and specialist Converso studies, e.g. Yerushalmi, 1981.

[38] On the cultural and religious changes amongst western Serphardim see Kaplan, 2018. On the history of the Italian Jews in Early Modernity see Bonfil, 1994.

[39] Gotzmann, 2008; Grossman and Kaplan, 2004; Hacker, 1988.

[40] See Ruderman, 2010, especially chapters 2, pp. 57-98 and five, pp. 159-190, and the literature cited, dealing with the changes that took place in Early Modernity.

[41] See Stefan Reif and others, 2014.

[42] On the rabbinate and Jewish communal life in early modern Italy see Bonfil, 2004. On the rabbinate in the Ottoman Empire see Hacker, 1984.

[43] On the struggle over rabbinic authority in Early Modernity, see Rosenberg, 1987; Ruderman, 2010, pp. 133-158.

exact date.[44] However, neither the content of these volumes or their annotations provide completely reliable information on the liturgical practice of a certain community at a given time. Jewish prayer books at the end of the medieval period not only greatly differed in size, but they also lacked exact and uniform titles, a fact that has mostly been missed by historians and book professionals alike. All prayer books, manuscript and printed, contained the order (seder, siddur) or yearly cycle (machsor) of Jewish liturgy. Large-size works were mostly called Machsor, whereas small-sized volumes were generally named Siddur. This rather random and consequently confusing use of titles would continue until at least the late 17th century. A few final remarks on the first printed Jewish prayer books.

It is evident that at the inventing of printing a number of more or less authorised Jewish prayer rites had come into existence which will be explained later in this study (chapter 11). The structure of obligatory prayers was fixed (see chapter 12), but textual variants not only existed, but also apparently were condoned.[45] Relevant for the early production of these prayer books in the Northern Netherlands are the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, the first of which was divided into Ashkenaz proper (Western Ashkenaz) and Poland (East Ashkenaz, later extended to Bohemia, Moravia and Lithuania), the latter Western Sephardi. Although the early printed editions differ both in order and contents,[46] the texts of the obligatory prayers apparently had already received a formula that was generally accepted within one of those rites. Dictated by the laws of the market, these prayer books were not meant to represent the custom of one synagogue or even a place or smaller region, but they contained a 'greatest common denominator' of such customs. The rubrics were succinct and lack instructions e.g. for standing and sitting and the like and this accepted practice would, as will be discussed later, be continued until recently. No provisions were made for those who had to become accustomed with prayer and synagogue practice, e.g. conversos. Another feature is the presence of numerous references to parts of the prayer that are to be found elsewhere in the book.[47] Some think that such was done to save expensive paper, but one has to take into consideration that Catholic missals show the same phenomenon and the role of orality at the time. Even those who were unaccustomed to Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy would soon be able to memorise parts of prayer in practice, as at the time people were still used to memorise many texts and facts.

3.9 CONCLUSION

Early Modernity was characterised by discoveries and inventions which contributed to an explosion of knowledge, knowledge that was easily disseminated through printing and international trade. The general democratisation of education and literacy was conducive to this widening of horizons, while the combination of mercantilism and humanism created a class of educated merchants able to communicate easily in the Republic of Letters and exchange views on a range of subjects, including religious ones. This meeting of religions, also in the Northern Netherlands, as will be seen in chapter 5 of this study, was not always free of prejudice, but nevertheless contributed to a further expansion of the already widening horizons. New Jewish communities brought with them existing forms of autonomous communal organisation, but as David Ruderman[48] has proved, lay and rabbinic authorities would soon begin to struggle for

[44] See studies of the Worms and Cologne Machsorim: Goldschmidt, 1996, pp. 9-37. On the Worms machsor see Beit-Arié, 1985.

[45] It is interesting how often the printer is blamed for supposed or real mistakes in early printed prayer books, e.g. Milgram, 1971 pp. 541-549; Sperber, 2010 pp.114-119. Reif, 1995 chapter 7, provides a much better balanced treatment of the subject.

[46] E.g. morning berakhot and sundry blessings.

[47] When later it is sometimes stated explicitly on the title page that the book is arranged to avoid having to turn to another part of the book that is not necessarily the case.

[48] Ruderman, 2010, pp. 57-98.

supremacy. This will be the subject of discussion when dealing with the structure of the new Jewish communities that were established in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th century (chapter 5). The development of the Jewish prayer book according to various rites had reached a certain, though perhaps limited, level of convention when printing started. The manuscript prayer books show a multi-layered structure and various rites which had become somewhat fixed, but remained to evolve. There are no indications that printing stopped or even slowed developments down, as will be illustrated in some editions that are discussed in chapters 6 and 7. The intention of printers to serve with their books as wide a market as possible sufficiently prevented them from confining an edition to the customs of a single specific community. It must be stressed, however, that the lack of standardisation of prayer book-titles often complicates the identification of a certain edition as will be illustrated later in this study. This was the situation when Jewish prayer books were first printed in the Northern Netherlands and Jews settled in the country. Before discussing early modern Jewry and its prayers in the Northern Netherlands, now follows a summarily discussion of the Jewish prayer book itself, whereas a more technical and deeper treatment will be provided in part III.

Chapter 4
THE JEWISH PRAYER BOOK

As has been stated in previous chapters, the origins of Jewish obligatory prayer are hidden in Antiquity and only during the Middle Ages their development can be traced, though not completely. Gaonic literature discusses Babylonian custom and ideology, while German Pietism shows some Ashkenazy theories, but only the codification of the Halakhah since the Late Middle Ages gives a more complete insight into the fixation of Jewish prayer in the later medieval period and Early Modernity. In this period rabbinic ritual law became leading and diminished free development. The inventing of printing made the production and dispersion of prayer books an international enterprise, following the requirements of trade. The aim of this chapter is to present the most essential backgrounds to the early modern printed Jewish prayer book and its context in Jewish Law and practice. For that reason, the development of Halakhah and its codification will be discussed while some remarks are also offered on Jewish ritual Law on prayer and synagogue liturgy, including the question whether a particular language was prescribed for prayer.[1] The rise of Kabbalah and its reception in prayer since the Late Middle Ages is summarily described,[2] followed by a short presentation of the division between Ashkenazim and Sephardim as those were the main groups of immigrants to settle in the Northern Netherlands.[3] As Jewish prayer books follow a certain rite, the question has to be answered what establishes a liturgical rite and what are the differences between such rites, (binding) custom and folklore.[4] Before attempting to answer the question whether Jewish obligatory prayer has been fully standardised, the chapter ends with an assessment of the presence or absence of uniformity at the moment the printing of the first Jewish prayer books started in the Northern Netherlands.

4.1 THE CODIFICATION OF JEWISH LAW

Jewish Law began to be codified in the Middle Ages following the decline of the Gaonate in Babylonia. The lack of a central Jewish authoritative body, combined with the existence of many local and regional differences in religious life and practice, presented a challenge to the rabbinical authorities, who steadily sought to unify religious practice. The mastery not only of the extensive and complex corpus of the Talmud, but also of the growing body of works on Jewish religion and jurisprudence came to be the reserve of specialists, a situation which created uncertainty for the less initiated. These works were published after the final edition of the Talmud covering various literary classes, e.g. commentaries and novellae on the Bible, Mishnah, halakhic Midrash and Talmud, works on the biblical commandments, collections of halakhot and legal decisions (*Psakim*) that were subsequently used as precedents. The codification was originally meant to serve the lay audience and clearly reflects existing differences, including liturgical variants that were to become central hallmarks of later printed Jewish prayer books. These differences and variants became more and more accepted while existing practice was mostly condoned.[5]

The first step towards a codification of Halakhah was made by R. Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi ha-Cohen (1013–1103, commonly known as Rif) who removed all parts of the Babylonian Talmud which he considered not to have any halakhic relevance.[6] Alfasi was born in Fez in Morocco, where he founded an influential academy that would remain the spiritual centre for North African and Iberian Jewry for many years. One of the most important representatives of the Fez school of Jewish studies was Moses Maimonides (1136-1204), who published his Mishneh Torah

[1] The language question will also be discussed in chapters 15 (p. 211) and appendix 3 (p. 337).
[2] The reception of Kabbalah in the Northern Netherlands, especially in the prayer books, is described in chapter 9 of my study.
[3] The various rites according to their families are described in chapter 13 of this study (p.189).
[4] As in Jewish daily speech terms like rite and custom (*minhag*, *nusach* and the like) are often used without a clear distinction, I will later in this study define them more exactly in their halakhic context.
[5] See Hoffman, 2005.
[6] First printed on the Iberian Peninsula before 1492 without place, date and name of printer.

in 1172.[7] Although it is considered to be the first proper halakhic codex, he himself called it a comprehensive tutorial on the Halakhah. Its systematic arrangement made it an important innovation after centuries of associative learning.

Rabbi Asher ben Jehiel (1250–1328), who was born in Cologne and died in Toledo, returned to Alfasi' s method in his abstract of Talmudic Law,[8] quoting authors like Alfasi and Maimonides. His son, Jacob ben Asher (c. 1269-c. 1343), who was likewise born in Cologne and passed away in Toledo, created a new system that became fundamental for halakhic development with the publication of his Arba'ah Turim (Four Pillars).[9] The work distinguishes between the laws on prayer, synagogue service, Sabbath and Festivals (Orach Haim), the laws on ritually allowed food and slaughtering, the writing of certain sacred texts, laws on wine, slavery, ritual baths, burial and mourning (Yoreh De'ah), family law (Even Ha'ezer) and the laws on financial affairs, damage and legal procedure (Choshen Mishpat).

The definitive stage of halakhic codification was reached at the beginning of the Modern Period when R. Joseph Caro (1488-1575) published Beit Yoseph, his extensive commentary on the Arba'ah Turim in 1555 and a summary of Beit Yoseph, Shulchan Arukh, in 1566. Beit Yoseph would become the binding codex for Sephardi Jewry, while Shulchan Arukh with the additions of R. Moses Isserles (1530-1572) became authoritative for Ashkenazi Jews. His decisions were printed as remarks[10] in the relevant paragraphs of the Shulchan Aruch and contain decisions of earlier Ashkenazi authorities. The importance of these codices for Jewish prayer and synagogue liturgy needs to be stressed as they may mark the formal rejection of a number of customs that had previously been observed all over the Jewish world.

In Halakhic studies, oral transfer of knowledge and system is central and for that reason the following evaluation and comparison of the sources mentioned is personal and undocumented. Maimonides called his Mishneh Torah a compendium of the Halakhah, based on the written Torah which he mainly bases on Mishnah, Tosefta and halakhic Midrashim, though never contradicting Talmudic decisions. The work starts with a list of the 248 positive and 365 negative biblical commandments, as composed by Maimonides in his Sefer ha-Mitswot, now shortened and in a different order. At the beginning of every tract, he mentions the Mitswot of which the halakhic details will be discussed and afterwards he discusses these details in a didactic and systematic way. It is therefore, according to my understanding, impossible to infer an individual conclusion from a single paragraph without studying the complete chapter and tract. For that reason, I consider the Mishneh Torah not to be a codex proper. It should be remarked that the educator Maimonides is very careful to formulate his work to exclude any doubt about its precise meaning.

As said earlier, Isaac Alfasi and R. Asher ben Yechiel follow the order of the Talmud, but the latter's son, Jacob ben Asher, was the first to order his codex Arba'ah Turim according to the four main pillars of religious Law: ritual (Orach Chaim and Yoreh Deah), family and financial Law. He explained his father's position and that of the Talmudic sources and his decisions after weighing post-talmudic precedent, often following Maimonides, unless Ashkenazi practice differed from Sephardi authorities. He dealt with prayer in the first 'Pillar', Orach Chaim.

[7] The first printed edition appeared in Italy c. 1475. Before 1501 three other complete editions of the work had been published in Italy and on the Iberian Peninsula.
[8] Editio princeps Venice, without date and name of printer.
[9] First printed edition Piove di Sacco, 1475. Complete editions followed in Soncino c. 1490, and in Constantinople in 1493. Orach Chaim went through six separate editions before 1501, Yoreh De'ah three, Even ha-Ezer and Choshen Mishpat had one edition each.
[10] Recognisable as they are printed in cursive type.

Whereas Maimonides bases himself mostly on the position of Alfasi, the later codifiers took into consideration an increasing number of other decisors as did Joseph Caro afterwards in his Beit Yoseph and Shulchan Arukh.[11] He added a number of additional sources, including the Zohar, showing the early wide acceptance of this work of Kabbalah and continued the earlier custom to include opinions of famous predecessors, even when their opinion has not become generally accepted halakhah. In his conclusions, bundled in the Shulchan Arukh, his formulations are not seldom ambiguous[12] and for that reason Sephardi decisors base themselves on the Beit Yoseph, applying certain hermeneutic rules. The original ideal of codification Halakhah and keeping it up to date with changing even for educated non-specialists has been lost somewhere in the process and in our time specialist training in the method and application of Halakhah has again become a sine qua non.

Another aspect of halakhic continuity is a certain preoccupation among traditional halakhists to keep contemporary rulings free from 'modern' heterodoxy by falling back on the strictest decisions from earlier times and ignoring Mishnaic jurisprudence as will be shown in my exposition of the changes of opinion on the language of prayer. As the glosses of Isserles were decisive for Ashkenazi Halakhah, they became, together with the Shulchan Aruch conclusive, notwithstanding the ambiguities. As will be apparent in my exposition of various sources in the appendix on the position of Hebrew in Jewish prayer, it became customary to include many earlier sources and opinions in the discussion, which not necessarily means that they are followed. As will be discussed later in my study, the halakhic authority of the Zohar, on which no consensus was reached, would become a point in Amsterdam Portuguese halakhic discussion.

4.1.1 RABBINIC RITUAL LAW ON PRAYER

Codified Halakhah deals with various aspects of prayer and liturgy, behaviour in the synagogue and even special customs. Halakhic literature comprises legal codes and decisions, rulings (*psakim* and responsa), novellae and commentaries and often mirrors changing conditions and developments that were constantly checked against precedent. Jurisprudence also continuously weighs cases against rabbinic tradition. In this way halakhic literature illustrates the existence of variants in religious and liturgical practice and shows how the Sages and rabbis through the ages often took contrary positions. As the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi jurisprudence and tradition have multiplied, only those with expert training are able to establish which opinion is binding in a given situation.

Common to all 'families' of traditional Jewry is the obligation to pray three times a day, in the morning, the afternoon and at night.[13] Additional prayers were instituted for Shabbat, Rosh Chodesh and Festivals already in the time of the Mishnah to compensate for the loss of the additional Temple offering of the day. A special additional prayer was instituted for (Yom) Kippur, the Ne'ilah or closing prayer[14] and so this day is marked by five obligatory prayers. Ne'ilah has to be started before sunset as the Heavenly Gates of Mercy then begin to close and Divine judgement will be sealed at nightfall. As Alfasi did not treat his material in a systematic way, his work remains here undiscussed. Maimonides, however, pointed the way for his interpretation of prayer by its place in the Mishneh Torah: Book 2 of 14, titled The Book of

[11] This is in fact the first codex that was written after the invention of printing. For its importance as a factor in the creation of a connected Jewish culture, see Ruderman, 2010 pp. 99 ff.

[12] I am grateful to Chacham Dr. P. Toledano who in his lectures illustrated this fact repeatedly to his students.

[13] Originally, as the morning prayer was connected by the Mishnaic Sages with the daily morning offer that was brought in the Temple and the afternoon prayer with the daily offer that had to be brought in the afternoon, the evening prayer was considered to be voluntary or as a compensation for the afternoon prayer after its preferred time (see pp. 196ff.).

[14] See p. 10 note 80.

Love. After his basic treatment of the philosophical and theological foundations of Judaism and the Laws of idolatry and repentance in Book 1, the Book of Knowledge. The first tract of the Book of Love contains the laws on the Shemah, the Jewish declaration of faith,[15] the second one the Laws of prayer and the priestly benediction. First he establishes that the daily obligation to pray is a biblical commandment, which is further defined by Oral Law. Then he states that the Sages instituted a framework for prayer, as during the Babylonian Exile not everybody was able to formulate his praises, wishes and needs and one could extend, whereas the other had to shorten his texts.[16] Next he says that originally the Sages established that the prayer consisted of 18 Berakhot, to which Rabban Gamliel 'because of the increasingly amount of heretics' added another one. On Shabbat and Festivals only 7 Berakhot are said in the obligatory prayer, but on Rosh ha-Shanah in Musaph there are 9. In the next chapter he discusses some preliminary requirements, e.g. clean hands and the covering of the genitals. Further discussed are questions of when to stand, how to behave in a time of distress or danger, proper dress and when one has to bow or kneel down. Chapter 8-9 deal with communal prayer and are followed by the way one has to intend prayer and how to behave when one has forgotten a prescribed part of the prescribed prayer or has made another essential mistake. Chapter 11 contains the regulations for the building, upkeep and destruction of a synagogue and the tract closes with the regulations for the Torah reading and the priestly blessing. The book continues with the laws of the tefilin, mezuzah, Torah Scroll, Berakhot, and circumcision, ending with a concise text of the most important obligatory prayers. Special prayers for Shabbat and Festivals, however, are discussed in other parts of the Mishneh Torah.[17]

4.1.2 THE LANGUAGE OF PRAYER

As the Sages required, stressed again by Maimonides, that prayers are performed with full intention and devotion, it is necessary to understand the text of prayers, which should therefore be clear and reliable. This requirement motivated many editors of prayer books to carefully revise and 'correct' the text of earlier editions.[18] The Sages of the Mishnah and the Talmud at the time, responding to the mechanism of linguistic change, raised the question both in Israel and in the Jewish diaspora, whether it was at all possible to pray with full intention and devotion with an insufficient knowledge of Hebrew. Although it is generally accepted as an axiom that Hebrew is obligatory for Jewish prayer, rabbinic literature clearly shows that the position of Jewish diaspora leadership shifted through the ages according to the historical and geographic situation. Originally it was allowed to pray obligatory prayer in any language[19] as long as the meaning of the prayer was understood. Eventually 19th-century rabbinical authorities would dictate the exclusive use of Hebrew for prayer.[20] In various parts of the Jewish diaspora the vernacular entered Jewish literary production, often with adaptations to Jewish tradition, as is richly documented in a recent publication.[21] In general it can be said that Hebrew remained the preferred language for Jewish prayer, although the vernacular was allowed,[22] with the exception of the Priestly Blessing as will be explained in chapter 15 of this study. For all their efforts, Jewish leaders did not always succeed in preserving the knowledge of Hebrew in some parts of the diaspora, as is shown by

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[15] Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Num. 15: 37-41. See Kimelman, 2001.

[16] This is based on Talmudic discussions on 'short prayer,' see my remarks on *Havinenu* on p. 12.

[17] For a fine summary of Maimonides's views on worship and on the content, form and essence of obligatory prayer and liturgy see Blidstein, 1994.

[18] Sometimes this led to heated discussions between authorities, e.g. between the rabbis Jacob Emden and Jonathan Eybeschütz in the 18th century, although their polemic also hinged on dogmatic issues.

[19] On the exclusion of Aramaic from individual prayer, according to certain opinions, see chapter 15.

[20] An anthology of rabbinical sources on the use of the vernacular and their translation is provided in appendix 3.

[21] Kahn, 2016; Ruderman, 2010 pp. 105 ff.

[22] Early rabbinical condoning of prayer in the vernacular relates to individual prayer and no information on its use in the synagogue has been preserved earlier than a single instance in the 16th century (see pp. 216; 220, note 55; 346).

Solomon ben Abraham ibn Parchon, a 12th-century Spanish philologist who in his work Machberet he-Arukh (1160), states that Italian Jews spoke better Hebrew than their Spanish counterparts.[23] The earliest known Jewish vernacular prayer books were produced after the invention of printing.[24] The first fruits of the Ashkenazi vernacular prayer book press were primarily intended for women. They were mostly written in Yiddish, but not always, as is shown by the *Sidorello*, a prayer book in the Romance vernacular, written in Hebrew characters, containing personal prayers of the Roman Rite and printed in Soncino in 1486. The Conversos who fled the Iberian Peninsula after 1492 developed an extensive literature, including prayer books in the Iberian Jewish vernacular, which will be discussed in chapter 6.

4.2 THE RISE OF KABBALAH AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE PRAYER BOOK[25]

There have been mystical influences in Rabbinic Judaism from the beginning,[26] although for centuries they were mainly associated with individual Sages. In Antiquity there were two main focuses in Jewish mysticism: Creation (*Ma'aseh Bereshit*) and the Throne of the Divine Majesty (*Ma'aseh ha-Merkavah*).[27] It was especially the latter which left its influence on early prayer.[28] The frequent medieval disturbances and their sometimes devastating impact on various Jewish communities in Europe and the Levant, as well as the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula centuries later, inspired many authors of religious poetry and prose to interpret these experiences on the basis of mystical speculation. [29]

The German Pietists (*Chasidei Ashkenaz*)[30] living in the German Rhineland in the Middle Ages (12th-13th centuries) created a school of mysticism which focused on the practice of gematria (a mystical system making use of the fact that each Hebrew letter has a numerical value) and the mystical use of a certain number of words[31] or syllables. This practice gave rise to heated discussions because many authorities rejected the changes in the accepted formula for mystical purposes. Sometimes the practice of relating the sense of suffering and persecution to mystical experience was at odds with Halakhah while at other times rabbinical decisors did not have a

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[23] It is necessary to distinguish three levels of language skills: an active command of a language, a passive command, and the ability to read the alphabet when a language is written in a non-Western alphabet without understanding the meaning. Ibn Parchon clearly criticizes the lack of active language skills, both in speaking and in writing. Another complaint was made by Moses Ibn Ezra (c. 1060 - c. 1139): '… and they did not succeed to polish their language … It would have been fitting that they should not have ignored and despised such matters.' Kitab al-Muḥdara wal-Mudhakara, ed. with Hebrew trans. by A.S. Halkin, (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 50-51. Quoted from Yerushalmi, Zakhor, p. 33. As later developments show, Iberian Jewry went on to produce many fine literary compositions in beautiful Hebrew, although this is no proof of the knowledge of Hebrew in all parts of the Jewish community.

[24] A manuscript Jewish prayer book in Arabic that was copied in 1475 is preserved in the National Library of Israel.

[25] The history of Jewish mysticism is the subject of a wide range of articles, monographs and bibliographies. The modern study of Jewish mysticism started with Gershom Scholem (1897–1982). See e.g. Scholem, 1960; IDEM, 1971; IDEM, 1973; IDEM, 1974. For a new view on Kabbalah see Idel, 1988.

[26] Cf. Schäfer, 1992; Scholem, 1960.

[27] Cf. Ezekiel 1. Merkavah mysticism is also called Heikhalot (Heavenly Palaces) literature. See Swartz, 1992.

[28] The influence of mysticism in Antiquity is shown in early parts of Jewish prayer, e.g. various *Kedushah* prayers in which Divine Holiness is addressed, e.g. at the end of the morning Psalms and the first blessing before the Shemah.

[29] On the impact made by the self-confident immigrants that arrived in Turkey from the Iberian Peninsula see Hacker, 1987.

[30] It must be noted that the term Chasidei Ashkenaz does not have any relation with modern Chassidism, the mystical movement that originated in the 18th century. On the Chasidei Ashkenaz, see Baron, 1952-1982, vol 8 pp. 42-50; Baumgarten, Philadelphia, 2014, pp. 12-13, 72-77, 216-218; Ben-Sason, 1976, pp. 545-552; Fishman, 2011, pp. 182-217; Marcus, 1981; Scholem, 1960; Soloveitchik, 1976, pp. 311-357. On the approach of Chasidei Ashkenaz to prayer, see Dan and Talmage, 1982, pp. 85-120; Dan, 1992, pp. 33-45; Ta-Shma, 2004, pp. 46-53.

[31] A good example is the Kaddish prayer where a word is added during the Ten days of Repentance. To preserve the original number of words, two other words are combined (מן כל → מכל). The practice, however, did not become generally accepted in Ashkenazi prayer books, so that both forms may be encountered in one and the same edition.

halakhic precedent strong enough (or the decisive authority) to be able to influence practice, thus in effect condoning something that was contrary to Law. A good example is the Rhineland practice at the time of the Crusades to institute public fasts on days commemorating disasters that had befallen Jewish communities, even when Halakhah explicitly forbids fasting on those days.[32] It is, however still unclear how much the ideas of the Chasidei Ashkenaz became accepted in the Ashkenazi prayer book.[33]

The definitive source of what is now known as Kabbalah, the main stream of Jewish mysticism in its many-faceted development since the late Middle Ages, is Sefer ha-Zohar, finalised by the Spanish mystic Moses ben Shem Tov de Leon in the years 1280-1286.[34] The Zohar inspired many Sephardi scholars but achieved its greatest glory after the Iberian Exile when a group of influential Spanish and Portuguese scholars settled in Safed in Upper Galilea, where they founded an active group of Kabbalists. This school produced many texts and created religious poetry, established new customs and prayers and introduced many additions to and alterations in traditional regular prayers. Perhaps the best known kabbalists of the time were the brothers-in-law Solomon ben Moses Alkabetz (c. 1505-1580), the author of the song Lekha Dodi for the Friday evening service, and Moses ben Jacob Cordovero (1522-1570), the initiator of a systematic approach to Kabbalistic ideas.[35] It was Isaac Luria Ashkenazi (1534-1572, better known under his acronym the Holy Ari),[36] however, whose ideas were widely disseminated among the more general public through the works of his pupil Haim ben Joseph Vital (1542-1620). From the 16th century onwards, elements of Lurianic mysticism would deeply influence Jewish practice and prayer, though in some communities more than in others. Kabbalistic elements would also soon enter the prayer books of various rites.[37]

The central ideas of Kabbalah and the place of prayer in its mystical system can be summarily described as follows: The Creation of matter by the absolutely perfect Immaterial and Infinite Divine caused a flaw in the same creation, thereby calling evil into existence. Primordial Man was also affected and fell prey to many evil temptations. In the same process, however, the possibility was created to reward man for his good deeds or punish him for his transgressions. The primal defect in creation can be repaired (*Tikun*) through *Kavvanah*, a state of mental concentration and devotion[38] to be achieved during prayer and during the performance of the biblical Commandments, as well as through voluntary fasts. To assist the individual Jew in his endeavours to participate in *Tikun*, many authors composed poems and prayers that were collected in numerous compendia under various titles and intended for both personal and collective devotion. Some of these texts are difficult to understand, especially when various Talmudic terms acquired a new meaning, e.g. the Talmudic concept of segullah (medicine) was

[32] E.g. Rosh Chodesh. This should not be confused with the later kabbalistic custom of fasting on the eve of Rosh Chodesh (Yom Kippur Katan).
[33] Berger, 2019 pp. 9 ff.
[34] Like many previous Jewish books, the Zohar was attributed to a famous early leader, in this case the second-century Sage Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai.
[35] For a complete survey of the Kabbalah, see the works of Scholem and Idel. As I am not a student of Kabbalah, I will only give a very brief explanation of the basics of Kabbalistic prayer. The Chief Rabbi of Venice, Rabbi Scialom Bahbout, in an address to the community on Friday night, 10 February 2017, managed to explain the subject to a lay audience; I am greatly indebted to his insights.
[36] Fine, 2003.
[37] For a critique of Scholem's opinion that the dissemination of Lurianic Kabbalah lead to Shabtaism, see Idel, 1993.
[38] The Kabbalistic term Kavvanah is not identical with its homonym in Talmudic literature as is evident from pre-Kabbalistic halakhic literature.

now[39] reinterpreted to refer to acts, a formula or prayers that were supposed to possess supernatural and spiritual healing powers.[40]

The growing interest in mysticism that had started in the High Middle Ages was furthered by the dispersion of the Zohar and reached its zenith in the years after the expulsion of the Jews of Spain when a number of leading rabbis and mystics made of Safed in the Upper Galilee the main centre of Kabbalah which in the 16th century hosted the most influential Kabbalistic leaders and authors as described earlier. Remains the question how their ideas were received by the contemporary masses and, for the purpose of the present research, what was their influence on the early modern Jewish prayer book. As mysticism and eschatological expectations[41] gathered a wide-spread momentum in the 16th century, also in the Christian world,[42] groups of like-minded Jews began to convene and engage in voluntary ceremonies and readings. The easy and fast spreading reception by the masses of such practices is proven by the number of collections of such Jewish readings which were repeatedly printed as anthologies (*Tikunim*), intended for use on special days, including the 7th day of Pesach, the vigil of Shavuot and the 7th day of Sukkot. They belong to the class of voluntary prayers and remain outside the parameters of the present research.[43]

It is quite understandable that Kabbalah was embraced by many, especially in light of its generous offering of penitential rituals and texts and its messianic expectations, the latter explaining the general enthusiasm for the supposed Messiah Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676)[44] who was an ordained rabbi and was embraced as the Messiah by many.[45] In 1666 the Jewish world was caught by a messianic frenzy that also infected the Amsterdam community. Shabbetai's forced conversion to Islam was the end of his messianic status but for a long time his ideas continued to be accepted by Kabbalists.[46] Any suspicion of Shabbetaism or the adherence to more 'moderate' Shabbateans like Nathan of Gaza (1643-1680), Nehemiah Hiyya ben Moses Hayyun (c. 1650–c. 1730) and Solomon ben Jacob Ayllon (1660 or 1664–1728) would continue to strain relations between rabbis of the Ashkenazi and Portuguese communities into the 18th century, as will be explained in chapter 7.[47]

Although the mainstream of early modern Kabbalah was rooted in Sephardi tradition, it was soon embraced in Ashkenazi circles. Some Kabbalistic traditions involve a reinterpretation of Halakhah, which presented contemporary rabbinical decisors with a problem, but sometimes they were rooted in precedent, e.g. in the works of Chasidei Ashkenaz, a development that would

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[39] This practice can already be witnessed in the writings of Chasidei Ashkenaz.

[40] Thus it is propagated, especially by Chassidic currents, to recite certain texts such as portions of the Zohar even without understanding them, as their supernatural power will procure some Tikun. This phenomenon was discussed in the International Conference on Minhagim: Custom and Practice in Jewish Life, Tel Aviv University, May 13-15, 2012 (This paper is not included in the proceedings, Lifsshitz et al, 2020).

[41] Goldish and Popkin, 2001; Idel, 1998a; Liebes, 1993.

[42] E.g. Pico della Mirandola, see Lelli, 1997; Schmidt-Biggeman, 2003; IDEM, 2012-2014; Wirszubski, 1989. An interesting example of a reverse influence, by Johann Kemper a Jewish convert to Christianity, is discussed in Wolfson, 2001.

[43] Quantitative data on such 17th-century editions that were published in the Northern Netherlands, compared with the contemporary books containing obligatory prayers, will be provided in chapter 7 of my study.

[44] Scholem, 1973; IDEM, 1991.

[45] Liebes, 1993; Maciejko, 2017.

[46] On the connection of Shabtaism and messianic Conversos see Barnai, 2000; Goldish, 2004. On Christian perceptions of Shabbetai Zwi, see Heyd, 2004.

[47] For the struggle between (supposed) adherents of Shabtaism and their opponents, see Carlebach, 1990; Elior, 2001.

continue into Modernity in various Jewish communities in the diaspora.[48] In part 2 of this study the question of the influence of Kabbalah on the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books will be answered (p. 133). A caveat: the rise of Chassidism[49] in the Ashkenazi world in the second half of the 18th-century may slightly obscure the modern observer's view of earlier developments and so it is necessary to try and understand the developments taking place in the 16th and 17th centuries in their historical context. The chassidic movement would eventually cause Kabbalistic elements to be introduced into obligatory Jewish prayer, but this aspect lies outside the scope of the present study, especially as before the second half of the 20th century there was no chassidic community in the Northern Netherlands.

4.3 ASHKENAZIM AND SEPHARDIM

As has been said earlier, various rites and customs developed during Antiquity and the medieval period, to be divided in a number of families of which the best known are Ashkenazim, Sephardim and Yemenites. A more extensive survey and subdivisions of these 'families' will be provided in chapter 13 of this study. Nowadays the term Ashkenazim is used for Jews originating from North-Western Europe and Central European countries, who spoke Yiddish, a Jewish vernacular[50] based on Old High German, since medieval times. Sephardim refers to Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa and the Middle East, where Arabic and Ladino or Judesmo became the Jewish vernacular. Ashkenazim and Sephardim adhere to a distinct though diverse tradition within each group regarding the pronunciation of Hebrew, the halakhic system and liturgical rites. Where the research of Jewish prayer books is concerned, the various liturgical rites have to be seen in the context of the history of Jewish diaspora and the dissemination of the original Palestinian and Babylonian traditions during the Middle Ages. The first printed Jewish prayer books already had title pages,[51] including various data, some of which deserve some explanation.

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[48] For the impact of Kabbalah on early modern Jewish leadership, see Ruderman, 2010 passim, especially chapter 4 which is dealing with Shabtaism and the rise of Lurianic Kabbalah.

[49] Chassidism is a Jewish mystical current strongly influenced by Kabbalah and founded by R. Israel ben Eliezer, known as the Ba'al Shem Tov (1698-1760). In his days the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe were thrown into despair, prevented as they were from engaging in religious study and knowledge. The basic belief was that a charismatic and righteous religious leader (Rebbe) could serve as an intermediary who would be able to translate the religious feelings of his followers into the right behaviour and prayer.

[50] In fact there existed (and partly still exist) various regional versions of the Yiddish language, to be divided in Western and Eastern Yiddish.

[51] Genette, 1997 discusses the elements of published works that accompany the text, e.g. the name of the author, title, preface/introduction or illustrations, known as paratext and calls them "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text". Also: "an influence that ... is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it". He divides the paratext into *peritext*: elements such as titles, chapter titles, prefaces and notes, and *epitext*: elements such as interviews, publicity announcements, reviews by and addresses to critics, private letters and other authorial and editorial discussions – 'outside' of the text in question. Although paratextual theory is mainly aimed at literary and digital productions, it may be of use to the research of books that are intended for usage, like prayer books, its application to the research of the early printed Jewish prayer book is to be left to experts of the discipline. As my research originated in the disciplines of cataloguing, classification and bibliography, as well as in book history, I included some of these paratextual elements in my bibliographical format as seen in the specimens at the end of this work, describing rather than interpreting theoretically. It should be remembered that religious texts are often presented in a rather conservative style, following common tastes and fashions. My encounter with religious texts from many denominations did not show Jewish books to deviate from their cultural context and non-Jewish equals. A title page, like modern *publisher's blurb,* is purely intended to attract as much buyers as possible.

4.4 LITURGICAL RITE, BINDING CUSTOM[52] AND FOLKLORE

Title pages of Jewish prayer books generally include an indication of the liturgical rite they contain, and the various terms used deserve some attention, especially as their often indiscriminate use may cause confusion. The terms *minhag* (liturgical rite, custom), *nusach* (formula), *nohag* (practice) or *shimush* (usage) have often been used alternately and indiscriminately, either on purpose or because it represented colloquial practice.[53] They might also serve a publisher to advertise or promote the sale of a work. In Halakhah the term minhag generally indicates a custom that has the power of binding common law but in its rather indiscriminate popular usage the term could also be used for a custom that may be changed or abandoned by common consent.[54] Halakhists often did not reach consensus on the binding character of numerous minhagim[55] or on the legal definition of this category proper and so in liturgical research it is probably preferable to use the term (liturgical) rite, a word that according to the dictionary has two meanings: 1. A religious or other solemn ceremony or act, ceremony, ritual, observance, service. 2. A body of customary observances characteristic of a Church or part of it. For practical purposes in this study the term *rite* denotes the customary liturgical observance characteristic of a certain group of Jews.

Another term is *nohag*, also meaning custom but without the binding character of *minhag*. It may best be translated as *widely used, accepted [but not binding] practice*. Nusach (formula) denotes that the text follows a locally or regionally accepted formula of the prayers, although it is necessary to know it has another, completely different meaning, namely that of a local or regional tradition of liturgical melodies for various moments in the Jewish year. The last term, shimush (usage) is the most neutral term, denoting practice in a certain place, but again daily terminology may confuse the issue, the more so as Jewish communities often tried to bring decorum into synagogue practice. For this aim Takkanot Bet ha-Knesset (Rules for the ceremonial order) were instituted, administrative rules which, although they are approved by the rabbinate, can be changed at will by the issuing body without altering the local binding minhag.

The founding of the State of Israel has led to mass immigration from all over the world, bringing together people adhering to diverse rites and customs. In the ideology of the young state such divisions preferably had to be overcome and for that purpose the Israeli Defence Force especially tried to publish prayer books representing a Union Rite (*nusach achid*). Over half a century later it must be concluded that this effort proved unsuccessful, as it gradually lost wide support. Apparently the opposite has happened, as is proven by the numerous editions of prayer books according to often very local customs in various parts of the Jewish diaspora.

Synagogue liturgy and prayer are organised not only according to liturgical rite and local custom. Other elements may add to ceremonial practice, e.g. the direction to turn to when the open

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[52] The Hebrew word is minhag and its precise definition is obscured by medieval Ashkenazi discussions on minhag. The yet to be published lemma in the Talmudic Encyclopedia can be expected to list all the relevant halakhic sources to enable a more clear distinction between binding custom and other categories. See for the discussion in late medieval Germany Berger, 2019, pp. 2 ff. On the relationship between minhag and halakhah, see Washofsky, 1993.

[53] See on these terms and their various halakhic interpretations Goldin, 2020; Kanarfogel, 2020, and Lifshitz, 2020.

[54] Some of these issues will be discussed in the context of the prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands.

[55] Hoffman, 1979 discusses a number of examples of Geonim who answered differently on instances where Babylonian and Palestinian customs conflicted. Sperber, 1993 provides numerous of such instances, richly annotated. Undoubtedly the still unpublished lemma *Minhag* in the Talmudic Encyclopedia, which is expected in another year, will provide the necessary sources for a better definition of the subject. However, authors like Avraham Grossman and Israel Ta-Shma have provided a deep insight in the special position of minhag in the Ashkenazi tradition.

Torah scroll is shown to the community, or the use of a common name for a special day.[56] Sometimes folklore enters the liturgy, e.g. certain well-known melodies for special occasions.[57]

All these complexities should warn the researcher of Jewish prayer books not to take statements on the title page at face value but to carefully analyse the contents of the various prayer books so as to be able to establish the specific liturgical rite each of them contains. Understanding the differences between accepted liturgical rites is vital for any student, cataloguer or bibliographer of Jewish prayer books. Throughout the centuries many local and regional rites were printed, some of which are still observed today, whereas others were discontinued, as has happened with manifold local rites that were never printed but have been preserved in manuscript form only.

4.5 UNIFORMITY IN DAILY OBLIGATORY PRAYER

Daily obligatory Jewish prayer is ruled by Halakhah but the rules are not exhaustive, which explains the existence of various rites and even variants within the same rite. Two ideas already seem to conflict with each other in the Mishnah, giving rise to numerous discussions throughout the centuries. On the one hand the Sages repeatedly tell us that 'the words of prayer should be spoken with fluency', suggesting a fixed wording, while on the other hand R. Shimon says:[58] 'When you pray, do not pray in a fixed wording [but let it be every time an original plea for] mercy and supplication before the Lord'.[59] As Jewish obligatory prayer since the Sages of Antiquity is also regarded as 'service of the heart', some leeway was allowed by the leading decisors throughout the ages.

The study of any selection of printed Jewish prayer books has to deal with their diversity, taking into account that the obligatory prayers are not always printed in the same order though they often contain a kind of 'standard' text. Liturgical directions and the like cover a larger territory, providing publishers with an optimal market, which is why they represent the greatest common denominator. Unlike the communal manuscript Machsorim where annotations provide a certain insight into local practice, the printed prayer books mostly did not do so and sometimes the Rules and By-Laws of a community may refer to such deviations.[60] The single fact that a chazzan uses a certain edition of the prayer book does not necessarily mean that he strictly adheres to this text which presents the binding custom of his synagogue, as he may not always follow the exact text that lies before him.[61] Even when a title page states that the rite is that of community so and

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[56] E.g. the last day of the festivals of Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot are known in Dutch Ashkenazi Jewry as *Matnat Yad*, giving according to one's possibilities, the final words of the periscope of that day. Those who went on a pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple should not come empty-handed but donate according to their means. Everybody in the Amsterdam Portuguese community is reminded of this custom as an invitation to donate to the community or perform a specific act of kindness on the Shabbat preceding these festivals, though there is no special term for it. So the name is folklore, donating on the occasion of the festivals is a custom, derived from an obligation when the Temple exists. Singing the Lekha Dodi according to one of the special melodies, composed by pre-Holocaust Ashkenazi Chazzanim for the Omer period or the three weeks preceding 9 Av is likewise folklore.

[57] E.g. it is customary in Dutch Ashkenazi liturgy that for the blessing of a new month melodies are used from festivals or memorial days that fall in that month. The Portuguese community likewise uses special melodies for Kaddish on various occasions.

[58] Mishnah Avot, 2: 13.

[59] Halberstam, 2008, pp. 10-11, 146-148. He explains the relevant passage in the Mishnah to mean: 'You are unable to pray in fixed wording because such fixed wording does not exist since it changes all the time.' This idea may have stemmed from the author's wish to carefully record his father's daily prayer and his astonishment at hearing different versions every time. It also has a precedent in Maimonides, Mishneh Torah Hilkhot Tefilah 1: 4, see Aberman 2019. On the views of Maimonides's son Abraham see Friedman, 1996.

[60] Cf. the Amsterdam, 1911 Ashkenazi *Reglement*, indicating which Selichot on Yom Kippur are skipped, which are printed in the Polak & van Ameringen Machsorim.

[61] A nice example is the 'Blessing of the New Month' in the 22nd Amsterdam edition (1937) of the Siddur *Areshet Sefatayim* in which the order of sentences became mixed up. As this edition was photographically reproduced for

so, such is not necessarily the case. To establish the daily practice in a certain synagogue, place or region, it is necessary – as far as is possible – to study other material as well, e.g. regulations and by-laws of a synagogue or community, the minutes of the meetings of Parnassim (leaders of the community), rabbinates and the numerous responsa relating to specific liturgical customs and discussions.[62] Often changes in the text occurred that were noted in manuscript in one of the communities' printed works, but sometimes such changes were transmitted orally only.[63]

4.6 WAS JEWISH PRAYER CANONISED?

More than 2,000 years ago the Sages 'minted'[64] the outline of the daily prayers; within this binding framework people were relatively free to provide their own formulations. There is ample manuscript evidence to prove that no 'correct original text' ever existed once the Talmud had been finally edited, not in the East or in the West. After that no central body existed with the authority to oblige world Jewry to follow a uniform text of the obligatory prayers, and so it is not possible to reconstruct an original text (Urtext) of Jewish personal or communal prayers and liturgy. Notwithstanding the many similarities between the diverse rites and customs, there has never been a canonisation in the strict sense of the word. It may, however, be concluded that at the beginning of printing Ashkenazi (Eastern and Western)[65] and Sephardi[66] rites had reached their widely accepted, though far from exactly uniform, versions. As stated in the preceding chapter, the terms Siddur and Machsor were used indiscriminately at the end of the Middle Ages, as would continue in the Early Modern period both in Ashkenazi as well as in Sephardi practice.[67]

4.7 CONCLUSION

As I have repeatedly argued, the Jewish prayer book, a vast, complex and often confusing class of books widely varying in title and contents (see also chapter 10), can only be properly understood within its wider historical context. The preceding chapters provided a survey of the history of the Jewish people against the backdrop of world history, as Jewish prayers and synagogue liturgy have their roots in the ancient past. For that reason it was necessary to sketch the origins and development of the Jewish diaspora, explaining at the same time the circumstances that created divergent formulas and rites in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The history of the Jewish people, especially in its various centres of diaspora, provides the necessary information on the creation and development of the Jewish prayer book in all its variegated contents and rites. Early Modernity with its discoveries, the invention of printing, the explosive development of international trade as well as the Reformation, created the conditions for a renewed Jewish settlement in the Northern Netherlands, soon to become a world centre of Jewish book production. This coincided with the rise of the Dutch Republic, more than a century after the invention of printing and, earlier, of paper. The great inventions and discoveries had their impact and in their wake a new world order, political as well as economic, provided a large, international market for books. In Jewish circles printing was soon embraced as a means to provide relatively low-cost texts to a wide public (see chapter 7).

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subsequent editions, with and without a Dutch translation, it was generally assumed that this confusion represented Dutch Ashkenazi custom. In the older Amsterdam synagogues this part of the Shabbat prayers is often read from a manuscript booklet on the readers' desks including the original order of the text, thus illustrating the 'proper' Dutch Ashkenazi custom, which has also been reinstated in the 2018 edition of the Shabbat prayers (p. 301 no. 508).

[62] The regulations in the rules and by-laws of a community or synagogue, or a precentor's manual on their own provide us only with incomplete information on daily practice, as they may as well represent a formal condoning of changing practice. For a number of early modern Sephardi responsa, including on ritual issues see Goldish, 2008.

[63] Another possibility is that the changes resulted from a printing error.

[64] This is the term used in the Mishnah.

[65] See Berger, 2019.

[66] My own analysis of a number of subsequent Venetian editions has shown this to be the case.

[67] This continuity through the 18th century is demonstrated in my bibliographical lists A and B at the end of this study (p. 233; 301).

The more general survey of the Jewish people and their prayers from Antiquity till Early Modernity in chapters 1-4 provides the answer to some questions that are central in this study My predecessors' extensive research of a body of medieval manuscript evidence has compellingly shown that Jewish obligatory prayers originated after the Babylonian Exile (586 BCE) and before the destruction of the Second Temple in 69 CE and that there has never existed a uniform, canonised formula of Jewish obligatory prayer. Though early rabbinic sources forbid changing the Berakhot 'that are minted by the Sages', no uniformity has been witnessed in the texts of those Berakhot. The oldest surviving manuscripts show a wide range of variant prayer texts and also testify to differences between East (Babylonia) and West (the Land of Israel), differences that would eventually develop into the various 'families' of rites (see chapter 11), the most relevant for the study of the prayer books that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands (see chapters 7-8) are the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites. Both traditions would subsequently evolve into various liturgical rites as will be described in chapter 11 of this study, some of which would be printed in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries. It will be illustrated in chapter 8 that some distinctive changes in these editions would continue into the 18th century.

Both Ashkenazi and Sephardi rite seem to have reached a certain fixation in Early Modernity and this is rather the result of halakhic codification[68] which provides the legal boundaries for these prayers, than of printing. In a summary of rabbinic Law on prayer at the beginning of the Early Modern Period special attention was given to the language of prayer in order to answer the question whether Hebrew has been exclusively been prescribed. This subject is discussed extensively in chapter 15 and an anthology of halakhic sources on which my conclusions are based, in the original language and an English translation, is presented in appendix 3 (pp. 337) of this study. Differences between individual and communal prayer will be discussed later in chapters 12-14, with the exception of the repetition of the Amidah in the evening service on Friday or the evening of a Festival, which occur in some Venice, Ferrara and Amsterdam editions and so are discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

The rise of Jewish mysticism and especially of Kabbalah and their influence on the prayer book and synagogue liturgy[69] has been discussed, showing that mysticism since Antiquity is the source of various early prayer texts and this tendency continued in the medieval period. The reception in or rejection of some specific mystical elements from the prayer-book editions in the early modern Northern Netherlands will be discussed in chapters 7 and 8 of this study.

Before turning to the Jews and the supposed origin of the prayer books they printed in the Northern Netherlands it is necessary to explicitly state that the terminology on rite and custom that is found in the various Ashkenazi and Sephardi editions of the prayer book is ambiguous. As has been explained in the introduction to this study, lie the roots of academic Jewish studies in 19th-century Germany, where Ashkenazi tradition and practice prevailed. Although often there was great praise for the Sephardi tradition,[70] most authors focused on Ashkenazi practice and especially terminology, which can obscure some important differences from the modern reader's

[68] The influence of medieval theories on prayer, for example those of individual Geonim and German pietists, on the codices deserves further research. The cumulative way in which such opinions are presented in the codices does not necessarily mean that they are part of the final halakhic position of the codifier.
[69] See also Goetschel, 1987.
[70] Cf. Schorsch, 1989.

point of view. It should be noticed that modern halakhic decisions are often published for a wider, non-specialist public, and often reflect Ashkenazi jurisprudence.[71]

[71] Cf. Angel, 2017, pp. 31-46. For a discussion of the modern debate see Ahrend, 2017.

PART II

THE JEWS AND THEIR PRAYER BOOKS IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS

4 Leo Belgicus
Nicolaes Visser 1609

Oh, I takes dat gospel
Whenever it's pos'ble,
But wid a grain of salt …

It ain't necessarily so!
I'm preachin' dis sermon to show
It ain't … necessarily so.
(George, Ira Gershwin and DuBose Heyward,
Porgy and Bess, Side four, Act II, Scene 2)

Chapter 5
FREE TO SETTLE
The Dutch Republic: a divided Union

Jewish social, intellectual and religious life in the early modern Northern Netherlands cannot be properly understood outside the historical context of the early years of the Dutch Republic. The return of Jewish life to the Northern Netherlands in Early Modernity has been described by amongst others Miriam Bodian, Jonathan Israel, Josef Kaplan and Daniel Swetschinski. A remaining question to be answered concerns the influence of contemporary political and religious conflicts on the settlement of the first immigrants with a Jewish background, mostly of Iberian origin, in the Northern Netherlands.[1] Data on their arrival[2] are scarce but it is clear that Amsterdam became the main centre of Jewish life in the Republic, although other cities were not completely averse against Jewish presence. What was the influence of the many local and 'national' controversies on the fledgling Jewish community, especially in Amsterdam? The legal position of these non-Protestant (and partly Catholic) immigrants and the relevance of the unique copy of a draft of legislation to define conditions on Jewish settlement in the Republic which rests in the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos will be explained. Another question concerns the internal conditions in the young Jewish community: how was it gradually organised, how was the secular and religious leadership organised and what was the relationship between them? At an early stage Amsterdam would give birth to Jewish printing, starting with prayer books and soon become a world centre of Jewish book production and trade, the seat of an unusual free Jewish press, the first Jewish prayer books were printed elsewhere in the young Republic. Questions remain concerning the influence exerted by the States General, the States of Holland and the Amsterdam city government on Jewish religious affairs. The Sephardi settlement and organisations in Amsterdam is extensively described and followed by a description of Ashkenazi immigration, which is regrettably short due to a lack of information regarding the early years of the latter community in the city. The chapter closes with a remark on the reception of the Dutch language by Ashkenazim and Sephardim.

5.1 RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE RESULTS IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Charles V of Habsburg was the ruler of the Netherlands, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Spain. He strongly opposed the spreading, pluriform Reformation movement and was, after his abdication succeeded by his son, Philip II, who had no affinity with the people of the Netherlands, disrespected their privileges and was determined to wipe out the Reformation, which he considered to be the ultimate Christian heresy. The Low Countries revolted in response to a number of harsh measures by Philip II, sparking a war that was to last eighty years (1568-1648). This revolt would ultimately result in the establishment of a state that was unlike any other state in contemporary Europe. It evolved into a republic, though different from the only other republic of the time, Venice.[3] It would lack an absolute central authority such as was exerted by the Doge of Venice or any monarchic leader.[4]

In this period the predominantly Roman Catholic Southern Netherlands, with Antwerp and Brussels as the main centres, still formed the financial, cultural and political core of the Low Countries. The port of Antwerp had established itself as the main hub of trade between Northwest and Southwest Europe, shipping numerous products, including products from the

[1] The Southern Netherlands became an independent state, Belgium, in 1831; there is no evidence in the bibliographic records that prayer books were published in that country before 1863. Any later publications in Belgium are not related to the Dutch Jewish tradition.

[2] Jews were banished from the Dutch territories around 1355. When around 1600 the first Jewish refugees came to the Northern Netherlands from various countries and regions, there was no existing local ritual or any other religious Jewish tradition, whether Ashkenazi or Sephardi. Cf. Blom et al., 2017 pp. 19-54,

[3] Durand, 1973. For a comparison between Venice and Amsterdam in the 17th century, see Burke, 1994. One should, however, remember that Amsterdam itself was not a republic. The city-republics Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi lacked comparable international importance and for that reason are not dealt with in my study.

[4] De Bruin, 1999. The Doge ruled the city-state together with the Great Council.

New World. Initially Iberian New Christians were able to settle in this city without having to fear repercussions at the hands of the Inquisition for those of their relatives who had stayed behind in Spain and Portugal. The fall of Antwerp on 17 August 1585 caused the start of a stream of refugees who took shelter in the Northern Netherlands where, contrary to Portugal and Spain, the Catholic Church had lost its supremacy and with it the power over life and death. The first refugees moving to the North fled from war and destruction or from persecution as Protestants. They would soon be followed by refugees of Iberian descent, New Christians who feared not only for themselves, but were also apprehensive about the fate of those of their relatives who were still living in Portugal and Spain and might be defamed by representatives of the Inquisition in the Southern Netherlands.

The Southern Netherlands ultimately decided to remain Catholic under Spanish rule and on January 6, 1579 signed the Union of Atrecht.[5] On January 23, 1579 the seven Northern Netherlands Provinces signed the Union of Utrecht, one of its articles guaranteeing all citizens freedom of conscience. At the time it was still hoped that the Catholic Southern provinces could be won to join their northern neighbours, the more so as they were not required to embrace Protestantism. This, however, did not happen. In 1581 Philip II was deposed[6] as sovereign of the Northern Netherlands, which became a de facto republic from then on. The war itself attracted international attention, as may be seen in various broadsheets that presented various battles, especially the siege of Oostende.[7]

5.2 STRINGENCY VERSUS MODERATION[8]

The crucial constitutional document for the Republic is the Union of Utrecht,[9] of which article 13 is essential for our understanding of the discussion on religious freedom: 'As far as concerns the point of religion those of Hollant and Zeelandt behave as they think well and the other provinces of this union have the right to regulate it according to the content of the religious peace … or impose internally generally or privately such order as they think applicable for the peace and welfare of the provinces, cities, and their individual members, and for the preservation of anyone's spiritual and material property and justice, without that [an individual] in such instance may be hindered or prevented by another province, provided that anyone may remain free in his religion and that nobody may be persecuted or researched[10] because of his religion …[11] [my translation]. It is clear that this text was drawn by lawyers after many and long deliberations and would cause many fierce discussions. Already on February 1, 1579 an 'explanation of article 13' was published: 'As some have apparently objected to the 13th article of the union … as if the meaning and intention had been nobody else to receive within the union than … Roman Catholics and Reformed. For that reason the deputies who signed the union declare, to remove all misunderstanding and distrust, that such was, nor is the intention …'[12] In practice this resulted in the personal freedom of conscience and religion of all citizens of the participating provinces and cities, but not in the right to exercise public religious ceremonies, meetings or services.

At the turn of the 16th century, the recently established Union of autonomous states was in fact a confederation of sovereign provinces and equally sovereign and privileged cities. The Union lacked a proper central government and bureaucracy, and its success was often the result of very

[5] Called Arras in French.
[6] In a proclamation known as the *Acte van Verlatinhge* (The Act of Abjuration).
[7] It was called 'Life Academy of War' but has no further relevance for this study.
[8] For this and the following paragraphs I am deeply indebted to Frijhoff and Spies, 1999 and Prak, 2012 and 2020.
[9] Groenveld and Leeuwenberg, 1979; Groenveld et al., 1979; Van Gelder, 1972.
[10] A clear reference to the inquisition.
[11] November 8, 1578.
[12] Groenveld and Leeuwenberg, pp. 34 ff.; Zijlstra, 1989.

adequate regional and local authorities. Even though in the end unanimity was replaced by the majority vote, each of these provinces amounted to a confederation itself, with binding decisions only to be taken unanimously. To reach such unanimity, a culture of dialogue and the readiness to make concessions was essential (even now it is one of the hallmarks of Dutch society). Also, when the Union (the States General) or a province decided on a certain policy, decree or even law, any free city retained the right not to implement such a decision.[13]

That the rights of the Calvinist public Church to delineate the boundaries of toleration would for a long time be a central cause of conflict was, alas, unavoidable. Over the spiritual welfare that was the aim of the Calvinist clergy, the generally less stringent civil authorities put the [material] welfare and peace of their province or city. Competition between provinces, cities and regions, as well as the need for unanimous decisions unavoidably led to a constant search for compromise in which the borders of article 13 of the Union often had to be stretched.[14] Various reformatory movements, such as Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonites and Arminians, were locked in a constant struggle for acceptance,[15] with their leaders launching fierce polemics on orthodoxy and heresy. The motives for toleration were mostly pragmatic rather than ideological.[16] It should be expressively be stated that Jewish inhabitants were not considered to be part of society,[17] however, as soon as they became an important economic force, like in Amsterdam, city governments were prepared to tolerate Jewish worship and activity as long as such would not weaken their position in the States of Holland. It is therefore understandable that the first editions of Jewish prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands as will be shown later either contained a spurious imprint or even did not mention the place of printing.

Although the young state was organised as a republic, certain parties would rather promote the commander in chief of the 'national' army into being the head of state. Except for the oligarchic Republic of Venice, Europe was otherwise ruled by clerical or secular monarchs. It explains the ambition of the successive Stadholders of the House of (Orange-) Nassau who kept the function of Captain-General, Commander in Chief, to formally become Head of State of the Union. This ambition, however, conflicted with the determination of several privileged provinces and cities which strongly upheld a formal republic, afraid as they were to have their sovereignty compromised. The Reformed Church claimed religious supremacy within the Union and, preferring a monarchy for ideological and political reasons, automatically took sides with the Stadholder who was seen as its protector.[18] This struggle between opposing parties would continue, in one way or another, until the end of the 18th century, when France occupied and subsequently annexed the Northern Netherlands. In the 17th century, however, it long remained uncertain which party would ultimately be victorious. This struggle is, as will be discussed later, reflected in regulations on prayers for the authorities, even in Jewish prayer books. After a thwarted coup by Stadholder William II against the rebellious city of Amsterdam, the 1651 "Grote Vergadering" (Great Assembly) in The Hague decided to 'completely abolish Stadholdership for ever'. At the end of the First Anglo-Dutch War, Holland subsequently added a secret Act of Seclusion to the peace treaty, promising 'never again [to] appoint a Prince of Orange or any member of the House of Orange to the "high offices" of the State, to the

[13] Frijhoff & Spies, 1999, p. 94 ff.
[14] Although the Calvinist public Church gained a mighty position in Holland, the States had to approve the church order, a right that was not seldom used to moderate stipulations against the heterodox and even Jews. This poses the question whether the States also reserved their right to approve the regulations and by-laws of the Jewish communities.
[15] Israel, 1998, pp. 361 ff.
[16] Rooijakkers, 1986.
[17] Van Gelder, 1972 p. 1.
[18] Wielema, 1993.

stadholderate or captaincy general'. As often happens, *never* is a relative term, in this particular case lasting only until 1672, the 'Year of Disaster', when war again broke out, not only between the Republic and England, but also between the Republic and France and Spain. This had, as will be shown, repercussions for Jewish book production and trade. Now William III of Orange was appointed as Stadholder and supreme commander of the army and the fleet. The position of William III and his successors would continue to depend on their popularity with the people until the revolution of 1795 which for the moment put a stop to the rule of the House of Orange.

How did these discussions influence the settlement of immigrants of Jewish descent? Various cities differently dealt with immigrants who wanted to openly live as Jews.[19] Again, the absence of a real central government explains the different positions that provinces and cities took on the settlement and conditions of Jews in their territories. In Amsterdam it was in 1612 that two apparently contradictory events deserve our attention against this background: a set of three Jewish prayer books was printed in Amsterdam, but still no place is mentioned on the title page. Until now no objection against such a publication is known to have been raised. On the other hand, the City Fathers were compelled to prohibit the building a house with its ground floor serving as a public synagogue[20] but at the same time private synagogues were tolerated. As Amsterdam Jews until the second half of the 17th century continued to meet some restrictions, it is necessary to discuss the religious pluriformity and the limits of the Calvinist Church in the Republic. The Dutch-Reformed Church may have been the public church, but it lacked ultimate power because of the guaranteed individual freedom of conscience and religious practice as expressed in article 13 of the Union of Utrecht.[21] Nevertheless, it became generally accepted practice that non-Calvinists were not allowed to practice their religion in public in any formally Calvinist province or city. In practice, only the Calvinist Church was allowed to organise 'open' religious activities, whereas other denominations enjoyed freedom of religion in the private domain. What constituted public and private domain was up to the provinces and free cities, who were at liberty to implement official decisions or allow their citizens to deviate from them, even from their own!

To understand the position of the young Jewish community in the Northern Netherlands, some essential controversies have to be mentioned. Amongst those of Iberian descent, a number had an extensive international network of trade and financial backers. As such, they soon became involved in the economic expansion of the Dutch Republic which could not be completely denied at least some rights. As their contribution to the wealth of the Republic in general and of the city of Amsterdam in particular extended, it became unavoidable that the State's institutions would have to take an official stand on Jewish presence. In the first two decades of the 17th century two major subjects dominated public discussion: the Twelve Years Truce (an armistice between the armies of the Republic and Spain, 1609-1621) [22] and the religious struggle between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants.

The armistice between the Republic and Spain, signed in 1609, had been enacted mostly by the efforts of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the moderate Advocate General[23] of the States General. It was supported by those provinces, cities and merchants that profited most from the absence of acts of war. Also the Remonstrants, a Protestant denomination that had more liberal views on predestination and the Catechism, supported the truce. It was opposed by Maurice, Prince of Orange and Captain-General of the Republic's army, as well as by the stringent public Calvinist

[19] On various aspects of returning to Judaism see Kaplan, 1999.
[20] See p. 64.
[21] Van Deursen, 1979; Po-Chia Hsia and van Nierop, 2002
[22] The Twelve Years' Truce.
[23] The senior civil servant.

Church and by many leaders and members of the population, who saw it as an opportunity for the Catholic Spanish tyrant to strengthen its depleted forces and thereby weaken the defence of the provinces against the unhoped for restoration of Spanish rule. The conflict between advocates and opponents of the armistice is relevant for the position of the Jewish immigrants at the time, as well as for early Jewish book production and trade in the Republic, and especially in Amsterdam. Van Oldenbarnevelt was seen as a traitor to both Church and State.[24]

Around 1615 the States of Holland ordered two lawyers, (the Remonstrant, moderate) Hugo Grotius[25] and Adriaan Pauw, son of one of the Amsterdam Burgomasters with stringent Contra-Remonstrant sympathies, to draw up a proposal to regulate the settlement of Jews in the province.[26] It is unknown whether the draft that has been preserved is the result of the collaboration between the two lawyers or reflects only Grotius' input.[27] Although Amsterdam originally supported the armistice, van Oldenbarnevelt and the Remonstrants, in 1618 it was compelled to a volte face in the States of Holland and so van Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius could be arrested. The former was executed in May 1619 after a show-process, and Grotius was imprisoned in Loevestein Castle, from where he escaped in a book-chest and went into exile. At the time Jewish prayer books were, as will be explained hereafter, published, explicitly mentioning Amsterdam and the printer at the title-page. The proposal to limit the rights of the Jews in the republic, however, like Hugo Grotius, disappeared until it showed up at an Amsterdam book-auction in the 19th century and was in a later auction acquired by Ets Haim. The importance of the Jewish residents for the Dutch Republic was stressed in 1657 when the States General issued a declaration that its Jewish inhabitants should be considered and treated in other countries as citizens of the Dutch Republic.

5.3 AMSTERDAM BETWEEN HAMMER AND ANVIL

At the beginning of the 17th century Amsterdam rapidly expanded and became the de facto capital[28] of the budding Republic, and so occupied a special position. It would soon also become the centre of the young and newly founded Jewish community in the Northern Netherlands. The arrival of immigrants of Jewish descent, especially those who wanted to live as Jews, caused debates on their acceptability in the Republic. Towards the end of the 16th century numerous individuals and entire families left the Iberian Peninsula, some of them in the process of rising Mercantilism, as sketched in chapter 4, others to look for asylum in the Northern Netherlands, sometimes only after having narrowly escaped death, having been libelled or betrayed even by relatives.[29] These refugees had often been subjected to torture and had often faced the terrible prospect of being burnt at the stake (auto-da-fé) at the hands of the Spanish, but predominantly the Portuguese Inquisition. After the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Spain in 1492 and their forced conversion to Catholicism in Portugal from 1497, these New Christians or Conversos had been constantly under suspicion of being crypto Jews,[30] which makes it understandable that many set their hopes on a country that was openly defying the King of Spain in a struggle for freedom of religion and of opinion.[31] As described previously the nascent Dutch Republic at the time underwent various complex developments, especially the long and fierce

[24] Van Aken, 1947. Van Deursen, 1974.
[25] He was the private assistant and protégée of van Oldenbarnevelt and is called 'Father of International Law'.
[26] Eysinga, 1950. The draft of the regulation is kept in the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos MS EH 48A02.
[27] See Grotius, 2019.
[28] Even though the political leadership of the Dutch Republic and its governmental institutions resided and would continue to reside in The Hague. For the position of Amsterdam, see Frijhoff and Prak, 2004.
[29] E.g. Salomon, 1982.
[30] Yerushalmi, 1981; Salomon, 1982.
[31] Israel, 1998, pp. 169 ff.

struggle for power between the party of the Stadholder (later known as the *Orangists*) and the party of the republicans. In this struggle the position of the Jews was often at issue, if not always explicitly.

The Iberian immigrants, often well educated in secular subjects,[32] frequently came from a background of international trade and banking, enabling them to assume control in that field of activity from their predecessors, the Lombards. Earlier I explained the pressures on Iberian Jewry since c. 1390 which lead to a decline of Jewish learning and knowledge. However, as explained in the extensive literature on the conversos, the idea that the Iberian immigrants lacked any knowledge of Judaism, cannot be proven. Though the Sephardi immigrants encountered an environment that was undoubtedly a vast improvement compared to what they had been used to, it was far from ideal. All the same, the climate in the nascent Dutch Republic in general, and in its booming economic and cultural capital Amsterdam in particular, has on the whole been qualified as tolerant in *Jewish Memory*.[33] It is better to speak of *toleration* as opposed to *tolerance*, though, as the latter is a relatively modern concept.[34] The toleration of minorities is generally recognised as a main factor in the Dutch Republic's rise to world power, as is the contribution by the many refugees that settled there. These included *New Christians* who arrived both from the Southern Netherlands and directly from the Iberian Peninsula and who would soon occupy a unique position in Dutch society, as has been affirmed by historians like Johan Huizinga,[35] Jonathan Israel, [36] Yosef Kaplan,[37] Maarten Prak[38] and Daniel Swetschinski.[39]

5.4 AMSTERDAM, THE CRADLE OF SEPHARDI LIFE

The historiography of the settlement and religious organisation of the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam was for a long time mainly based on three somewhat later, mythical[40] sources starting in the last decades of the 17th century: Daniel Levi de Barrios,[41] Uri ben Aron Halevi[42] and David Franco Mendes.[43] These earlier sources, part myth, part fact, often, as argued by Daniel

[32] Apparently many of the immigrants had been educated at Jesuit schools, where a trilingual curriculum was common, see Bergman, 2006. However, even in these cases it is not to be expected that they had more than a certain passive mastery of Biblical Hebrew. It must have been advisable for them not to engage in any study that might lead to suspicions of 'Judaising'. Only a thorough study of Jesuit school archives may give us any insight into this aspect of formal education. On the cultural continuity with Iberian culture, see Swetschinski, 1982b.

[33] Yerushalmi, 1983.

[34] Swetschinsky, 2004. See also: Berkvens et al., 1997; Frijhoff, 1997; Huussen, 2002; Kaplan, 2007; for the 18th century, see: van Eijnatten, 2003 (no discussion on Dutch Jews, but providing much relevant information).

[35] Huizinga, 1941, p. 82: 'The Jews in the Dutch Republic and in Dutch civilisation represent a unique chapter in world history. … They were not persecuted or isolated from the rest of the population.'

[36] Israel, 2017, p. 98: 'The Northern Netherlands never belonged to the large Jewish centres but Dutch Jewry from the beginning of the 17th until the end of the 18th century became one of the world's most influential Jewish communities because of their importance for international trade, monetary traffic, culture and political competition.' See also: Israel, 1989. IDEM, 1990.

[37] Kaplan, 2007; IDEM, 2017.

[38] Prak, 2012; IDEM, 2020.

[39] Swetschinski, 2017. See also: Berkvens, 1997; Frijhoff, 1997; van Rooden, 2002.

[40] Cohen, 1987; Swetschinski, 2004, p. 168.

[41] Triumpho del govierno popular y de la antigüedad holandesa (Amsterdam, 1683). Pieterse, 1968. On his religious poetry, see Scholberg, 1962.

[42] Narração da vida dos Judeos espanhoes a Amsterdam, 1711. Halevi, 1933; Salomon, 1989.

[43] Memorias do Estabelecimento e Progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espanhoes nesta Famosa Cidade de Amsterdam: Recapilados de Paneis Antigos Impressos e Escritos, no Ao. 5529 (1769). Franco Mendes, 1975; Fuks-Mansfeld, 1980; Melkman, 1951.

Swetschinski,[44] offer contradicting chronological data on persons and organisations[45] However, new research, often based on the study of archival sources, provide more reliable information, although proven facts on the earliest period remain few. [46] The initial period of Iberian immigration started around 1600[47] and ended in 1639, when three existing Sephardi communities, which will be discussed hereafter, merged to become a new community, Kahal Kados de Talmud Tora (*K.K. de T.T.*), which still exists today.[48]

Iberian migrants already in the 16th century started to organise 'Spanish and Portuguese' Jewish communities in various Italian cities and in the eastern Mediterranean, e.g. Constantinople, Salonika and Izmir. In the Northern Netherlands, however, both Spanish and Portuguese immigrants were known as *Portuguese*, probably not only because of the war with Spain, but, as Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi has repeatedly shown, because in contemporary Spain *Portuguese* was already synonymous with *of Jewish origin*. In Amsterdam, these Sephardi immigrants began organising their communities and synagogue services already in the first decade of the 17th century.

As explained earlier in this chapter, fierce polemics were waged at the time. As the Iberian immigrants were often international merchants, they could only thrive in (relatively) peaceful circumstances. The first period of Iberian Jewish immigration was mostly if nor total of an urban character, nothing is known about rural areas. Amsterdam was not the only city to accept Jewish immigrants, although others, e.g. Haarlem and Rotterdam, sometimes stipulated an initial amount of Jewish families. A strong segment of Sephardi families with their established international connections and commercial networks could make quite a difference for a city, giving it better arguments in the discussion with secular and religious opponents of the acceptance of non-Christian settlers. As the Reformed church considered Jews worse than Protestant dissidents[49] and at least as bad as Catholics, city governments were forced to navigate between the Scylla of the church and the Stadholder's party and the Charybdis of a possible declining trade and sovereignty, and also between the interests of the province of Holland and those of the city itself. This policy often led to tokenism, such as the official declaration of laws and decrees that were issued by the States General, the States of Holland and even the city government itself, though compliance was never enforced, which was deemed justified as being necessary to the interests of the city.

Amsterdam soon became the leading commercial power in Holland and in the Republic, where Sephardi Jews soon accounted for a disproportional part of the profits of international trade.[50] Even so, the tapestry of tensions underlying this social reality, however, even at a local level, required a careful and constant reviewing of available options, as well as flexibility, in this case on the part of the Amsterdam city government and its Jewish community. On the whole, economic

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[44] Swetschinski, 2004, p. 168.

[45] Ibid: 'Traditionally, researchers have been content to check these seventeenth-century traditions against other established facts in an effort to determine whether they were largely factual or fictitious. They generally sought too hard for solutions, failing to recognize that the traditions themselves may be part of the story'. The same contradictions muddle the information that is found on the Internet, which should therefore be used with the utmost reticence.

[46] Israel, 1989; Koen, 1970; Salomon, 1983; Swetschinski, 1996; Vlessing, 1993.

[47] Swetschinski, 2017 p. 71 dates the start of Portuguese settlement in the Republic in 1592-1593.

[48] Meijer, 1949-1950 provides data on various Portuguese persons, but covers only the letters A-Farar.

[49] Augustijn, 1998. On the debates between orthodox Calvinist scholars on Jews, Judaism and millenarianism, see van Campen, 2006. On Jewish-Christian encounters in the 17th century, see van den Berg and van der Wall, 1988.

[50] Amsterdam was a port city, "attracting the very poor, sailors, servants, and other temporary laborers, as well as petty merchants and more affluent economic agents" (Ruderman, 2010 p. 26, 220. For 'Port Jews' see Sorkin, 1999. See also Prak, 2012; Antunes and Roitman, 2015; Oostindie and Roitman, 2014; Roitman, 2009.

and political interests eventually weighed heaver where the Jewish community was concerned: the taxes and imposts levied were a great boom for the struggle for independence, and the continuity of these payments by the Jewish community was guaranteed by the existence of their international networks. In 1621, just after the war with Spain had been resumed, the West India Company was established, which would bring great profit to Amsterdam, Holland and the whole Republic. It would also bring great financial gains to those members of the Portuguese Jewish communities who had decided to become shareholders. In the end, the Calvinist church in the Republic had to accept that the Jewish community received a nominally minimal protection under article 13, securing them freedom of conscience and religious service, though not in public. Every province and privileged city was authorised to set conditions and as we have seen, even quota for the settlement of Jews. They could anyhow still be excluded from the right to practise certain professions and trades. Encountering early local stipulations on the settlement of Jews and its conditions, one has to remember that in the Northern Netherlands at the time many proclamations and laws were issued that were not implemented. What was the real legal position of the Jews in the Northern Netherlands, including Amsterdam, in the first decades of the 17th century still deserves further research.[51] Early Jewish book production in Amsterdam is connected with the institutions of the early Sephardi community and to unravel some of the details, it is necessary to discuss the community's secular and religious leadership, as well as the most important institutions.

5.5 AN ORGANISED SEPHARDI COMMUNITY

As Frijhoff and Spies have explained,[52] immigrants in the Dutch Republic organised themselves in communities according to their places of origin. They were therefore people who shared the same group identity (geographical, linguistic and religious). The leaders of these communities would often take responsibility to guarantee that members of their communities kept public peace and so give no cause for offence. The coexistence of cultural and religious groups created an environment in which kindred spirits easily managed to encounter each other. In this atmosphere it was not difficult for the newcomers of Iberian origin whose communal identity was that of the 'Naçao Portugueza'[53] and who formed a community in a city that soon became a hub of international trade routes, a crossroads of trade from North to South and from East to West.[54] As Jewish life and organisations for a long time had been banned from the Iberian Peninsula, the immigrants could not imitate Jewish Iberian models for their communities in the Northern Netherlands. For social institutions however, like supporting the poor and visiting the sick, they may have copied the Catholic brotherhoods which were widespread in their countries of origin. As will be stated later, the Rules and By-laws of the 1639 united Talmud Tora community repeatedly refers to Venetian precedent and as early rabbinic leaders often came from Venice, that model may have been followed already at an earlier moment, but this has to be studied elsewhere.

Already at an early stage the Jewish community of Amsterdam lived under self-rule, 'a viable and generalised system of interlocking and autonomous judicial, fiscal and welfare institutions',[55]

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[51] Kollodzeiski, 2010 only deals with such laws and proclamations, but rightly connects the discussions with article 13 of the Union of Utrecht.

[52] Frijhoff & Spies, 1999, p. 161.

[53] For the way in which Dutch Jews were connected with world Jewry and inspired other communities, see Kaplan, 2008.

[54] Ruderman, 2010 pp. 65 ff. clearly describes the special position of Leghorn (Livorno) and Amsterdam where the Converso immigrants founded communities, whereas elsewhere they often found existing Jewish communities.

[55] Israel, 1988, p. 151. On Jewish autonomy, already common in the medieval period, see Baron, 1952-1983 vols. 1-3; Ben Sasson, 1976, pp. 593-611; Cohen, 1996; Finkelstein, 1964; Grossman and Kaplan, 2004; Kaplan, 2017 pp. 135 ff. For Jewish autonomy in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire, see Hacker, 1988; Ravid, 1978.

which was also true for all of European Jewry in the period 1650-1713. As has been mentioned, the influx of the many newcomers with international relations in trade and banking greatly contributed to the rise of Amsterdam as the most important city in the Northern Netherlands.[56] The city government was inclined to let economic interests prevail over religious discussions and tolerated freedom of religion in as far as it did not cause any disturbance of the public peace.

They appointed a formal leadership, called the Mahamad, from the ranks of their wealthiest members. As until recently membership of the Mahamad came by election, but in fact was by co-optation, this executive body represented an oligarchy. The Mahamad represented the entire community as well as its individual members. It thus acted as the formal liaison between the Amsterdam city government and the multiform Jewish community, passing judgements on its members and acting as sureties for their debts, within and outside the community without any intervention from civil courts. Another, not less important aim of this Board of Directors of the community was social care: the poor and the sick had to be cared for and as not all new arrivals from Portugal and Spain were directly able to support themselves, a policy had to be agreed on. From the beginning through the 18th century the Mahamad opposed beggars and advocated schooling and professional training to enable those who were in need to at some time to provide in their own needs.[57] When the amount of needy people became too large, they could receive a premium to emigrate to the Holy Land or to the New World, given passage on the ships in which the rich community members owned shares.[58] The rabbinate, although it was the ultimate religious authority, was subordinate to the Mahamad and the rabbis were seen as employees of the community.[59] The Mahamad first had to take into consideration the general, mostly financial, interest of the young but fast growing community under its responsibility, causing a delicate navigation between the limits of what was desired and what was possible. As the Amsterdam city government was in a similar situation, in which all parties involved had to constantly test the acceptable forms of individual freedom while taking care not to provoke the privileged church too much.[60]

An early example, to be referred to later in this chapter, is the 1612 injunction by the Amsterdam city government[61] against the building of a house[62] that would also serve as a synagogue. Such a house would without any doubt necessarily have been regarded as an official synagogue. This could not be allowed, as even dissident Protestant denominations – let alone Catholics – were denied official churches. To overcome the difficulty, the plot was bought by a non-Jewish member of that same city government who built the house and leased it to the Jewish community. This solved the problem, as the space served for prayer services in private![63] The 1639 synagogue of the united Sephardi community which will be described later in this chapter, was established by converting two warehouses, which could therefore be regarded as the

[56] De Vries, 1995, especially section 9.4 'De crisis en de Nederlandse buitenlandse handel', p. 426 ff. See also Israel, 1988, pp. 35-69.
[57] Lieberman, 2010.
[58] Bartal and Kaplan, 1992; Cohen, 1982. On the role of Jewish entrepreneurs in the founding of Dutch settlements in the New World, see Klooster, 2009b.
[59] For that reason it is understandable, though not self-evident, that the Amsterdam Chacham Jacob Sasportas fiercely criticized a similar situation in Livorno.
[60] Brienen, 1981, pp. 109-139.
[61] On the Amsterdam city government see: Elias, 1903.
[62] Swetschinsky, 2004, p. 12, 172.
[63] Nadler, 2018, p. 34 states that the Amsterdam city government closed the three existing private synagogues, which were supposedly restored into use in 1620. As the article by E.M. Koen (Studia Rosenthaliana, vol. 4, 1 (1970), pp. 25-42) on which Nadler bases himself does not mention any such resolution in the municipal archives, this statement cannot be corroborated without further evidence. The question furthermore remains whether such a resolution was implemented, even when issued.

equivalent of a 'huiskerk' or 'schuurkerk' (a clandestine church housed in a home or in a shed)[64], informal and therefore condoned under the freedom of religion practised in private.

5.6 THE MAHAMAD AND THE RABBINATE

As was discussed previously,[65] Early Modern Jewry in Europe witnessed a continuous struggle for supremacy between its secular organisational leadership and the rabbinate. Jewish Amsterdam from its beginning knew the same struggle for authority between the Mahamad and the Rabbis which left many traces. Sometimes such conflicts are seen as signs of internal Jewish censorship, e.g. in cases like those of Menasseh ben Israel and Baruch Spinoza.[66] In 1629 the Mahamad intervened in the publishing by rabbi-teacher and printer Menasseh ben Israel[67] of the work Sefer Elim by Rabbi Joseph Solomon Delmedigo.[68] This book included a critical comparison of the Ptolemaic and Copernican cosmographic systems. As this was a very controversial topic in the international discourse at the time, the Mahamad must have felt the weight of responsibility to protect their community. There was always the risk that such a publication would compromise the public peace, both within the community and outside it. Instead of taking what the Mahamad saw as unnecessary risk by publishing a work that might potentially cause much trouble, it decided to submit the planned publication to rabbinical arbitrage. This decision was surely not taken to remain safely within the limits of orthodoxy,[69] but to prevent any damage which the publication of a work that defended Copernican cosmography might cause. Menasseh's rabbinical colleagues could be expected to understand the reactions in the Christian world and so were chosen to assist the Mahamad. The Portuguese Jewish secular leaders, as sophisticated and devoted to Judaism as they may have been, were certainly not familiar with the differences between the Catholic Church, which they knew very well, and the various reformed denominations on this score.

The imposing of the strongest ban that Judaism knows in 1656 as a punishment of Baruch Spinoza is perhaps the best known and notorious example of the Mahamad executing its power by ordering the rabbinate to punish a member of the community who had repeatedly defied the people who were 'his elders' and superiors by right. Although this sanction, publicly proclaimed by the Rabbinate, but on order of the Mahamad, is generally explained as a rabbinical initiative for the purpose of removing a source of heresy from the community,[70] this is not necessarily so. As stated in the case of *Sefer Elim*, it is my opinion that the Mahamad was not primarily concerned with upholding orthodoxy and for that reason I concur with Odette Vlessing that its aim probably was to punish Spinoza who previously had turned to a civil court to file for bankruptcy and by doing so had cast doubt on the surety pledged by the Mahamad. Afterwards Spinoza also wanted to dispose of his late father's estate according to civil rather than Jewish law, threatening the cohesion of the community. On top of that his highly controversial views must have been circulating, putting the position of the Portuguese Jewish community itself in jeopardy,

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[64] See www.canonvannederland.nl

[65] P. 35.

[66] Weekhout, 1998, pp. 100-101.

[67] See also p. 118ff. Menasseh was not only important as the first Jewish printer of Hebrew books in Amsterdam, but also as an author whose ideas were widely studied in non-Jewish learned circles. Rauschenbach, 2012; Rosenbloom, 1992. For a bibliography of his works see Coppenhagen, 1990.

[68] Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591-1655, also called *Yashar from Candia*) was a rabbi, physician and astronomer. He was born in Iraklion, Greece and studied at Padua University. After his time in Amsterdam he moved to Prague where he died. Cf. Barzilay, 1974; Geffen, 1973-1974; Pulver, 1993.

[69] As assumed by Nadler, 2018, pp. 54-57. See also de Jong, 1979 p. 156: whether [the authorities] abhorred religious persecution because they had some ideas on tolerance, as they were indifferent to all those religious conflicts as they appeared to destroy the economy of their society … is unimportant in this context [my translation from the Dutch].

[70] On conflicting philosophical views in the Amsterdam Sephardi community, see Kaplan, 1992.

so the Mahamad decided that enough was enough.[71] The question remains what was 'the straw that broke the camel's back': the open and repeated disrespect shown to the Mahamad, or the wish to stifle the controversy that went far beyond the Amsterdam Jewish community and even the city of Amsterdam itself. Parnassim were directly involved in the intricate political controversies of the time. As they had to guarantee the financial obligations of the members of their community, they could be expected to put the interests of the community over those of one of their employees without discussion, empathy, or considering his prestige. Furthermore, few oligarchs are known to look benevolently on their challengers. The abundant use of the ban by the Mahamad would eventually lead the authorities of Amsterdam to caution the Mahamad to be careful in banishing any members of the Jewish community who were troubling the leadership.[72] The Mahamad would continue to choose its own arbiters, such as when it later invoked rulings by the Polish-Lithuanian Council of the four lands.[73]

5.7 SEPHARDI RELIGIOUS LIFE

No information is available on the religious knowledge of the Sephardi immigrants who came to the Northern Netherlands, whether they came directly from Portugal or through France or cities like Hamburg.[74] They have mostly been assumed to have lacked any Jewish knowledge.
In his numerous publications Yerushalmi already proved that, in spite of all persecutions, they very probably preserved and cherished a number of Jewish traditions. Obviously, however, in their original homeland those Jews who had been compelled to convert had tried to uphold the pretence of an impeccable Roman Catholic life for their neighbours.[75] Reliable information on people, locations and the chronology of early prayer services is scant and as the initial period was characterised by private initiative, it remains outside the scope of my study, which starts with the founding of the first official Jewish community in Amsterdam.

5.7.1 BET JACOB, FOUNDED 1604

It is known that the first Jewish prayer services in Amsterdam were organised in the private accommodation of Jacob Tirado, who was born in Portugal around 1540 and reached Amsterdam by way of Emden in northern Germany. After his name the first Jewish community in the Early Modern Netherlands was called Bet Jacob (the house of Jacob) and though there is scarce information on the founders, no documented information is available on the communal services and their rite during the first years. The first spiritual leader of the Sephardi Jews was the Ashkenazi Jew Moses Uri ha-Levi. He arrived in Amsterdam from his original home town Emden but left Amsterdam around 1612 and passed away in Jerusalem in 1620. On his departure he donated the Sefer Torah he had brought with him from Emden to Bet Jacob. It is probably the earliest Ashkenazi Sefer Torah with the so-called irregular letters[76] and cannot longer be used in the service. By including an illustration of two columns (illustration 7) of this almost unknown Sefer and another one of the irregular letter פ (illustration 5) I hope to further interest in the research of this scroll.

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[71] Vlessing, 2002.

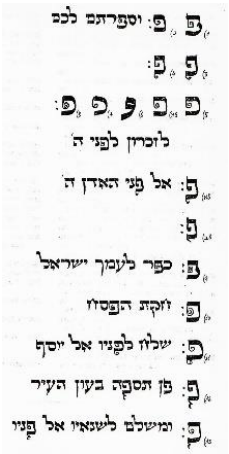
[72] Kaplan, 2000 pp. 108-154; Méchoulan, 1979-1980.

[73] Great Poland (Poznan), Little Poland (Cracow), Red Russia (Lvov) and Volhynia, with a special representation of Lublin and Lithuania (Bresk-Litovsk). Correspondence of the Mahamad with the Lublin Jewish assembly has been preserved. See: Bartal, 1999; Ben Sasson, 1984; Ettinger, 1993. On the relation between the Amsterdam Portuguese community and the Ashkenazi world see Kaplan, 1989.

[74] On the Sephardim in Hamburg, see Stundemund-Halévy, 1994.

[75] See e.g. Salomon, 1982.

[76] Razhabi, 1978. Experts of the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Israel and of the Jerusalem Ot Institute date the scroll at the beginning of the 14th century. The parchment is of low quality and the scribe was not a gifted professional. The sefer deserves further expert research, e.g. to establish if all the irregular letters follow the opinion of Maimonides in his Hilkhot Sefer Torah.



5 The irregular letter פ as depicted by Razhabi, p. 174.

Until today, Tirado's name is kept alive in the Amsterdam Portuguese synagogue by a silver Torah shield which he commissioned in 1606 and which is still used as an adornment to the Sefer Torah that is publicly read on Rosh Chodesh, the first day of a new month. In the Ashkenazi tradition such a shield, which is most often made of silver, belongs to the ornaments of a Torah scroll, but its use is unknown in the Western Sephardi tradition as is also observed in the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community. The only exception with respect to the Sephardi tradition in Amsterdam is the Tirado shield (illustration 6), which was produced by the silversmith Leendert Claesz van Emden in Amsterdam in Ashkenazi style. It had been commissioned by Jacob Tirado and his wife Rachel, who afterwards donated it to the first Sephardi community to be founded in Amsterdam.[77]

6 The Torah shield that was donated by Jacob Tirado.

Jacob Tirado, Leendert Claesz and Uri ha-Levi therefore have Emden in common, which may explain the use of an Ashkenazi ornament in a Sephardi synagogue, as Tirado probably first saw it in an Emden synagogue. Jacob Tirado may be seen as the founder and eponym of Bet Jacob, which is considered to be the first Portuguese-Jewish community to have developed from his

[77] Inventory no. PIG 0174. I wish to thank Mirjam Knotter, curator at the Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum, for her information on the object. See also Knotter, 2013 p. 163.

private synagogue.[78] This was to remain the largest and most active Jewish community in Amsterdam for about 35 years. Reliable data on other founders are not available.[79]

7 Two columns in the Sefer Torah donated by Uri ha-Levi.

5.7.2 NEVE SALOM, FOUNDED 1608?

At one point the Neve Salom community separated from Bet Jacob. Earlier authors differ in opinion about the specific date, the immediate cause of the separation and any liturgical differences that may have existed between the two communities. Jacob da Silva Rosa,[80] without

[78] Vlessing, 1993. In a presentation for the Dutch Association of Jewish Studies (GJS) in c. 2006, Odette Vlessing referred to archival documents in the Amsterdam city archives, which she intends to publish soon, proving that Bet Jacob was founded in 1604.

[79] Da Silva Rosa, 1925, p. 6 mentions Jacob Israel Belmonte and Samuel Pallache as the first administrators of Bet Jacob apart from Tirado. The only source for this statement is De Barrios, 1683. As the earliest document to witness the arrival of Pallache in the Low Countries dates from 1608, it is impossible to confirm De Barrios' data. See: Wiegers and García-Arenal, 2003

[80] Da Silva Rosa, 1925, p. 14.

providing any documentation, claimed 1608 was the year of its foundation. Jacob da Silva Rosa, who was Librarian of the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos, had free access to all Amsterdam Portuguese archives and as such may have based his statement on existing documents that so far have escaped attention.[81] Another possibility is that he referred to an autograph manuscript of David Franco Mendes describing a wooden panel from the Tebah in the original Neve Salom synagogue in which the year was represented in relief.[82] There is no reason to ignore David Franco Mendes as an eye witness to such an artefact, or the inscription he described.

Other authors accept the year 1612 as the founding date of Neve Salom, as in that year the administrators of Neve Salom commissioned the Amsterdam 'carpenter' (i.e. building contractor) Hans Gerritz to build, as mentioned on p. 59, a large house that was also intended to serve as a synagogue. Protests by the Reformed Church, however, forced the city government to forbid the Jews from living in the building or use it as a synagogue under penalty of destruction.[83] The ownership of the building was subsequently transferred to a member of the city government, Nicolaes van Campen, who allowed Neve Salom to use it for their services! In this way the city government of Amsterdam ostensibly gave in to the demands of the Reformed preachers to ban the building of synagogues and Roman Catholic churches, but nevertheless offered unlimited freedom of religious activities in a private setting.

Some authors think that the publication of a three-volume set of the Sephardi prayer book marks the foundation of Neve Salom,[84] but this suggestion is not supported by additional evidence. This 1612 edition will be discussed and placed in perspective in chapter 7.

There is no concrete information available whatsoever about the motive to create a second Sephardi community in Amsterdam. Salomon[85] states that the founding of Neve Salom resulted from its members' wish to shift from the Ashkenazi to the Sephardi liturgy. This is unlikely, however, considering they were supposed to be people without sufficient Jewish knowledge, especially regarding the finer differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites. The earliest information on Sephardi customs and rites in Amsterdam can be found in Joseph Shalom Gallego's Imrei Noam, Amsterdam, Menasseh ben Israel, 1628 and the Ascamot of the Kahal Kados de Talmud Tora of 1639.

Jacob da Silva Rosa states that the founders of Neve Salom mainly came from Spain,[86] implicating that Portugal was the original home of the majority of the members of Bet Jacob. Swetschinski[87] points to similar developments in other places of refuge such as Constantinople

[81] Pieterse, 1964. Fuks, 1975. The Pieterse inventory is not detailed, whereas the Fuks catalogue is unsatisfactory for more than one reason. E.g. many of the Ets Haim manuscripts are bound together in 'Sammelbände' or convolutes and the separate texts have not received sufficient attention and cataloguing.

[82] The relevant manuscript is still in the collection but its shelfmark has not yet been identified amongst the many Franco Mendes autographs in the Ets Haim Library. I have seen it in the 2000s but have not been able to recover my original reference (the many manuscripts written byDavid Franco Mendes, partly on single leaves, have not been catalogued sufficiently). The panel is no longer preserved in the synagogue and may not have survived the destructions of World War II.

[83] Swetschinsky, 2004, p. 12, 172.

[84] E.g. Fuks, 1989, p. 50 f. This study must be read with caution as solid evidence is often lacking. The claim, for instance, that Rabbi Joseph Pardo was not familiar with the mindset of the Iberians who had only recently returned to Judaism completely disregards Pardo's service as a member of the Venice Sephardi Rabbinate, where such Iberian refugees were quite numerous.

[85] Salomon, 1982, p. 151.

[86] Da Silva Rosa, 1925, p. 14.

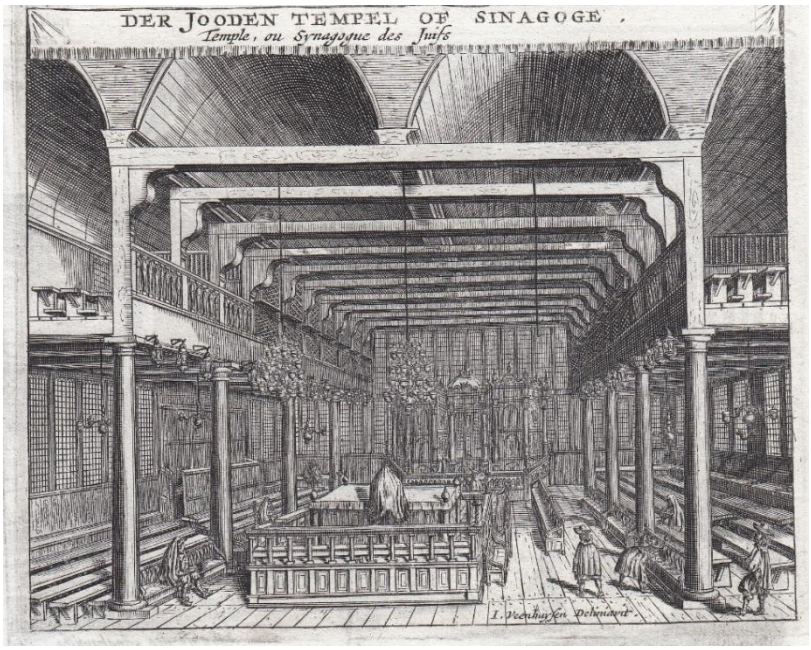
[87] Salomon, 1982, pp. 173 ff.

and Salonika, where large numbers of Sephardi refugees founded separate communities in accordance with those in their places of origin.[88] This may also have happened in Amsterdam when young groups of Sephardi immigrants first split into various communities but reunited in 1639, to remain unified until today.

5.7.3 BET ISRAEL, FOUNDED 1618

A fierce and well documented conflict between a few members of Bet Jacob in 1618 resulted in the foundation of the third Amsterdam Sephardi community, named Bet Israel.[89] The cause of this conflict is commonly attributed to differences of opinion, family relations and different positions on questions of tradition and modernity.[90] At the heart of the controversy stood Dr Abraham Farar, who was an administrator of Bet Jacob and had the support of David Curiel, another prominent member of that community. Isaac Uziel, the Chakham of Neve Salom also took part in this ferocious row which led to the dismissal of the Chakham of Bet Jacob, Joseph Pardo, and another administrator, Baruch Osorio. These two then went on to found the Bet Israel community. A salient detail in this conflict is the appointment of David Pardo, Chakham Josef's son, as the religious leader of Bet Jacob. He accepted the position, stating it would enable him to contribute to the reunion of both communities, an aim that would only be realized in 1639.[91] The Bet Israel community acquired a building on the Houtgracht which served as their synagogue from 1618 to 1639.

In other places, too, similar conflicts and divisions are known to have arisen among New Christian refugees who in their quest for a Jewish identity connected with others who shared their social and regional background, being part of the *naçao portugueza*.



8 The interior of the 1639 synagogue, by I. Veenhuysen.

[88] The same had happened in the Venetian Ghetto Nuevo where two Sephardi synagogues were erected: the Scola Spagnola and the Scola Levantina. See also my remark on p. 5, note 33.

[89] Saperstein, 2005, p. 175/6 quotes a document of the Bet Din (Rabbinical Court) of Venice dated November 1618 in support of his claim that the original name of this third community was *Ets Haim*. See for this document Salomon, 1984, pp. 181-199. However, I have not been able to find any other source that confirms the third community was originally called Ets Haim.

[90] Cf. Swetschinsky 2004. p. 176.

[91] Da Silva Rosa, 1925, p. 10. Saperstein, 2005, p. 7 states about David Pardo: "[he] was in second place".

5.7.4 THE UNION OF 1639: THE NEW KAHAL KADOS DE TALMUD TORA

Bet Jacob, Neve Salom and Bet Israel already decided to unite in 1638 but as Jacob da Silva Rosa[92] tells us, there was still a minor question to settle: the order in which the representatives of the three communities were to sign the covenant, as each of them claimed precedence over the others. The problem was solved by Rabbi David Pardo who provided each party with a fresh copy to be signed exclusively by each one of them! Already in their first meeting the representatives decided to expand the Bet Israel Synagogue (illustrations 8-9), which would serve as the new common sanctuary from then on. The union was finally ratified on April 3, 1639 when the community members accepted the bylaws of the new community, Kahal Kados de Talmud Tora.[93]

9 The exterior of the 1639 synagogue by P. Persoy.

The early Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish communities gave birth to some important institutions, pious chebrot which served all members of Bet Jacob, Neve Salom and Bet Israel. Also, once in Amsterdam the *New Christians* would soon establish a modern Jewish educational institution.

5.7.5 BIKUR HOLIM

On 24 Kislew 5370 (December 20, 1609) 18 members of Bet Jacob founded the Bikur Holim fraternity, which was tasked with visiting and aiding the sick, supplying medical aid, providing shrouds, ritual washing and burial of the dead and support of the mourning relatives.[94] There was also a second fraternity within Bet Jacob called Talmud Torah, which was in charge of organizing education. These fraternities extended their services to the members of Neve Salom. The two communities gradually expressed the wish to formalize their cooperation through an administrative board whose members were to be appointed by the board members of Bet Jacob and Neve Salom.

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[92] Da Silva Rosa, 1925, p. 46.

[93] See: Libro de los acuerdos de la Naçion y assi mas los Ascamot … hechos los acuerdos en 29. de Hesban 5399 y las Ascamot en 29. Tamus de dicho Anño y acabadas y firmadas en 28. de Ab 5399. Manuscript EH 48D43. The Rules and Bylaws were written according to the Rules of the Sephardi communities in Venice, as appears from the many references in the text, e.g. 'the ban according to the Venetian model'. It was this type of ban that would play an important part in communal affairs until the last quarter of the 17th century, a notable case being Spinoza.

[94] Paraira and da Silva Rosa, 1916. The information is apparently derived from Daniel Levi de Barrios, Triumpho.

On 4 Sivan 5376 (May 20, 1616) representatives of both communities signed an agreement to unite both fraternities under a joint administration.[95] As history shows, this agreement was not implemented and both institutions continued to exist under the administrative responsibility of Bet Jacob. The position of Bikur Holim to some degree differed from that of Talmud Torah, as is shown by a document from the Venetian rabbinical court that was issued in 1618 to reach a compromise between both communities. It stipulates that the statutory anniversary of Bikur Holim not only had to remain fixed on Hanukah 25 Kislev – 2 Tevet as had been the practice since 1609, but also that its annual celebration had to take place in the Bet Jacob and Neve Salom synagogues alternately. It is unknown whether this compromise was ever implemented.[96]

5.7.6 DOTAR

Founded in 1615, the oldest still functioning Jewish fraternity is 'Santa Companhia de Dotar Orphas e Donzellas pobres' which was established to provide dowries for poor and orphaned girls.[97] On the occasion of its fourth centenary the Board published a booklet with afternoon prayers.[98]

5.7.7 TALMUD TORAH / ETS HAIM

Talmud Torah, which remained an independent fraternity under the administration of Bet Jacob, was exclusively concerned with Jewish education. The children of members of Neve Salom and later of Bet Israel, too, were also admitted. As the first administrators of the renewed Talmud Torah were appointed Abraham Gabay, David Abenatar Melo (who kept his position until 1621) and Rohiel Jessurun, who was treasurer. The official name of this independent fraternity within the Bet Jacob community was for the time being, and perhaps for the sake of prestige, 'Talmud Torah Bet Jacob' or 'Talmud Torah de Bet Jacob'.

The aims of the fraternity according to its 1616 charter included 'everything pertaining to religious education in the widest sense of the word, paying the teachers' salaries, the necessary educational equipment, scholarships for needy students, as well as prayer books and tefillin.'[99] The celebration of its anniversary since the 1616 reorganisation remained Shavuot (6 Sivan), when new administrators replaced their predecessors and took office. This was solemnly announced in the synagogue on the first day of Shavuot before the reading of the Torah with a special blessing for the new administrators. From then on the president of the fraternity was responsible for the order of the synagogue services of the day. After the decimation of the community as a result of the Holocaust, the educational activities of the institutes came to an end because there were no longer enough pupils. Only the famous library is still functioning in the location it has occupied from the time the great Portuguese synagogue complex in Amsterdam was inaugurated in 1675.[100] It is the world's oldest existing Jewish library still in use.[101]

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[95] See the first page of the Livro de Termos in Gedenkschrift opposite p. 13.

[96] Swetschinsky, 2004, p. 182 states: 'With regard to Bikur Holim, the two congregations agreed to retain their independence.' A curious detail, reflecting this controversy, is found in Gallego's 1628 Imrei Noam on fol. 35 verso: the Piyyut *Roni wesimchi Chevrat Talmud Torah* amongst the Piyyutim for Chanukkah. On the care for the poor see Levie-Bernfeld, 2012.

[97] Bodian, 1987; Levie-Bernfeld, 2015; Pieterse, 1995; Revah, 1963; Roitman, 2005a; Idem, 2005b.

[98] Mienchat Dotar.

[99] Gedenkschrift, pp. 13-14. The importance placed by the founding fathers and their successors on the supply of prayer books and tefillin to pupils in need seems to have escaped earlier researchers.

[100] The collections, together with the endowed private collection of its librarian 1866-1916, David Montezinos, are protected by the Dutch Cultural Heritage Act.

[101] The unrivalled riches of the collection were already extolled by Shabtai Sheftel Horowitz (Vavei ha-Amudim, Amsterdam 1648) and Shabtai Bass (Siftei Yeshenim, Amsterdam, 1680) in the introductions to their works.

Talmud Torah was a school that provided Jewish education on all levels, from basic instruction up to rabbinical studies. It was clearly based on Jesuit practice and their Latin Schools.[102] The pupils were placed in classes according to their age and level and each class had its own teacher, although some subjects were entrusted to special instructors. Accordingly it was the Chakham of the community who taught Hebrew to the youngest pupils of Talmud Torah, showing the importance the institution awarded to the quality of Hebrew studies. Each Chakham prepared himself for his task by writing a grammar.[103] The composition of Hebrew poetry and rhetoric soon became a subject of paramount importance for the students of the highest grades.[104]

Chakham Saul Levi Morteira (c. 1596-1660) in his work 'Tratado da verdade da lei de Moise',[105] repeatedly refers to Jesuit education, which indicates that this type of education was customary for Conversos. It may be assumed that these Latin schools in principle offered a trilingual curriculum, but even when Conversos had been instructed in biblical Hebrew, their level of proficiency may not have risen above a certain passive mastery of the language. Any interest a Marrano child might have wanted to show in the study of Hebrew would most certainly have led to the suspicion of 'Judaising'. A thorough study of Iberian school archives might provide more information on the subject.

Students of Talmud Torah were exempted from tuition fees, but one of the bylaws also stipulated that the fraternity should provide scholarships to needy students. Many recently arrived families were so poor that the income a pupil would otherwise have provided could not be missed to help sustain the family, and so a scholarship meant compensation for the time the child was at school and could not work. In 1637 the board of Talmud Torah decided that they lacked sufficient means to provide scholarships for all the gifted pupils from needy families. As a result they founded a separate charity for this aim called Ets Haim, whose administrators were appointed by the board of Bet Jacob. Later that year it was decided to unite the boards of Talmud Torah and Ets Haim and put the principals of the second fraternity in charge of Talmud Torah. Soon the Institute itself was renamed 'Academia y Yesiba Ets Haim'.[106] As the name Talmud Torah was now free, it was used two years later for the new united Portuguese Jewish community whose name remains unchanged to today. Jewish education at the institute was carefully and systematically organised: the basic knowledge and skills were to be acquired first before pupils were introduced to the classics of Jewish literature and Halakhah.

The final stage toward rabbinical ordination focused on the practical application of Halakhah in daily life: instead of studying Shulchan Arukh, the students now had to study Arba'a Turim, Bet Joseph and decisors.[107] Those students who wanted to be appointed to the rabbinate were trained in deciding on practical matters and had to answer in writing certain specific questions posed to

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[102] See Bergman, 2006 and Gedenkschrift.

[103] Copies of such grammars have been preserved in the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library, the still existing library of that venerable institute, e.g. Menasseh ben Israel, Sapha berurah (EH 49D7) and Isaac Aboab, Melekhet ha-dikduk (EH 47C12/3 and 47E4). On early modern Ashkenazi Hebrew grammars, see Zwiep, 2007.

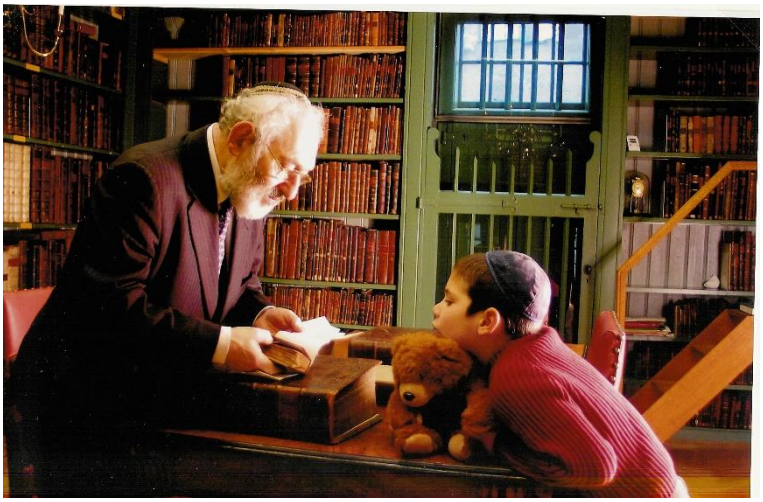
[104] Cf. Berger, 1996.

[105] Edited and translated [into Portuguese and Dutch] by H.P. Salomon, 1988. Morteira's theological views on immortality, reward and punishment contradicted those of his colleague and eventual successor Aboab, see Altmann, 1972.

[106] After the Law on Education became effective in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the 19th century, the official name became *Portugees-Israëlietisch Seminarium Ets Haim*.

[107] The Ets Haim collections contain significantly more editions of the Tur than of the Shulchan Arukh (with the exception of a number of editions of the parts Yoreh De'ah and Even Ha'ezer, titled *Ashlei ravrevei*, resp. *Apei ravrevei*, which apparently were extensively studied for their commentaries). An exquisite collection of responsa by Sephardi as well as Ashkenazi authorities points to the importance of these works in the institute. On the reception of the authority of the Shulkhan Arukh in Ashkenazic Jewry, see Davis, 2002.

them by the Chakham. After a week, they had to submit their reasoned decisions to their peers, who would give their views on the issue, after which a decision could be reached. If a majority could not be found for a specific decision, it was left to the Chakham to decide. These responsa, to be compared with the academic theses by university students, were published in the years 1691-1798, in editions consisting of 12-18 copies and titled 'Peri Ets Haim'. The responsa deal with all aspects of Jewish life, e.g. family law, dietary laws and financial matters such as compensation for damages and joint ventures. By the time they had graduated, the students were therefore fully qualified and authorised dayanim.



10 The Ets Haim Library, seat of education.

When Jewish education was regulated under King William I of the Netherlands 200 years later,[108] the Ashkenazi communities in the Kingdom found it easy to base their regulations on the already existing model of the Dutch Portuguese Jews, who ever since 1616 had tried to keep education at Ets Haim up-to-date by continuing to adapt the activities of the school to the changing social circumstances.

5.8 Ashkenazim in Amsterdam

After the extensive description of the Sephardim, their chief institutions and leaders, any discussion of the initial period of Ashkenazi settlement in the first half of the 17th century can only be disappointing. It is necessarily brief due to the relative lack of sources on their institutions and leaders.[109] The early period of Ashkenazi settlement in the Northern Netherlands is even less documented than that of the Sephardim.[110] At first only individual Ashkenazim arrived in the Northern Netherlands and only later they would come in groups, meeting three existing Sephardi communities. Many of the first Ashkenazi Jews to have come to Amsterdam seem to have been

[108] Laws for religious education in 1817 and for the examination for rabbinic authorisation in 1819.
[109] Michman, 1985 and 1992; Kaplan, 1989; IDEM, 2000; IDEM, 2017; Shulvass, 1971; Sluys, 1940.
[110] See Kaplan, 2017.

kosher butchers[111] who were employed by the Portuguese Jews.[112] They may have been immigrants who fled the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648),[113] initially prayed together with the Portuguese and were buried in their cemetery. Also for the Ashkenazim Amsterdam became the main centre of organised Jewish life and culture. Both groups came to places without an existing Jewish tradition and organisation, but as Ashkenazi groups arrived later, they originally leaned on and followed local Sephardi precedent. Social and cultural differences between the Iberian Sephardim and Ashkenazim, but also within the latter group of immigrants, prevented their integration into a more or less homogenous Jewish group and caused many internal frictions. Most founders of the Sephardi institutions originated from Portugal and Spain and most of them had been Conversos, whereas the Ashkenazi immigrants came from much more diverse regions, all of which knew continuous Jewish life and tradition, but were diverse in their synagogue rites. Where the former group counted amongst its members many wealthy, if not rich merchants who soon formed a reigning elite, the mostly poor Ashkenazim had no choice but turn for help and to follow the Sephardim in their organisation as an autonomous community. The differences in Jewish life and learning between Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and the Baltic states constantly caused fierce arguments between the various Ashkenazi immigrants, often exploding in the synagogue. As the extremely limited amount of wealthy Ashkenazim was unable to cope with the needs of the numerous needy newcomers, they had to condone begging, which was completely inacceptable for the Sephardim as it was both hopeless and destructive for self-esteem, causing contempt from the non-Jewish population.

As stated earlier the Ashkenazim originally took part in the Sephardi synagogue services, where after some time they constantly disturbed the order, due to disagreements between those, who hailed from various places, and therefore the Portuguese eventually expelled their Ashkenazi brothers from their synagogues, forcing them to organize their own synagogue services in 1635. The 1639 Rules and Bylaws of the united Sephardi Kahal Kados de Talmud Tora explicitly forbade non-members to attend its synagogue services. Non-members were not allowed to go beyond the wooden barrier at the entrance in the 1675 synagogue until the middle of the 20th century either. The Ashkenazim opened a formal synagogue in 1642, the same year they bought their own burial lot in Muiderberg. In 1649 they would open a new synagogue on Houtgracht, where their Portuguese brothers also had their place of prayer. As modern literature confuses by providing contradictory data, here follows an overview. In 1985 a pictorial history of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Community (NIHS) was published 'at the occasion of its 350-year existence'.[114] The authors, like their predecessors who in 1935 had organised the first festive celebration of '300 years Amsterdam Ashkenazi Community', misinterpret a statement by Menachem Man Amelander, quoting 'Maharam Maarsen': 'In Amsterdam they, the Ashkenazim, **in** the Holy Community Amsterdam, for the first time made minyan on Rosh ha-Shanah and

[111] Although rifts between Ashkenazim and Sephardim over kosher slaughtering and the selling on kosher meats are repeatedly mentioned by historiographers, e.g. Kaplan, 1989 p. 43, they do not mention their main course. Where Ashkenazi jurisprudence is often more strict than Sephardi one, the rules for kosher beef, lamb and goat of the latter are more strict, especially when relating to the lungs. Although Ashkenazim are allowed to eat meat from Sephardi slaughter, Sephardim were not allowed to eat from Ashkenazi slaughter. For that reason, Amsterdam Jewry had two kashrut authorities for meat and for that reason had to employ their own personnel, used to a specific routine. An impost on the meat that was sold not only covered part of the costs for the community, but also served to provide meat to the poor who could not afford it on special days, e.g. festivals. After World War II all kosher slaughter in the Netherlands followed Sephardi law to enable Portuguese Jews to eat meat when the community was decimated to the extend it could not afford to provide its members with meat according to their own standards.

[112] Kaplan, 2017, p. 134 states, explaining the poverty of the Ashkenazi immigrants, that they were mainly peddlers, meat-sellers, butchers, vagrants and beggars (*Betteljuden*).

[113] Halperin, 1968 (on the Jewish refugees in Eastern Europe); Kaplan, 1989.

[114] Cahen, 1985.

Yom Kippur 5396 …'[115] The term 'Holy Community Amsterdam' is clearly used by Maarsen to refer to an Ashkenazi minyan which held its services on the High Holidays of 5396 (=1635) rather than an organised Jewish community. The following facts are presented in Pinkas:[116] 'The first Ashkenazi service was held on the High Holidays of 5396 [1635], but there did not yet exist an organised community. During Sukkot they were still allowed to attend the services in the Portuguese synagogue as they did not have the means to obtain an Etrog. A year later in 1636, however, they had to hire a small room for their own use. An independent Ashkenazi community was founded in 1639, doubtlessly because of a stipulation in the Rules and Bylaws of Talmud Tora … banning non-members from participating in the services in the Portuguese synagogue.'[117]

So far the initial period of organised Ashkenazi life in Amsterdam, on which Kaplan comments that these Ashkenazim shared with their Sephardi brethren the awareness to belong to universal Jewry.[118] Pogroms in Poland (the Chmielnicki massacres in 1648-49) and Lithuania (following a Russian invasion in 1655-56) led to a new influx of refugees from Eastern Europe[119] in the Republic, intensifying the already existing internal Ashkenazi conflicts.[120] These may seem to have revolved around customs, but had more to do with behaviour, money and power than the urge to adhere to a supposedly original tradition of the fathers. In the end, strict rules were laid down for synagogue decorum which until recently were continuously revised.[121] Eventually this would lead to the founding in 1660 of a separate Polish Jewish community which, however, was dissolved by a decree of the Amsterdam city government in July 1673.

It was stressed earlier that the Jewish community was autonomous, but the intervention by the Amsterdam city authorities in the internal affairs of the Ashkenazi communities in 1673 raises the question whether this was the only such instance. Perhaps this intervention is directly related to the city government's urgent request to the Sephardi Parnassim to use the ban with greater restraint. The argument put forward by the civic authorities was that the peace had been disturbed and that they had therefore been forced to intervene. As I have been able to establish that the Amsterdam Ashkenazim repeatedly approached the Amsterdam city government for their approval of the rules for the ceremonial order of the synagogue service and subsequent changes proposed during the 18th century,[122] it was necessary to look deeper into this subject. After the Dordrecht synod (1618-1619), secular authorities had reserved the right to establish the Protestant Church Order, although the only other information on the subject relates to a 1663 controversy on the formula of a prayer for the secular authorities that was said in the churches.[123] This suggests that the secular Dutch authorities, including the Amsterdam city government, claimed supremacy in questions of church order. Further research on the influence on, and possible interventions by, the secular authorities on the affairs and regulations of Amsterdam Jewry is called for. Now we return to the 17th –century Amsterdam Ashkenazim. They also sometimes turned to the Council of the Four Lands[124] to mediate in their controversies, e.g. during the 1666 Shabtean frenzies. Only in 1670 would the Council formally condemn Shabbetai

115 Cahen, 1985, p. 9.
116 Michman et al., 1985, pp. 44 f., IDEM, 1992, pp. 17 f. On the records of Ashkenazi communities outside Amsterdam, see Litt, 2008.
117 Translation AWR.
118 Kaplan, 2017, p. 132.
119 Shulvass, 1971. For the cultural background of these immigrants as created in the 16th century see Reiner, 1997b.
120 On early modern Jewish communities in Poland see Teller, 2010.
121 *Takkanot Bet ha-Knesset* as explained on p. 142.
122 See p. 74, 146, 150ff.
123 The same order was observed in the synagogue, as will be explained later in my discussion of the prayer for the secular authorities which is included in the Jewish prayer books, p. 147.
124 See note 72.

Tsevi and his mystical followers.[125] Rivalry between the 'German' and 'Polish' Ashkenazim continued after their separate communities were forced to unite. In 1680-1684 the Council again tried to arbitrate in their conflict over the young and highly controversial Polish rabbi David Lida. It is clear that by 1684 the prestige of the Council with Amsterdam Ashkenazi Jewry was beyond waning.

Was Amsterdam unique in the Jewish world in allowing the existence of more than one independent communities, each with its own rabbinical court? As Venice not only had four independent Jewish communities,[126] but had also succeeded in organising them by means of clear administrative regulations, Venice became the paradigm for Amsterdam. In 1639 (the year the three existing Sephardi communities united) the Amsterdam Ashkenazi leaders asked the Mahamad to assist them in drawing the laws and bylaws of their new community, which in both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi communities became to be based on the Ponentine Venetian model.[127] A clear difference and a source of struggle between the Amsterdam Ashkenazi and Sephardi leaderships was and would remain until the end of the 18th century the approach with regard to beggars. Most immigrants around the middle of the 17th century were penniless refugees. Since Talmudic times it had been the obligation of a community's leadership to contribute towards the upkeep of the poor and needy. To this purpose the Sephardi Mahamad in 1642 founded the Abodat Chesed brotherhood, whose aim was to provide professional education and training to the Askenazi poor, to provide them with work during their training and teach them a virtuous life, thereby restoring their self-respect. It was, however, clearly impossible to provide jobs for all of the indigent Jewish refugees, perhaps even for the majority of them, so many were given a certain amount of money and a free passage on one of the Dutch ships to the New World to build a new and better life there. There was thus over a long period of time a vast influx in Amsterdam of Ashkenazi immigrants who were extremely poor and often virtually uneducated. In the absence of a buffer of successful and affluent businessmen, merchants or bankers, these immigrants posed an insurmountable challenge for the leaders of the Ashkenazi community, who were left with no choice but to condone begging. This in turn gained them the contempt of their Sephardi brethren.

The history of the first public and monumental synagogues in Amsterdam is an interesting one: the Ashkenazi Great Synagogue, designed and built by Elias Bouman, was inaugurated on March 25, 1671. It is rather understandable that this initiative, by a community that had not yet managed to become strong and united, stung the thriving Sephardi community. This is clearly reflected by a petition to build a new synagogue which was presented to the Mahamad by a group headed by Chakham Isaac Aboab on November 16, 1670.[128] The time had come, according to the petition, to show the Almighty the community's gratitude for its present peace and wealth. A committee to work out the plans for the new 'Temple' was installed immediately, which presented its conclusions on November 26, 1670, three days after an inspiring homily by Aboab. On December 12, 1670 a lot was purchased and on April 17 of the following year the building of the new synagogue started under the supervision of its designer, the same Elias Bouman.[129] The 'Year

[125] On contemporary Ashkenazi reaction to Shabtai Tsevi, see Méchoulan, 1987; Radensky, 1997; Sasportas, 1954; Shazar, 1978. On the latter, see: Wallet, 2012 pp. 60-62.
[126] The Ponentine, Levantine, German and Italian communities.
[127] Israel, 1988, p. 162.
[128] Together with Menasseh ben Israel, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1693) had been Chakham of the Amsterdam Neve Salom community. He later became Rabbi of the united Portuguese community Talmud Tora. He emigrated to Brazil, but returned after the country was retaken by Portugal. Author of some laudatory poems in works, published by Menasseh and should not be confused with the printer Daniel da Fonseca. His views on reward and punishment, as well as on immortality conflicted with those of his colleague Saul Levi Morteira, see Altmann, 1972.
[129] De Castro, 1950.

of Disaster' 1672 caused the building activities to halt, however, and it was not until August 1675 that the new synagogue could be inaugurated.[130] So for once the Amsterdam Ashkenazim were ahead of the Sephardim. From that time on, their community would far outgrow the stagnating, and later diminishing Portuguese community. In 1685 the Ashkenazim added a synagogue that was built over the slaughterhouse behind the original building,[131] in 1700 a smaller one[132] and in 1730 a new main synagogue,[133] bringing all four official Ashkenazi synagogues together in one location.

A final word on the relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim[134] in 17th-century Amsterdam: the Polish[135] refugees apparently surpassed the German Ashkenazi immigrants in Jewish knowledge, causing the sympathies of the Mahamad to rest with the former. Before the beginning of the 18th century the Ashkenazi Amsterdam rabbis cannot said to have been prominent men of Jewish learning.

Ashkenazi supremacy in one particular field showed itself in the practical side of Amsterdam Jewish book production: most of the compositors that are known by name were Ashkenazi craftsmen, as will be described later.[136]

5.9 Did Ashkenazim and Sephardim speak Dutch?

The linguistic aspect of the successful adaptation to their new surroundings by the Jewish immigrants deserves additional research. The literary language of the Iberian immigrants, who spoke either Spanish or Portuguese depending on their country of origin, was Spanish, although all of the official documents of the Sephardi communities were written in Portuguese until the first half of the 19th century. Ashkenazi immigrants during the same period mostly spoke Yiddish. It requires further research to answer the question at which pace the Dutch vernacular was mastered by the Iberian and Ashkenazi immigrants, if only for daily purposes.[137] At least one work[138] containing Jewish prayers (not ephemeral publications) in Dutch was published during the 17th century, but a single edition in itself is no basis to draw conclusions.

5.10 Conclusion

How did the early political history of the Dutch Republic reflect of Jewish immigration and the printing of Jewish prayer books? It is clear that the settlement of the first immigrants with a Jewish background in the Northern Netherlands, most of them of Iberian origin, was encouraged by the favourable situation in the Dutch Republic. Its successes in the War of Independence against Spain led to increased immigration into the Republic, especially from the Southern Netherlands. The rapid expansion of international trade provided a livelihood for many

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130 That the Amsterdam Jews at the time felt they owed their position to the stipulations in the Union of Utrecht is best illustrated by one of the texts that accompanied the large engraved print of the interior of the synagogue by Romeyn de Hooghe: 'Dits 't leerhuis van de Wet, 't gebeedenhuys der Jooden, een Boumans Meesterstuck, de eer van 't nieuwe werck Aen d'Amstel en het Y; deed Godt geweyde kerck Vreest geen geweeten-dwang noch pijnigingen noch dooden. Wast eedle Judaestam, en laet u looten bloeyen. Wat doet de kracht van 't lant als borgers aenwas groeyen.'

131 Called *Obene Shul*.

132 *Dritte Shul*.

133 *Neie Shul*.

134 Eliasar, 2018. As this master thesis focusses on the history of two Amsterdam families and does not break ground in the history of Early Modern Amsterdam Jewry, no further references are made in my study.

135 I.e. Eastern European.

136 On the production of Yiddish books for the Ashkenazi commonwealth see Berger, 2004; IDEM, 2006.

137 The remark by Fuks, 1998, p. 49 on their knowledge of Dutch may oversimplify matters. De Ruiter, 2014 does not convince as he only makes assumptions without corroborating them.

138 See list A no. 74 (p. 244).

newcomers, and those with an existing commercial network were received with open arms. The city of Amsterdam grew rapidly at the beginning of the 17th century, welcoming all kinds of newcomers, from unskilled labourers, craftsmen and merchants to financial professionals. It must also be said, however, that it would take decades before the legal and social conditions of those communities not belonging to the public Calvinist Church became more or less defined. It explains a paratextual phenomenon that will be discussed in chapter 7, the incomplete or fictitious imprints in the first editions of Jewish prayer books published in Dordrecht and Amsterdam. The constant need for political consensus influenced the policies of the Amsterdam city fathers, at one time allowing the developing Jewish communities to exercise religious freedom, at another time compelling them to avoid any appearance of public synagogue services. In this respect it is interesting to see that Jewish prayer books with a full Amsterdam imprint were published in the years 1617-1618, at a time when the religious and political conflict between the public Calvinist Church and Prince Maurice of Orange on the one side and the States of Holland on the other, was reaching its culmination. In 1651, after Stadholder Willem II had unsuccessfully tried to seize control the year before, Amsterdam finally reached the point where it could operate with some autonomy in Holland, leaving the city free to deal with its minorities as it saw fit. [139] New research might shed light on the question which decrees were issued by the authorities, but were subsequently circumvented or simply not implemented.

The Iberian immigrants with their international connections began contributing to the economic expansion of the city soon after their arrival. Within twenty years, the Amsterdam Sephardi community numbered three separate prayer groups, although there are no sources available regarding their customs and rites. Three educational and social organisations have been described: Bikur Holim, Dotar and Talmud Torah/Ets Haim, illustrating the connection between them and the first community Bet Jacob. The early models for the organisation of these three groups are perhaps to be found in Venice, but this requires further research. The struggle for supremacy between the Mahamad (Parnassim) and the rabbinate in Amsterdam followed the same pattern as elsewhere in Europe, as discussed by David Ruderman.[140] In Amsterdam, it resulted in a complete victory for the secular leadership. The Ashkenazim started to arrive in numbers only a quarter century later and found their way in the minor, but essential activities in daily life. For their organisation they turned to the Sephardim, which explains why they as well accepted the Venetian model of organization. The States General, following the Dordrecht Synod (1618-1619), had decreed it was their right to approve the Church Order of the public Calvinist Church. In the second half of the 17th century, the Amsterdam city government not only expressed its disapproval of the Sephardi Mahamad's liberal imposition of the ban, but also compelled the two separate German and Polish Jewish communities to unite, a clear example of a possible infringement on the autonomy of the Jewish organisation. As will be discussed in chapter 8, the explicit reference to the several civic authorities in the Dutch Republic that was introduced in the Amsterdam Sephardi ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer at one point, strongly suggests that a proclamation which had been issued in 1663, requiring a prayer for the government to be said in churches, was also observed by the Sephardi leadership although it has not yet been established when this phenomenon started. The above instances might provide a starting point for further research on the extent of the government's intervention in the internal affairs of Amsterdam Jewish communities. It will later on become clear that in the 18th century, the Ashkenazi community had to obtain the consent of the city government to introduce rules on the ceremonial order of the synagogue and any subsequent changes they wanted to make (see chapter 8). Atpresent there is regrettably little information on the acquisition of Dutch by Ashkenazim and Sephardim in the 17th century.

[139] Unlike in 1648 as witnessed by the rejection of Menasseh ben Israel's request to be exempted from the prohibition for Jews to open shops in that year, see p. 184

[140] Ruderman, 2010, pp. 133-158.

Chapter 6
VENICE AND FERRARA 1519-1555

The first two Jewish prayer books in the Northern Netherlands were printed in Dordrecht in 1584, exactly 99 years after the first Hebrew prayer book, containing the rite of Rome (Casal Maggiore/Soncino, 1485-1486), was printed. They contained the prayers according to the Sephardi rite in an Iberian Jewish vernacular and have been called by Sigmund Seeligmann, Adri Offenberg and Harm den Boer 'unaltered reprints of Ferrara 1552-1555 editions'. In order to check this claim and establish the position of the Sephardi prayer books that have been printed in the Northern Netherlands, this chapter provides a description and analysis of the Ferrara editions mentioned and previous Sephardi prayer books in Hebrew only or in Hebrew opposite a Spanish translation that were published in 1519-1552 in Venice. The discussion of textual and paratextual elements in all those Sephardi prayer books will be closely followed in chapters 7 and 8 for the evaluation of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries. The halakhic position of Hebrew and vernacular as languages of prayer is the subject of chapter 15 but it is safe to state here that such editions in the vernacular assisted many former Conversos to become acquainted with Jewish obligatory prayer and synagogue liturgy. In the 16th century many such former Conversos came to Italy, at the time a centre of the international book trade, a position to be taken over in the 17th century by the Northern Netherlands where Sephardi immigrants would soon turn Amsterdam into a world centre of Jewish book production and trade.

6.1 THE EARLY PRINTED JEWISH PRAYER BOOKS

It would take some twenty years after Johannes Gutenberg's invention of printing from movable types in Mainz around 1450 before the first Hebrew work was printed, around 1469. In Spain and Portugal, the growth of a substantial Jewish press was impeded by the adverse conditions for the Jewish communities in these two countries, where only one prayer book[1] is known to have been produced before 1501. The main centre of Jewish book production at the time was Italy, where all other Jewish prayer books, also those containing the Sephardi rite, were published by Ashkenazi Jews in the 15th century. Italy[2] has to be considered the cradle of Jewish printing and publishing.[3] Venice soon would become the most important centre of the production of Jewish books in the 16th century as is evident from the following chronological tables which have been composed by me using data that have been published by Yeshayahu Vinograd.[4] They show the share of (mostly Hebrew) prayer books in the total number of Hebrew books that were printed in those places. The first table contains the main centres, the second table the minor centres. As Vinograd included all classes of prayers, including voluntary prayers, ephemera and other works related to prayer books, these tables are purely indicative.

[1] Prayers for Yom Kippur, no year, no printer. Goff, 1973, Heb-72; Offenberg, 1990, no. 84.

[2] Amram, 1988. On Amsterdam taking over the position of Venice as world centre of Jewish printing see Benayahu, 1975. Many Ashkenazi prayer books were printed in Italy.

[3] Machsor. Casal Maggiore/Soncino, 1485-1486 Offenberg 1990, no. 83. Facsimile reprint Jerusalem, 2012. Selichot, Piove di Sacco, c. 1475 Offenberg, 1990, no. 107. Selichot, Barco, 1496 Offenberg, 1990, no. 108. Siddur, Naples, 1490 Offenberg, 1990, no. 109. Siddur with Sayings of the Fathers and Pesach Hagadah. Italy, no printer, no date Offenberg, 1990, no. 110. Tachanunim, Soncino, 1487 Offenberg, 1990, no. 115. Tefilat yachid [=Sidorello]. Soncino, 1486 Offenberg, 1990, no. 138.

[4] According to Vinograd, 1995, vol. 1 pp. 38-47. A privately published and frequently updated digital version of this work could be obtained from the author while he was alive. Some, but not all prayer books in the vernacular are included in the Thesaurus.

THE MAIN PUBLISHING CENTRES

	Amsterdam		**Constantinople**[5]		**Cracow**		**Mantua**		**Salonika**		**Venice**	
	Total	Prayers[6]	Total	Prayers	Total	Prayers	Total	Prayers	Total	Prayers	Total	Prayers
1500-1599			306	16	206	39	181	90	143	11	867	159
1600-1609	7		2	1	71	6			14		166	29
1610-1619	4	2			76	5	7	2	11	1	57	21
1620-1629	10	2	1		14	2	21	8	5	1	69	29
1630-1639	26	8	1		32	5	1	1			44	17
1640-1649	120	25	12		54	10	3	1	2		56	24
1650-1659	95	29	5	2	10	4	9	4	14	2	55	13
1660-1669	109	36	10	2	11	4	20	15			39	15
1670-1679	77	23	5		5		14	7			33	11
1680-1689	121	35	1				12	4	2	1	27	12
1690-1699	107	28	2				8	3	2	2	63	31
1700-1709	222	75	4				10	6	7		79	34
1710-1719	246	80	41	1			13	10	7		79	37
1720-1729	207	68	26	2			36	18	12		35	18
1730-1739	145	43	66	15			32	13	8	2	68	41
1740-1749	118	37	52	13			44	13	31	7	95	38
1750-1759	151	31	30	3			24	9	46	7	80	40
1760-1769	205	62	27	4			11	4	23	4	39	19
1770-1779	109	33	19	2			42	19	37	10	40	26
1780-1789	82	23	4	1			69	29	29	1	25	16
1790-1799	109	31	3				21	9	78	14	76	57
Total	**2270**	**671**	**617**	**62**	**479**	**75**	**578**	**265**	**471**	**63**	**2092**	**687**

SOME MINOR CENTRES OF HEBREW PRINTING

Place	**Years**	**Total**	**Prayers**
Basle	1500-1649	250	22
Bologna	1520-1659	12	4
Cremona	1550-1599	45	5
Fano	1500-1519	18	6
Ferrara	1550-1699	47	11
Hamburg	1590-1799	123	11
Leiden[7]	1500-1789	65	1
Lublin	1540-1699	243	41
Padua	1560-1789	29	1
Paris	1520-1649	84	1
Pesaro	1500-1529	52	4
Riva di Trento	1550-1569	38	1
Rome	1500-1779	30	1[8]
Sabbioneta	1550-1589	59	16
Verona	1590-1799	51	10
Wittenberg	1520-1739	28	
Total		**1174**	**135**

[5] Constantinople and Salonika were also main centres of Hebrew printing, but their output was especially focused on Jewry in the Balkans and the Middle East.

[6] Vinograd includes all kinds of prayers, as well as the Pesach Haggadah.

[7] Prayer on the occasion of the successful outcome of the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch by Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange in 1629, published by the Elsevier brothers in 1630.

[8] Pesach Haggadah.

The tables demonstrate the important part that prayers took in Jewish publishing. It has, however, to be stressed that the numbers provided by Vinograd contain all kind of prayers, including ephemera. When discussing mainly books containing the Ashkenazi or Sephardi rite, it may easily forgotten that other rite as well were printed in Early Modernity, as is documented in the following table. From the early years of printing until the end of the year 1600, 274 editions of books containing Jewish prayers were published, including three editions of Ashkenazi Kinot, 20 editions of Selichot according to the Ashkenazi rite, and two editions of the Selichot in the Iberian Jewish vernacular, containing the Sephardi rite.[9]

EARLY EDITIONS OF JEWISH PRAYER BOOKS C. 1469-1600

Rite	**Total number**	**Before 1552**
Ashkenazi (including subdivisions)	140	47
Sephardi	63	24
Roman	37	30
Italy/Loazim[10]/Shingali and Kochi	12	2
Romania	10	5
Karaite	2	2
Still to be identified	10	3
Total	**274**	**113**

It would take half a century of Jewish prayer book printing in the Northern Netherlands, before the first Ashkenazi prayer book was published there. This may be easily understood as significant groups of Ashkenazi immigrants reached the Low Countries later than their Sephardi counterparts. Was this a unique situation, or do the tables provided here show parallels? Three examples should be mentioned as being relevant to my later treatment of the Jewish prayer books to be published in the Dutch Republic:

1. Why was the Sephardi rite not printed more often in the first century after the invention of printing, although it must have been used in the various places that became home to the refugees that left the Iberian Peninsula after 1492?
2. Why was the Roman rite relatively speaking the one that was printed most often, seeing it was used in a geographically restricted area? Furthermore, why was it never printed in Rome itself?
3. The Aleppo rite was published in Venice in 1527 and 1560, not in the geographically close and therefore more obvious printing centres of Constantinople and Salonika.

Without thorough research only tentative answers are possible but, to use an expression from Talmudic literature, 'there may be an intimation to the answer'. As will be explained, the first Sephardi prayer books, e.g. those printed in Venice and Ferrara, were concise, enabling the prayers for the whole year to be presented in a single, small though somewhat bulky volume. It should be also taken into account that the regular obligatory prayers for weekdays and Shabbat could be reasonably easily memorised. The Roman rite at first sight impresses with the amount of Piyyutim scattered throughout the work already in its first edition. As the rubrics provide space for the chazzan to add *ad libitum* Piyyutim and Psalms, it can be inferred that the congregation spent many hours in the synagogue on certain days, such as Yom Kippur. It would be almost impossible to memorise all these prayers that were only said on such days and for that reason there must have existed reasonable demand. Up to 1601 27 editions of Hebrew works, including

[9] For Jewish liturgical rites and their distinctive differences, see p. 167 ff.

[10] Some authors do not differentiate between the Roman, Italian and Lo'azim rites, whereas the latter is sometimes mentioned as the rite of Ashkenazi immigrants to Italy. Specific research on the possible differences is required, but is beyond the scope of the present study.

a Pesach Haggadah, were published in Rome so without further research it is unclear why the prayer book according to the rite of Rome was not printed in that city

Much easier is the issue of the Aleppo prayers (as well as those according to the Romaniot and Karaite rites) being printed in Venice instead of in Constantinople or Salonika. At the time Venice was the leading power, without serious competition, in the trade between the Levant and Southern and North-western Europe. As Muslim leadership did not approve of direct contact with Catholic Venice, most of the trade (through the Balkans) was funnelled from Constantinople and Salonika through Jewish middlemen.[11] A number of Jews from Salonika, as well as from Aleppo, had established themselves in Venice and were part of the networks with their places of origin. The cost of transport from Venice to Aleppo, as part of the substantial regular cargo, could easily be compensated by lower production costs in the former city, where printing was much more extensive than in the Levantine cities. In the 17th century the Dutch became a formidable competitor in the international Mediterranean trade and Amsterdam soon took over the position of Venice as the world centre of Jewish book production, the new networks of international trade would enable Dutch publishers to supply customers in far-off regions in the same way, both in Europe and the Levant.[12]

6.1.1 VENICE SEPHARDI PRAYER BOOKS 1519-1552

The Early modern Republic of Venice had many Jewish inhabitants who often were important in the state's international trade, not in the least with the Levant. It was also a centre of Humanist activities and the tri-lingual ideals, combined with a growing interest in Jewish (i.e. Hebrew) texts, especially kabbalistic ones, as well as a thriving book production made it a natural cradle for Hebrew printing. The state's constant struggle to remain free from papal interventions in its affairs, for some time had as a side-effect that the Jews were given during the first decades of the 16th century a relative freedom. It was not Aldus Manutius who made Venice an important centre of Hebrew printing, but a newcomer from the Southern Netherlands, Daniel Bomberg. Aldus only printed one Hebrew work, a method for learning the Hebrew Alphabet.[13] Daniel Bomberg (van Bombergen) was born in Antwerp around 1483. In Venice he later met Felix Pratensis, a Jewish convert who became an Augustinian Friar. It is assumed that Felix persuaded Bomberg to publish Hebrew books. Between 1517 and 1548 his press was the most important producer of Hebrew works in Venice, employing Cornelio Adelkind as a compositor and corrector. Their first Hebrew Sephardi prayer book[14] appeared in 1519[15] and was afterwards reprinted with minor changes in 1524, and 1544[16] by Bomberg and in 1546 by Marco Antonio Giustiniani with Cornelio Adelkind. An interesting feature already in the 1524 edition are the rubrics[17] in Jewish vernacular but printed in Hebrew characters, showing that the vernacular was also used for those who knew Hebrew.[18] Bomberg himself returned to Antwerp in 1539, where he died sometime

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[11] Israel, p. 93.

[12] In 18th-century Amsterdam Jewish prayer books containing the rites of Kochi and Sri Lanka were printed when the Dutch East India Company had a printing press in Colombo, Sri Lanka's economic capital.

[13] V Venice 1.

[14] Titled תמונות תחינות תפילות ספרד.

[15] In the same year their press also produced a prayer book containing the rite of Rome. The Ashkenazi rite followed in 1520, the Romaniot Rite in 1523 (two editions), the Roman Machsor in 1526, the Aleppo rite in 1527, the Karaite rite in 1528.

[16] Although the title page has 1524, the colophon correctly reads 1544. Those two editions differ slightly and are easily distinguished, as was obvious by comparing the online 1524 copy from the National Library of Israel with the 1544 copy from the Ets Haim Library (EH 20E39).

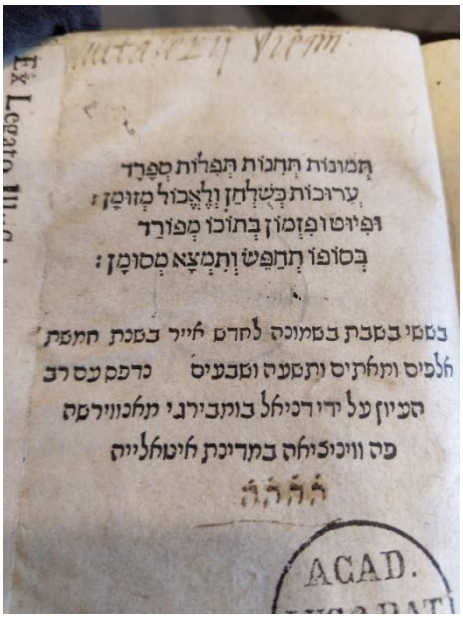
[17] These rubrics will be discussed later, see p. 86 f.

[18] At the beginning of the 17th century some illustrated editions of the Pesach Haggadah were published in Venice that were completely in Hebrew characters, including the commentary of Isaac Abarbanel in Italian or in Spanish Jewish vernacular, which points in the same direction.

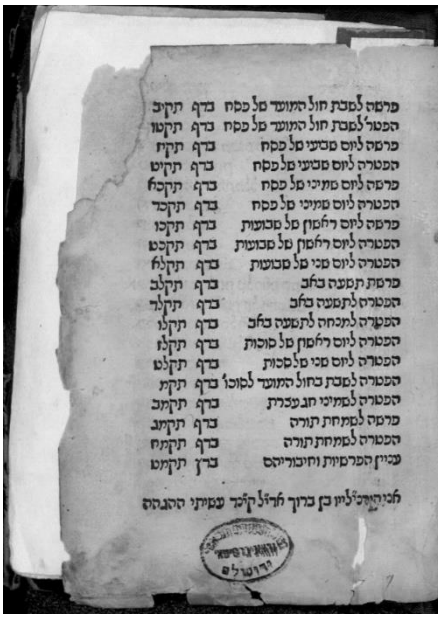
between 1549 and 1553. His place in Venetian Jewish printing was taken over by Marco Antonio Giustiniani and subsequently by Alvise Bragadin who in 1552 published two editions of Jewish prayers in Hebrew opposite a Judeo-Spanish translation in Latin characters by Isaac ben Yom Tov Cavallero. As Bragadin at the time was replacing the house of Bomberg as the main publisher of Jewish books in Venice, it is instructive to compare Bragadin's Hebrew version of the prayer book with the editions that were previously printed by Bomberg.[19] Subsequently two 1552 Ferrara editions in Iberian Jewish vernacular only could be compared with the Venice works that were published up to the 1552 editions. Only the 1552 Ferrara Comprehensive Prayers could be studied by me physically in the Ets Haim Library, while the daily prayers were available to me in photocopies of the copy that disappeared from the same library. The High Holiday prayers, the Selichot and the unique, composite copy of the 1555 daily prayers in the British Library were not seen by me.[20]

As stated earlier, copies of the early Sephardi prayer books are extremely rare and for that reason there are still many secrets waiting to be unravelled. As an incentive for further research the records that were made up to date, without the ambition to provide a complete bibliography, will be provided in list B of this study (pp. 303-323).

1. Comprehensive prayers. Venice, 1519 (illustration 11)
2. Comprehensive prayers. Venice. 1524* (illustration 12)
3. Comprehensive Prayers. Venice. 1544 (illustrations 13-14)
4. Comprehensive Prayers. Venice. 1546*
5. Daily Prayers. Venice. 1552* (illustrations 15-17).
6. Shabbat Prayers. Venice. 1552[21] (illustration 16; 18).
7. Penitential Prayers. Venice. 1552*



11 Title page of the Venice 1519 edition



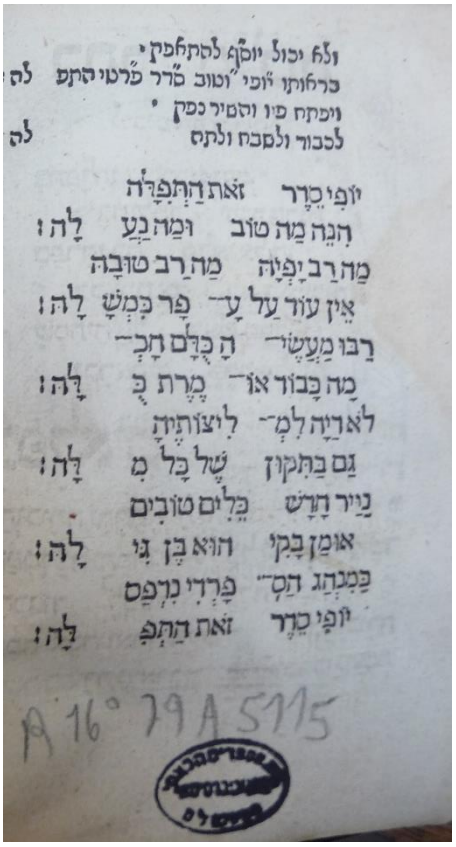
12 The final page of the Venice 1524 edition (title page is lacking)

[19] A comparison of the Bomberg editions with the other contemporary editions that were published in 16th-century Italy, Salonika and Constantinople is essential for a complete survey of the history of the Sephardi prayer book, but is beyond the focus of my research.

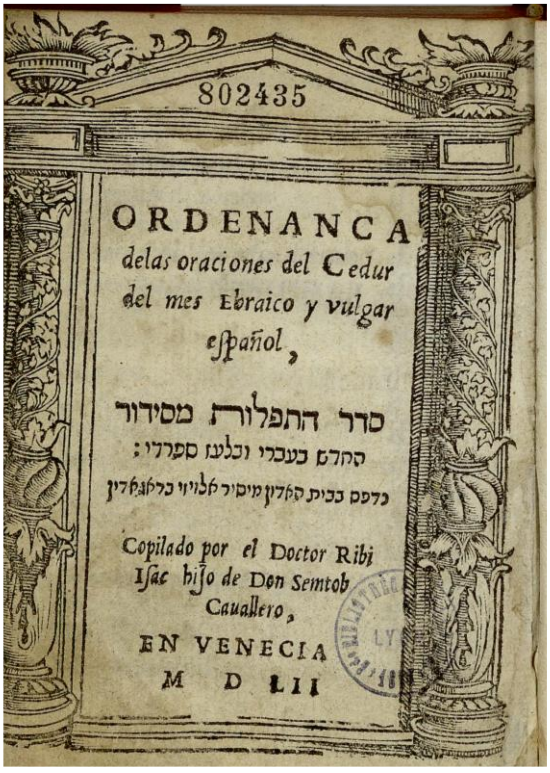
[20] When I have not personally inspected a copy, the record is marked*.

[21] This edition has not been identified previously.

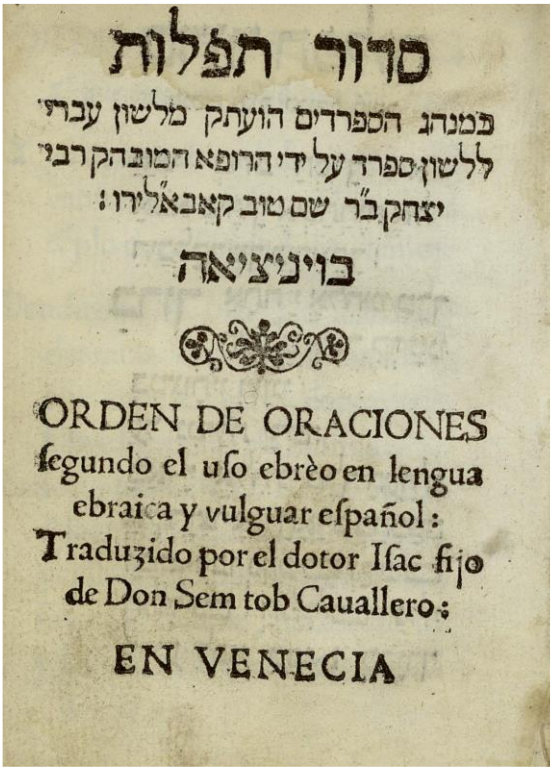
13 Title-page of the 1544 edition



14 The poem on verso of that title-page



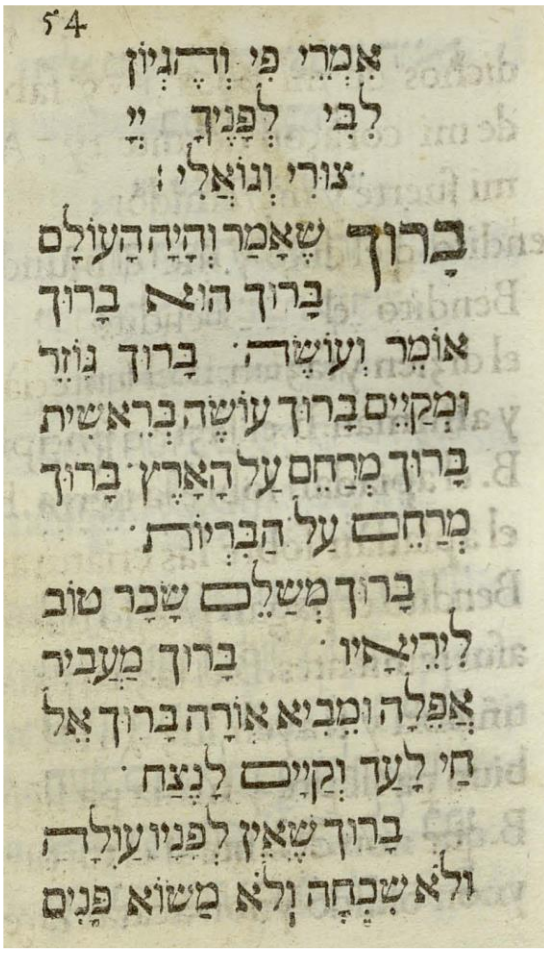
15 The 1552 engraved title-page



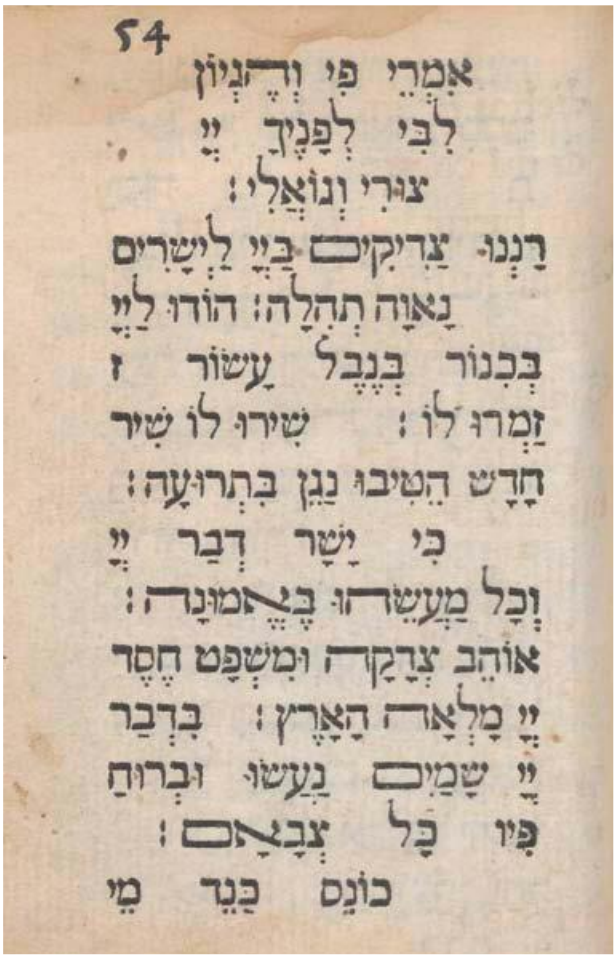
16 Typographical title contained in both editions

Perhaps the most interesting liturgical discovery I have made as a result of my bottom-up method was the repetition of the Amidah on Friday night, including the Kedushah, in Daniel Bomberg's 1544 Hebrew edition. This element will be discussed more extensively later, on p. 197, and will show relevance for the Ferrara and Amsterdam Sephardi vernacular prayer books. Here it may suffice to say that I located a statement by Menachem Meiri (1249- c. 1310), a famous Spanish halakhist who is referring to such a custom, see p. 198 of this study). The early editions of the Sephardi prayer book were intended for a wide public and for that reason covered a comprehensive range of prayers that could be used for particular occasions or by local communities. The inclusion of this custom in a printed prayer book in itself does not prove that it at this time was still practiced somewhere in the Jewish, in this case Sephardi world and the subject deserves additional research. Relevant to later Amsterdam Sephardi practice is that the early Venice Hebrew editions feature *tushbechata* in the Kaddish (see p. 148 and p. 228).

The 1552 Venice editions preserve the same textual tradition as their Bomberg predecessors, which is also true for the 1552-1555 Ferrara editions. It was quite a surprise to discover that Bragadin in fact published two editions, one of which contained the daily prayers and those for Shabbat and other special days, whereas the other one contained the Shabbat prayers only. The typographical title pages of both editions are identical in the copies I have seen. The Shabbat prayers apparently consist of two parts, one containing the prayers for the day, with lower case gathering signatures and the prayers for Friday night with upper case markings. The first 54 pages, including the typographical title page, have been meticulously reset.


54
אִמְרֵי פִי וְהֶגְיוֹן
לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ
צוּרִי וְגוֹאֲלִי׃
בָּרוּךְ שֶׁאָמַר וְהָיָה הָעוֹלָם
בָּרוּךְ הוּא בָּרוּךְ
אוֹמֵר וְעוֹשֶׂה בָּרוּךְ גּוֹזֵר
וּמְקַיֵּם בָּרוּךְ עוֹשֶׂה בְרֵאשִׁית
בָּרוּךְ מְרַחֵם עַל הָאָרֶץ בָּרוּךְ
מְרַחֵם עַל הַבְּרִיּוֹת
בָּרוּךְ מְשַׁלֵּם שָׂכָר טוֹב
לִירֵאָיו בָּרוּךְ מֵעֲבִיר
אֲפֵלָה וּמֵבִיא אוֹרָה בָּרוּךְ אֵל
חַי לָעַד וְקַיָּם לָנֶצַח
בָּרוּךְ שֶׁאֵין לְפָנָיו עַוְלָה
וְלֹא שִׁכְחָה וְלֹא מַשּׂוֹא פָּנִים

17 Venice, 1552 weekdays fol. 54 recto


54
אִמְרֵי פִי וְהֶגְיוֹן
לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ
צוּרִי וְגוֹאֲלִי׃
רַנְּנוּ צַדִּיקִים בַּיְיָ לַיְשָׁרִים
נָאוָה תְהִלָּה׃ הוֹדוּ לַיְיָ
בְּכִנּוֹר בְּנֵבֶל עֲשׂוֹר זַ
זַמְּרוּ לוֹ׃ שִׁירוּ לוֹ שִׁיר
חָדָשׁ הֵיטִיבוּ נַגֵּן בִּתְרוּעָה׃
כִּי יָשָׁר דְּבַר יְיָ
וְכָל מַעֲשֵׂהוּ בֶּאֱמוּנָה׃
אוֹהֵב צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט חֶסֶד
יְיָ מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ׃ בִּדְבַר
יְיָ שָׁמַיִם נַעֲשׂוּ וּבְרוּחַ
פִּיו כָּל צְבָאָם׃
כּוֹנֵס כַּנֵּד מֵי

18 Venice 1552 Shabbat fol. 54 recto

6.1.2 FERRARA SEPHARDI PRAYER BOOKS IN THE VERNACULAR 1552-1555

1. Comprehensive Prayers. Ferrara. 1552 (illustration 19; 22-23)
2. Daily Prayers. Ferrara. 1552* (illustration 20; 24)
3. Penitential Prayers. Ferrara. 1552*
4. High Holidays. Ferrara. 1553* (illustration 21).
5. Daily Prayers. Ferrara. 1555*

Ferrara, the seat of the d'Este Family, already in 1477 saw the publication by Abraham ben Chaim of Levi ben Gerson's commentary on Job and part of Tur Yoreh Deah.[22] It was Duke Ercole II d'Este (1508-1559) who enabled Ferrara's Jews to open a *Studium generale,*[23] and his view on migration of the scholarly community is explained in his statement: 'cio non può tornare se non ad honore et ornament di essa nostre Cittade, per il profitto che ne potranno trare molti Hebrei et christiani scolari si forestieri come sudditi nostri.'[24] In 1551 Samuel Zarfati, a former assistant of the Roman printer Solomon ben Isaac of Lisbon in Rome, headed a press in Ferrara. The next year, the same year that Bragadin published his bi-lingual prayer books in Venice, two associates, Abraham Usque and Yom Tob ben Levi Atias set up their press in Ferrara.[25] They not only published a translation of the Bible into Jewish Spanish which would be the leading version for a long time, but also a number of prayer books in the same language.[26]

'Habent sua fata libelli' books have their own troubled fate, to quote Ovid. This is confirmed by the unique copy of the 1552 *Oraçiones de Mes*, acquired by David Montezinos and one of the treasures of his collection in the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos but it disappeared from the shelves. For that reason it had been impossible to compare it physically with the copy of the *Oracyones de todo el año,* published by the same printer in the same year that reposes in the library. About 20 years ago a book dealer representing a private owner offered me the chance to buy back the purloined copy and provided me with a photocopy of the book.[27] It became clear that the two versions were slightly different, as one was couched in a more literary language, whereas the other kept closer to the Hebrew source text.[28] An example is shown in illustrations 23 and 24 where in the last alinea, line 3 the comprehensive prayers read '~q me escapes oy y ē todo dia y dia de fuertes de fazes, y de fortaleza de fazes, de hõbre malo de ynclinacion mala de cõpañero malo y de vezino malo de encuentro malo de ojo el malo y de lengua la mala de juizio duro y de señor de juizio duro …' and the daily prayers '…que me escapes oy y en todo dia y dia de desuergonçados de fazes, y de desuergonçamiento de fazes, de hõbre malo de ynclinacvion mala, de cõpañero malo y de vezino malo, de encuentro malo, de ojo el malo y de lēgua la mala …'. However, the biblical portions are identical, as has been indicated

[22] Because of the constant struggles for power between the various mighty families, who also were the main source for papal election, the position of the Jews fluctuated. This often was the reason for Jewish printers to move from one place to another, sometimes even within the realm of the same ruler who had previously provided them protection. So the *itinerant printers* became a common feature of Jewish Italy at the time.

[23] Or *academia* as Yeshivot were called in Italy at the time, see Bonfil, 2004, p. 19.

[24] Bonfil, 2004 p. 19.

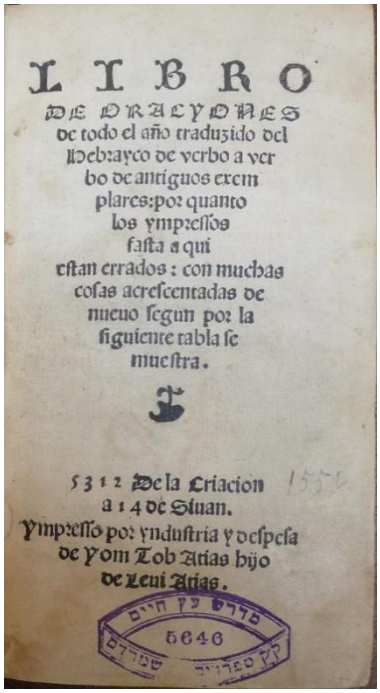
[25] According to Salomon, 2011, both Yom Tob Atias and Abraham Usque were aliases of the same. See also Leoni, 2002; IDEM, 2003; Roth, 1943.

[26] With variations as will be stated later.

[27] It was legally impossible to reclaim the volume as the private collector had clearly bought it in good trust. The library, as a matter of principle refusing to recover misappropriated books by buying them back, was content to keep the photocopies.

[28] Oral information received from Maxim P.A.M. Kerkhof.

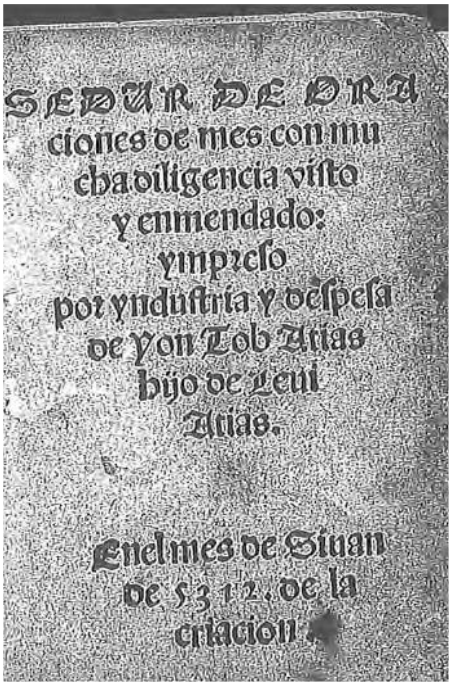
by previous research[29] as all editions apparently use the translation of the 1553 Ferrara Bible.[30] The rite of both Venice and Ferrara editions from 1552, the previous Bomberg editions and those that would be printed in the Northern Netherlands does not show significant differences. Interesting as this may be, such differences must be studied by professionals of 16th-century Iberian languages. The Cavallero translation was published a few times,[31] but the Ferrara editions apparently provided the basis for most of the subsequent editions. An interesting feature deserving specialist research is the later interchanging of *h* (hazes) and *f* (fazes) at the beginning of many words.


LIBRO
DE ORACYONES
de todo el año traduzido del
Hebrayco de verbo a ver
bo de antiguos exem
plares: por quanto
los ympressos
fasta aqui
estan errados: con muchas
cosas acrescentadas de
nueuo segun por la
siguiente tabla se
muestra.

5312 De la Criacion
a 14 de Siuan.
Ympresso por yndustria y despesa
de Yom Tob Atias hijo
de Leui Atias.

5646

19 Comprehensive Prayers, Ferrara 1552


SEDUR DE ORA
ciones de mes con mu
cha diligencia visto
y enmendado:
ympreso
por yndustria y despesa
de Yom Tob Atias
hijo de Leui
Atias.

En el mes de Siuan
de 5312. de la
criacion.

20 Daily Prayers, Ferrara 1552

6.2 TEXTUAL REMARKS

A first, and cursory analysis of the contents of the 1519-1552 editions of the Sephardi prayer books in Venice and the 1552-1555 Ferrara editions, provides the contours of a structure that is already partly in place and is partly still developing. Most of these elements will be followed in the prayer books that have been printed in the Northern Netherlands which have been previously declared to be unaltered reprints of the Ferrara editions 1552-1555. Sephardi weekday evening prayers originally contained an additional berakhah, as is still common in the Ashkenazi rites outside Israel. This additional, so-called fifth berakhah was omitted at a later point, although it requires further research to establish the precise time and reason for its exclusion. Daniel Bomberg's 1544 Hebrew prayer book contains the repetition of the Amidah on Friday night, as mentioned on p. 81. The same tradition occurs in the 1552 Ferrara daily prayers (*Oraciones de mes)* as well as in the comprehensive prayers (*Libro de Oracyones de todo el año*) printed by the same printer in the same year. This element will not return in the Sephardi vernacular prayer books that were later printed in the Northern Netherlands. Of special interest is the collection of biblical verses to be said before and after taking out the Torah Scroll that is read on the Tebah. The

[29] E.g. Den Boer, 2015; Roth, 1943; Schwarzwald, 2010; IDEM, 2019; Wiener, 1895. For other Spanish translations see Szpiech, 2016.
[30] Den Boer, 2015; Schwarzwarld, 2010; IDEM, 2019; Szpiech, 2016. A 'Critical edition' was published by Moshe Lazar, Culver City, 1992.
[31] See my list of editions of Sephardi prayer books in the vernacular hereafter (Llist B, pp. 295ff.).

evidence of the printed early editions suggests that this collection was not yet formalized. In its most extensive reading it strongly resembles the Ashkenazi rite for Simchat Torah, but it was gradually abridged until it acquired its definitive version late in the 18th century.

In general, we see that a constantly changing number of Bakashot were included between title and morning prayers.[32] Ever changing also was the amount of Berakhot and halakhic material to be included. The introduction of some texts show the influence of mysticism and Kabbalah on Jewish prayer. One element of the prayer book which obviously had not found its definitive place in Sephardi liturgy is Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Keter Malkhut*.[33] In the early editions it is often included right at the beginning, after the title and table of contents. Much later, the prayer is only included in the prayers for Yom Kippur, where it is printed after the evening service. The mystical poem *Ana bekoach*[34] was printed by Bomberg for the first time in 1544, and is proof of the integration of kabbalistic elements in Sephardi prayer. A clear case of the fluidity in the arrangement of prayers is found in the Techinot (Ashkenazi term: Tachanun) in the last part of the weekday morning prayer. Apparently it took quite some time before they received their definitive redaction. An anomaly is witnessed in the 1524 Bomberg edition of the Sephardi prayer book in the version of Tsidduk ha-Din, a prayer in which divine justice is acknowledged, even – or especially – when a relative has died. The Ashkenazi version starts with the words *ha-Tsur tamim pa'olo*, the entirely different Sephardi text with the words *Tsadik Atah*. For reasons unknown, the 1524 Bomberg edition – unlike the 1519 and 1544 editions - contains the Ashkenazi version, beginning with the words *ha-Tsur tamim pa'olo*.

21 Abraham Usque's printers mark 1553

Some remarks are in order regarding the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer. First of all, in this period it is purely formulated as a prayer for the King, which is an oddity for Italy as there were no kingdoms outside those of Naples, Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta, which belonged to Savoy. In the Northern Netherlands, the formula of this prayer would be adapted to refer to the local secular authorities as will be discussed in the next chapters. Bomberg included the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer in the morning prayer on weekdays and on Shabbat, preceding the reading of the Torah, but this in itself does not necessarily mean that it was said at this point in the service and only

[32] A further discussion of the various terms and prayers is to be found in part III of this study.

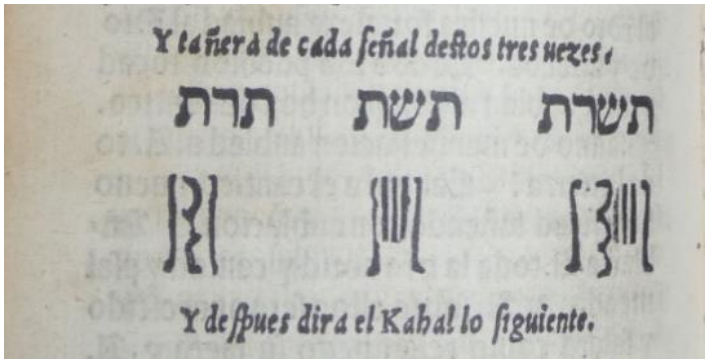
[33] See Bernard, 2003.

[34] See p. 104.

there. In the prayers for Shabbat the Italian editions contain a special section of Psalms or verses of Psalms that were intended to be recited between the afternoon prayer and the end of Shabbat. It is titled 'Alphabeta de Sabbat' and its contents was not fixed as will be discussed on p. 87. In the17th century this part disapeared from the Western Sephardi editions. These works in Iberian Jewish vernacular according to the Sephardi rite without doubt helped Conversos who wanted to learn how to pray. They directly preceded the 1584 and later editions that were published in the Northern Netherlands and also in Italy.[35]

6.3 PARATEXTUAL REMARKS

Perhaps the most interesting element in the *Oracyones de todo el año* is a unique schematic rendering of the tones that have to be blown on the shofar on Rosh ha-Shanah on leaf 291 verso. The illustration of the tones (illustration 22) is quite similar to the one in a Sephardi manuscript from the year 1518,[36] which strongly suggests there is a precedent for the custom of the Jewish communities in the Northern Netherlands, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, to blow the Teki'ah not as a straight tone but with an onset and a slight change of pitch at the end. All the Sephardi editions of the Rosh ha-Shanah prayers in the Iberian vernacular refer to the three variant combinations of tones, Teki'ah, Shevarim and Teru'ah, in Hebrew characters: תשרת תשת תרת.



22 The shofar tones in the comprehensive prayer book, Ferrara 1552

The Sephardi prayer books I have discussed so far are not typical of the Italian books that were produced in that period, especially not the 1552-1555 Ferrara editions, which were printed in black letter, a typeface that was almost obsolete in Italy at the time. In Spain, however, black letter had not yet been completely discarded, which may be why the publisher preferred it to a more 'mainstream' presentation of the prayer texts. The books here discussed were first and foremost books to be used. They were of a portable size, and neither the paper nor the layout were luxury. Although most title-pages were unadorned, the Venice 1544 and 1552 editions show ornamental engraved borders. As the unique copy of the 1555 edition is made up, it is impossible to check the statement on the title that one does not have to leaf from one place to another. First a word on the imposition of the Hebrew and the vernacular in bi-lingual editions, which were commonly printed on opposite pages. At the time, there was no convention to print the Hebrew always on the right page and the vernacular on the left. In Early Modernity the preferred imposition in this case was to position the same language on the recto and verso of a leaf, resulting in alternating positions throughout the book. Only much later did it become convention to have the Hebrew always on the right page (or right column, if a page was divided in two columns). Recently, however, this practice has been abandoned, as for instance by Koren Publishers in Jerusalem. The 1544 and 1552 Venice editions of the Jewish prayer book show evidence of professional craftsmanship: the text was composed with care and the pages are fully

[35] A list of these editions until 1820 is provided in appendix B.

[36] M.S-Y. Rosenberg was so kind as to draw my attention to the notes of a lecture by Motti Bier on the various minhagim of blowing the prescribed shofar tones (based on Hamburger, 1995).

justified. Contrary to most Jewish prayer books of that period, the title pages of both editions feature ornamental borders, but, as was common at the time, headers and footers are often imperfectly inked and sometimes there are traces of 'bite' of the forme.[37]

New paragraphs were mostly indicated by the use of initials set over two lines of text or initial words printed in a larger font. The use of running titles was not common and if they do appear, the same font is used for text, headers and rubrics. The rubrics are quite interesting as they are often presented in Ladino, the earliest instance being an edition of 1519. The use of vernacular rubrics in early Hebrew editions of the Sephardi prayer books clearly show that the vernacular was in use also outside the circle of Conversos. The linguistic features of these rubrics and of the Sephardi prayer books in the vernacular deserve to be studied by specialists in the field

The rubrics are clearly not intended to instruct the uneducated: they do not indicate where to stand or sit, where to step backwards or bow, or other such customs that visitors new to the synagogue would like to be assisted with. Most often the rubrics point to returning elements of prayer, e.g. Kaddish, or the repetition of the Amidah. Sometimes they contain a reference to the text on previous or following leaves. Although it is normal to indicate when the chazzan takes the Torah Scroll from the Heikhal, the moment of returning it is not specified. Finally it is intriguing to note that the rubrics, whether they are in Hebrew or in the Iberian vernacular, remain practically unchanged for a long time. The use of the vernacular in the instructions for the Pesach Haggadah in the Bomberg Hebrew prayer books indicates its wide acceptance in daily Jewish life.

These early Italian editions show it was not yet general custom to distinguish typographically between the various elements of the prayer book: often the same typeface and font were used for text, headers, footers and rubrics. The use of italic for the latter was not introduced everywhere and at once, as sometimes both roman type and italics are used for rubrics in one and the same book. Later it became more common to use italics and a smaller font for the rubrics. In a few exceptional cases, as indicated in my notes on the various editions in list A (pp. 231ff.), a section of the prayers was printed in a larger font although no logical explanation can be provided. The larger font used for the text of the afternoon prayer to be recited on Yom Kippur in the 1552 *Oracyones de todo el año* may be explained because it occurs at the end of a gathering to fill an otherwise blank part of the page. Copy text was often divided over several compositors, each of them were assigned a number of gatherings to typeset. Compositors faced with a blank space when their portion of text ran out before the end of a gathering, had to resolve this problem one way or another. Using larger fonts was probably the most obvious choice.[38]

When comparing the Venice and Ferrara editions of the Sephardi prayer book produced in 16th-century Italy, I have to conclude that they are not typical products of contemporary Italian book culture. Their paper, typography and layout are quite ordinary, indicating that they were primarily printed to be used. Within early Jewish book culture, however, these editions distinguish themselves from the contemporary Ashkenazi counterparts that were produced outside Italy, where conditions for Jewish communities were generally worse, even when Jewish printing and publishing in Italy can also be said to have been subject to caprice at times. In the next chapter we will try to compare the early editions of the Sephardi prayer book that were printed in the Northern Netherlands on the basis of their Italian precedents.

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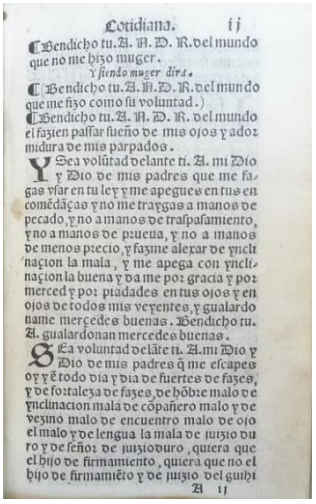
[37] Pieces of metal furniture were added to make up the blank areas at the foot of the page around the catchwords and signatures. As these pieces could be somewhat unevenly sized, they could easily transfer ink.

[38] At a later period, the difference in the font size of texts might be an indication that a number of them had been left out by some communities, or else were so common that the community might be expected to be able to read them even if they were printed in a smaller font, so as to save on the amount of paper used.



Cotidiana. ij

Bendicho tu. A. H. D. R. del mundo que no me hizo muger.

Y siendo muger dira.

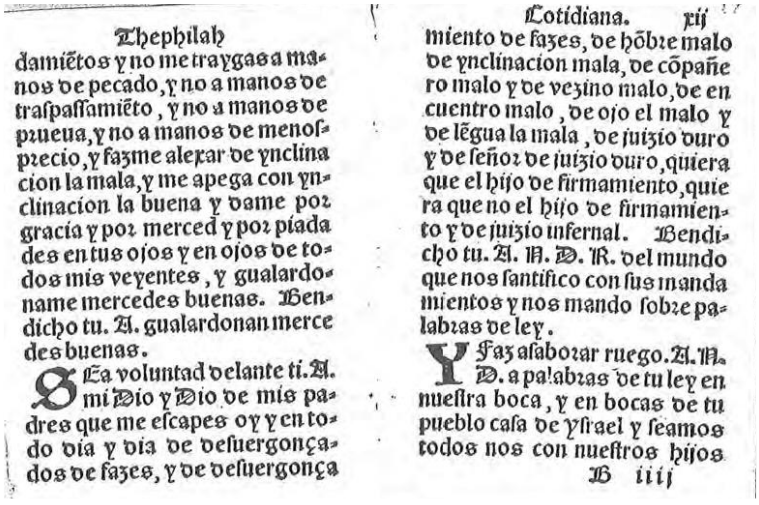
Bendicho tu. A. H. D. R. del mundo que me fizo como su voluntad.)

Bendicho tu. A. H. D. R. del mundo el fazien passar sueño de mis ojos y adormidura de mis parpados.

Y Sea volũtad delante ti. A. mi Dio y Dio de mis padres que me fagas vsar en tu ley y me apegues en tus en comẽdãças y no me traygas a manos de pecado, y no a manos de trasparamiento, y no a manos de prueua, y no a manos de menos precio, y fazme alexar de yncli naçion la mala, y me apega con yncli naçion la buena y da me por gracia y por merced y por piadades en tus ojos y en ojos de todos mis veyentes, y gualardo name mercedes buenas. Bendicho tu. A. gualardonan mercedes buenas.

S Ea voluntad delãte ti. A. mi Dio y Dio de mis padres q̃ me escapes oy y ẽ todo dia y dia de fuertes de fazes, y de fortaleza de fazes, de hõbre malo de yncliacion mala de cõpañero malo y de vezino malo de encuentro malo de ojo el malo y de lengua la mala de juizio duro y de señor de juizio duro, quiera que el hijo de firmamiento, quiera que no el hijo de firmamiẽto y de juizio del guehi

A ij



Thephilah

damiẽtos y no me traygas a manos de pecado, y no a manos de trasparamiẽto, y no a manos de prueua, y no a manos de menosprecio, y fazme alexar de yncliacion la mala, y me apega con yncliacion la buena y dame por gracia y por merced y por piadades en tus ojos y en ojos de todos mis veyentes, y gualardoname mercedes buenas. Bendicho tu. A. gualardonan mercedes buenas.

S Ea voluntad delante ti. A. mi Dio y Dio de mis padres que me escapes oy y en todo dia y dia de desuergonçados de fazes, y de desuergonça

Cotidiana. xij

miento de fazes, de hõbre malo de yncliacion mala, de cõpañero malo y de vezino malo, de encuentro malo, de ojo el malo y de lẽgua la mala, de juizio duro y de señor de juizio duro, quiera que el hijo de firmamiento, quiera que no el hijo de firmamiento y de juizio infernal. Bendicho tu. A. H. D. R. del mundo que nos santifico con sus mandamientos y nos mando sobre palabras de ley.

Y Faz asaborar ruego. A. H. D. a palabras de tu ley en nuestra boca, y en bocas de tu pueblo casa de Yrael y seamos todos nos con nuestros hijos

B iiij

23 Ferrara comprehensive prayers

24 Ferrara daily prayers

See the remark on linguistic differences on p. 84.

6.4 THE EARLY MODERN ASHKENAZI AND SEPHARDI PRAYER BOOK

That the Ashkenazi prayer book became standardised at the start of Early Modernity is a conclusion drawn by previous researchers, recently by Kenneth Berger.[39] My own analysis of the 1519-1552 Venice and the 1552-1555 Ferrara editions yields the same conclusion for the western Sephardi prayer books. Some elements, however, had not yet been standardised. It is important to state clearly that the only difference between the prayer books in Hebrew and those in the Iberian Jewish vernacular was the language in which they were printed. Printers of both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi[40] rites struggled equally with the contents of their editions: sometimes they published only the daily prayers, those for Shabbat and Rosh Chodesh in one volume, sometimes they tried to compress these prayers and those of the Holidays and Fasts into one, comprehensive work. The most important differences are to be found in the introductory and concluding parts of the daily prayers, preceding the Shemah and following the Amidah. In the evening prayer on week days, the Hashkivenu blessing continued to be followed by another berakhah, although it would eventually be restricted to the Ashkenazi rite.

An interesting feature is the so-called Shabbat alphabet, a number of Psalms that is sometimes found in Sephardi prayer books between the Shabbat afternoon prayer and the following evening prayer.[41] In the earliest form as I have seen it, in the 1552 Ferrara and 1584 Dordrecht daily prayers, it contains Psalm 118: 25-29 only. In the 1692 Amsterdam daily prayers, these verses are followed by Psalms 119-133, while the 1723 Amsterdam daily prayers contain Psalms 119-134. This variety in the number of texts is not part of obligatory prayer, and is not to be considered essential, as is the case with the constantly changing number of Bakashot. Nevertheless, the origin and development of this phenomenon deserve further research.

[39] Berger, 2019.

[40] Apparently the term Sephardi had become synonymous with Castilian. Recently I. Perez (Perez, 2019) published a reconstruction of the prayer book according to the Catalonian rite, showing that at the end of the 15th century it significantly differed from the Castilian rite.

[41] The term 'prayer' has to be preferred over 'service', as the prayer books do not really distinguish between private and communal prayers, although they include elements like Torah reading, Kedushah, Kiddush and the Priestly Blessing which are only said in a quorum of ten adult males.

With respect to certain paratextual issues, the title needs to be considered first. My bottom-up method[42] revealed that until the 18th century, the titles *Seder*, *Siddur*, *Tefilot* and *Machsor* were used interchangeably in both Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books. In medieval manuscripts, the smaller sized books were usually titled Seder or Siddur, whereas the title Machsor was preferably used for larger-sized books. There is no such difference to be noticed in the early printed prayer books. Only after many decades would the term Machsor be reserved exclusively for books containing the prayers for Holidays in Ashkenazi prayer books, whereas in Sephardi prayer books, it was altogether abandoned.

Of course, paper was, and to a certain extent remains until today, the major cost factor in book production, and condensing the volume of the text directly resulted in reducing the cost of the book. Another important aspect from the point of view of the user, however, was that a smaller volume is easier to handle than a bulky one. This is a feature of both Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books, in which often the same titles and practices were used, one example being that many prayers that are said more than once, are only printed once. Although specific research into this aspect is greatly to be welcomed, one explanation is orality: as obligatory prayers are said three times a day, people in a strong oral tradition will soon commit to memory those elements they have been used to from childhood, so that their absence in the printed prayer book is not felt as an impediment. Earlier I mentioned the popularity of Piyyutim in medieval Ashkenaz and the astonishing number of Piyyutim in the printed Roman rite. The difficulties of memorising this extensive and expanding body of poetic material may explain the large number of early editions containing the Ashkenazi rite. The early editions containing the Sephardi rite, on the other hand, clearly adhered to the Geonic aversion to Piyyutim in obligatory prayers, with the exception of the Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur prayers.

As mentioned above, the extensive and expanding number of religious poems in the Ashkenazi and Roman rites in Early Modernity resulted in a steadily growing body of Piyyutim and Selichot, which became difficult to commit to memory. This not only explains the number of early editions of these rites as opposed to the Sephardi rite, but also the gradual disappearance of comprehensive prayer books from the 17th century onwards. The process was accelerated by the ready acceptance of kabbalistic additions in eastern Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, although such additions were virtually rejected in their western counterparts. As in the western Sephardi rite, Piyyutim and Selichot were included in the High Holiday prayers, when most Jews attend the synagogue services. It is therefore logical that separate volumes for these days began to be published. Still later, the Sephardi prayers for the Pilgrim Festivals and Fast days also came to be published separately.

The question remains, however, how easy or difficult the use of these early printed prayer books was for the uninitiated to Jewish prayer? As stated earlier, it was customary to print text elements that kept on returning only once. Another impediment to the uninitiated is presented by the rubrics. Sometimes, but not always, the user of the prayer book is instructed to turn to a certain leaf or page for the part that is omitted, but this is not done consistently. If such is the case, what is the function of the rubrics? Instructions, e.g. to stand or bow, are seldom given, but brief remarks, such as 'the chazzan takes out the Sefer Torah', or 'Kaddish' and 'Aleinu' are commonly found.[43] An uninitiated reader must often have been at a loss, because the directions that are included in the rubrics are insufficient to navigate the intricacies of Jewish prayer practice. As it is assumed that the Sephardi prayer books in the vernacular were intended to help former

[42] Starting with the analysis of the work examined and only interpreting the data after the book has been fully examined and described.

[43] Such remarks were not always printed, apparently because they concerned well-established practice, or because of different customs in various communities which did not need explaining.

Conversos to become familiar with Jewish prayer and synagogue service, these former Conversos must surely have been handicapped by the inadequate guidance offered in their prayer books. On the other hand, these books certainly helped them to understand the prayer texts, their vocabulary and context. It can reasonably be concluded, therefore, that uninitiated members of the community such as the former Conversos who at least lacked a basic fluency in daily prayers, must have felt at a loss when introduced to synagogue ritual when all they had to go on were 'incomplete' prayer books. Apparently the idea was that practice made perfect. Thus the title page of the 1555 Ferrara edition already indicates that the reader 'will find every prayer without having to turn pages', a statement often repeated afterwards but rarely entirely true. Only quite recently do the majority of such prayer books deliver what they promise.

The similarity of the layout, titles and rubrics of early printed Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books can be explained partly by the fact that at the time, Jewish compositors, from Italy to the northern countries (later), were predominantly Ashkenazim. The early printed Jewish prayer books reflect the book culture of their time and regions of origin. They were clearly intended to be used and may not be the finest specimens of book art, but nevertheless they testify to their makers' care and love for the 'holy art' of making Jewish books.

As discussed earlier, books that were intended for a certain city or region, such as Rome, were often printed elsewhere and although Levantine Jews were living in Italy, it is more than possible that the various editions of prayer books containing the rites of Aleppo, the Karaites, and the Romaniot that were printed in Italy, were primarily intended for the Levantine market. Why then, as is widely accepted, would the early Jewish prayer books that came to be published in the Northern Netherlands, have been aimed primarily, and perhaps even exclusively, at the local market? The Dutch would soon dominate the bulk of maritime Mediterranean trade and Amsterdam would replace Venice as the main printing place of Jewish books. The subject of local versus other markets for Jewish prayer books will be discussed in the next chapter, taking into account economic theories and business practice.

6.5 CONCLUSION

According to the data provided by Vinograd, prayer books represented up to 33% of Jewish book production before 1600. During the 15th century, Hebrew printing was restricted to Italy, Spain and Portugal. The distribution of the various rites is uneven in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century before 1552, the year when Sephardi vernacular prayer books were printed for the first time. Vinograd lists 140 Ashkenazi books[44] containing prayers (including voluntary ones), up to the year 1600, 47 of which were printed before 1552. The Sephardi rite was printed 63 times, 24 of them before 1552.[45] The rite of Rome was printed 37 times, only 7 times before 1552, though never in Rome itself. The Romaniot (Balkan) rite was printed 10 times, half of them before 1552.[46] Although there was a Jewish press in Constantinople, the Aleppo rite was not printed in the region itself, but in Venice in 1527 and 1560.

My study of the Sephardi prayer books that were produced in Venice between 1519 and 1552 and in Ferrara between 1552-1555 was intended to establish an eventual relationship with those that would be published in Dordrecht and Amsterdam. It is obvious that they are related, as they contain the same liturgical rite in the same order and have identical headings, but they also show that the Sephardi prayer book and synagogue liturgy were not yet completely fixed. Further

[44] It is regrettable that Berger, 2019 fails to establish the taxonomy of the editions of Ashkenazi prayer books that are quoted by him.

[45] This shows that most Sephardi editions of that period were printed outside Venice, though a comparison of all the Italian Sephardi editions lay outside the scope of my research.

[46] I did not check editions of the Romaniot rite that may have been published in Constantinople, Salonika or Izmir.

research may produce more interesting information than can be provided here. My bottom-up approach proved its usefulness as it clearly showed that Alvise Bragadin published two editions containing Caravallo's translation in 1552, one with the daily prayers, the other with the Shabbat prayers only. No complete copy of the latter has been found, however. Comparing photocopies of Ets Haim's lost copy of the 1552 Ferrara *Oraciones de mes* with the actual copy of *Oracyones de todo el año* by the same printer in the same library also yielded interesting new information. While the Ferrara editions are printed in black letter, the Spanish translation in the 1552 Venice editions are in roman type as was the case, as will be discussed in the next chapter, with all vernacular editions that would be printed in the Northern Netherlands. Contrary to expectations, both 1552 Ferrara editions show significant linguistic differences, but contain the same liturgical tradition as is shown by the repetition of the Amidah on Friday night which is also found in the 1544 Venice Hebrew edition, but does not occur in the 1552 bi-lingual editions by Alvise Bragadin. As the vernacular Sephardi prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands 1584-1618 are supposed to have been unaltered reprints of the 1552-1555 Ferrara editions, this feature is an important mark to check. Even when these repetitions are printed and mentioned by an earlier authoritative halakhic source, this does not necessarily prove that the custom was actually practised in in the 16th century when the blueprint for the Sephardi prayer book had been established. It is too early to conclude that the Bomberg editions in Hebrew provided the model for the Sephardi prayer book, a question that has to be answered in chapter 7.

Chapter 7
DORDRECHT AND AMSTERDAM
JEWISH PRAYER BOOKS IN THE EARLY MODERN NORTHERN NETHERLANDS

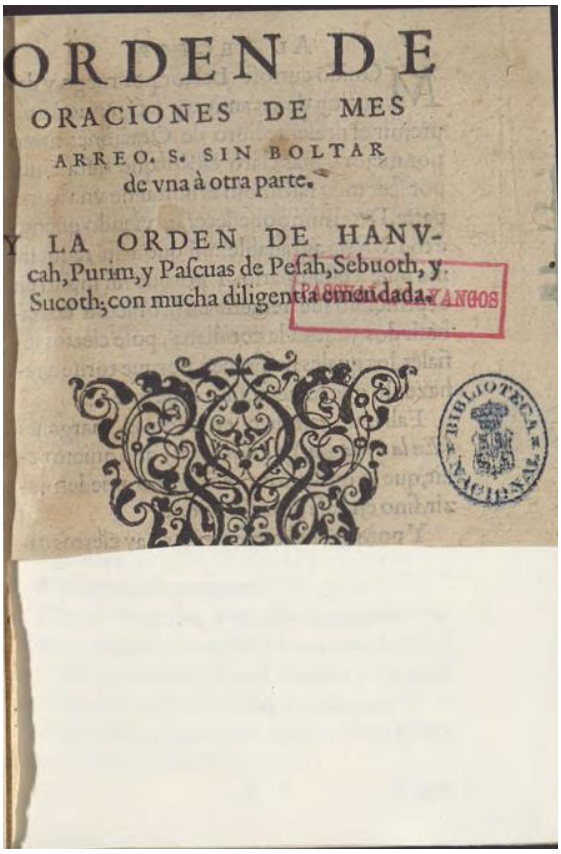
The origin and development of the books containing Jewish obligatory prayers that were printed in the Northern Netherlands are the first subject to gain attention in this and the following chapter. Treating these works like was done for the 16th-century publications in Venice and Ferrara in the previous chapter enables to answer the question whether the first generation (1584-1618) of the Sephardi vernacular prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands, as has been supposed by Sigmund Seeligmann, Adri Offenberg and Harm den Boer, are unaltered reprints of the 1552-155 Ferrara editions that have been discussed in the previous chapter and if not, what was their paradigm? Special attention to textual and paratextual elements is given in this and the following chapter as indicators for the development of specific Dutch liturgical customs. During the 17th century a growing number of mystical and kabbalistic works were printed in the Dutch Republic and the Shabtean messianic frenzy of 1666 left its traces, not only in special voluntary prayers. A point of special interest for that reason is the eventual inclusion of kabbalistic or other mystical elements in the obligatory prayers that were printed in Amsterdam at the same time. Do Ashkenazi prayer book differ from Sephardi ones? A new analysis of paratextual elements like title pages, prefaces, colophons, prefaces, and devices as presented by the actual books in hand, instead of repeating my predecessors, sometimes results in a critical review of previous attributions.

Who were the 17th-century Amsterdam printers, backers and workmen in the Jewish book industry and what was the position of early modern Jewish book culture within the general book culture in the Dutch Republic? To answer such questions a survey of such personalities is provided, in which special attention is given to Menasseh ben Israel, whose first printed work was a Hebrew Sephardi prayer book in 1627. After mentioning a still insufficiently defined position in book-production, the early modern Jewish book is discussed in its contemporary Dutch context and such aspects as notarial contracts and the employment of correctors and their remuneration will be discussed. A special case is that of non-Jewish staff: their religion prescribed rest on Sundays, while a Jew was not allowed to profit from work on Shabbat, the Jewish day of rest. Finally, were the early modern Jewish prayer books in the Northern Netherlands intended first and mainly for the local market as has been suggested previously, especially those that were of the greatest help to former Conversos who did not master Hebrew? Again the lessons of the previous chapter have to be taken into account.

Jewish book production in the Dutch Republic began at a time when the young nation was emerging as a world power, not in the last place thanks to its successes in international trade. Portuguese Jews with their existing international networks would become as important in this success as they had once been deemed to be by Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara.[1] The unequalled freedom of the printing press turned the Republic into 'the bookshop of the world'. The Jewish press benefited from this same freedom, even though occasionally regional and local authorities imposed restrictions on Jewish book trade, as will be shown. The earliest period of Jewish book production in the Northern Netherlands was dominated by Sephardi printers, who produced a steady stream of Jewish literary works, including numerous prayer books, often in an Iberian Jewish vernacular. They belonged to a community that consisted mainly of New Christian immigrants who had left the Iberian Peninsula, many of whom would return to Judaism. They retained a strong emotional connection to their Iberian roots, however, and considered themselves to be part of the *naçao portugueza*. Sephardi book production continued to flourish until the end of the 18th century, when the mass emigration of Converso refugees from Spain and Portugal came to a halt.[2]

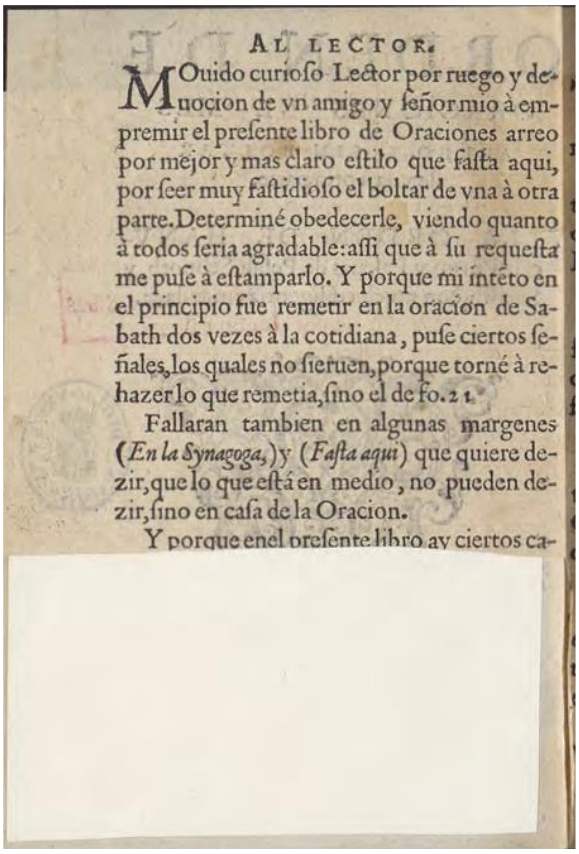
[1] See p. 82.
[2] See: Kayserling, 1971.

All of the Jewish prayer books[3] to have been published in the Dutch Republic before 1634 follow the Sephardi tradition, as is also to be expected, because Sephardi settlement in the Northern Netherlands preceded the immigration of Ashkenazi Jews. For an unbiased discussion of these prayer books, it is necessary to approach them *bottom up*, that is to say, starting with the book as an object, describing it as if it is seen for the first time, and only drawing conclusions after a careful analysis of all the elements found. The first three editions to have been published in the Northern Netherlands have incomplete and spurious imprints, but have been identified as the earliest editions by authoritative bibliographers. These will be discussed after they have been described.



ORDEN DE
ORACIONES DE MES
ARREO. S. SIN BOLTAR
de vna à otra parte.

Y LA ORDEN DE HANV-
cah, Purim, y Paſcuas de Peſah, Sebuoth, y
Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada.



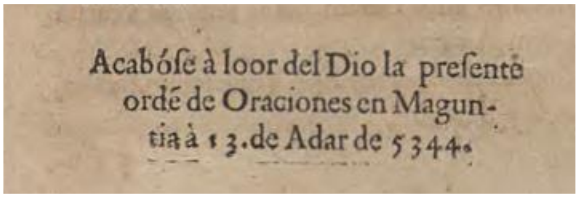
AL LECTOR.

MOuido curioſo Lector por ruego y deuocion de vn amigo y ſeñor mio à empremir el preſente libro de Oraciones arreo por mejor y mas claro eſtilo que faſta aqui, por ſeer muy faſtidioſo el boltar de vna à otra parte. Determiné obedecerle, viendo quanto à todos ſeria agradable: aſſi que à ſu requeſta me puſe à eſtamparlo. Y porque mi intéto en el principio fue remetir en la oracion de Sabath dos vezes à la cotidiana, puſe ciertos ſeñales, los quales no ſieruen, porque torné à rehazer lo que remetia, ſino el de fo. 21.

Fallaran tambien en algunas margenes (*En la Synagoga,*) y (*Faſta aqui*) que quiere dezir, que lo que eſtá en medio, no pueden dezir, ſino en caſa de la Oracion.

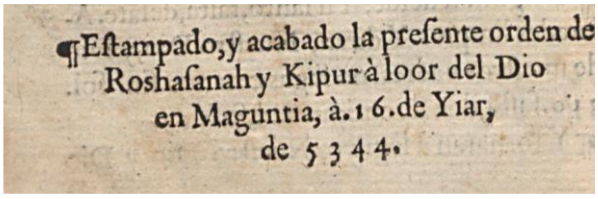
Y porque enel preſente libro ay ciertos ca-

25 Recto and verso of the title of the Dordrecht 1584 Daily Prayers (defective in the unique copy)



Acabóſe à loor del Dio la preſentè
ordé de Oraciones en Magun-
tia à 13. de Adar de 5344.

26 Colophon Daily Prayers 1584



¶Eſtampado, y acabado la preſente orden de
Roshaſanah y Kipur à loor del Dio
en Maguntia, à. 16. de Yiar,
de 5344.

27 Colophon High Holiday Prayers 1584

7.1 DORDRECHT 1584

1. Daily prayers, Dordrecht, 1584[4]
2. High Holidays. Dordrecht, 1584

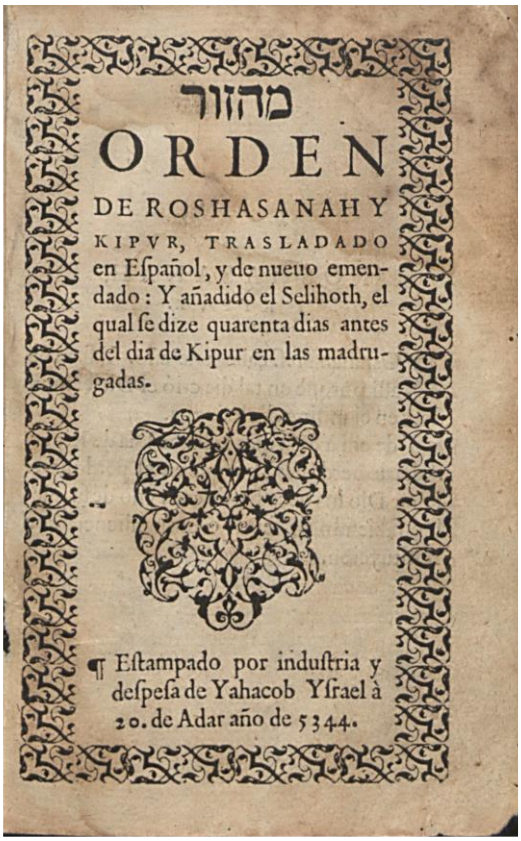
[3] Vinograd, quoting Cowley, mentions a 1613 Techinot edition in Yiddish, though this is clearly a mistake, as the first such edition only appeared in 1650 (Fuks, 1984 no. 267).

[4] The numbers correspondent with those in list A at the end of this study (pp. 231ff.).

The imprint of the first two Jewish prayer printed books suggests they originated in the episcopal town of Mainz,[5] though it is improbable that the authorities of the Mainz bishopric would have applauded the publication of Jewish prayer books at this stage in the Counter-Reformation, even though Jews had been living in the city for centuries. Dordrecht was a mainly Protestant town in the province of Holland, a major port of transfer for shipments over the river. That the books were written in Spanish, the language of the enemy, was no problem: other Spanish works were published without hindrance in the Northern Netherlands at the time. The local authorities might not condone the printing of prayers for a non-Christian public, but as the Dutch generally lacked a basic knowledge of Judaism and its terminology, there was every chance that these prayer books would not be identified as such. Still, there is ample proof that many printers preferred to avoid trouble with the authorities by resorting to an incomplete or fictitious imprint, as happened here. Sigmund Seeligmann and C.P. Burger[6] were the first to identify the Dordrecht printer Peeter Verhagen as the man behind the rare High Holiday prayers, a copy of which Seeligmann had been able to consult in the Mainz Municipal Library.[7] In 1987 Harm den Boer discovered the only known copy of the 1584 daily prayers, and identified with the help of Paul Valkema Blouw the roman typeface and the title vignette (illustration 25) as those used by the same Peeter Verhagen. The printer, however, preferred to use the spurious imprint of Mainz, as well as the fictitious name Jacob Israel in the High Holidays prayers, a quite common practice at the time. His circumspection is not difficult to understand, even though many printers at the time accepted commissions to print controversial texts that would certainly not find approval with the secular and religious authorities, who were in many other instances their main patrons. No information is available about who financed and distributed these editions.

Verhagen was a printer of theological works in Dordrecht, a city not known to have had Jewish inhabitants at the time. Peeter Verhagen was active in the years 1578-1628. According to the STCN[8] he only printed 10 works of a religious nature in the space of ten years, from 1578 to 1582:
Three editions include works by Johannes Calvin, one of which was printed without the place and name of the printer and was spuriously dated 1564;
An edition of the New Testament;
Two editions of the Psalms with Heidelberg Catechism;
The Bible in the Deux Aes translation;[9]
A work by the theologian Arnold Cornelis Crusius with the imprint Delft, C. Iansz, 1582;[10]
The translation of a work by the Polish reformer Johannes Alasco with the imprint Antwerp, J. Troyens and in the colophon: Delft, printed by C. Iansz, 1582;
In the same year, 1582, he published: Copie van het placcaet van d'Inquisitie gemaect ende gepubliceert by den nieuwen bisschop van Luyck. All these works were printed in black letter, unlike the Jewish prayers which he printed in roman type, a type that would be used for all subsequent editions of the prayer book in the Northern Netherlands. With the exception of the Inquisitional pamphlet by the bishop of Liège, Verhagen's publications are seen to cover theological subjects that provoked heated debates between various camps of Protestant

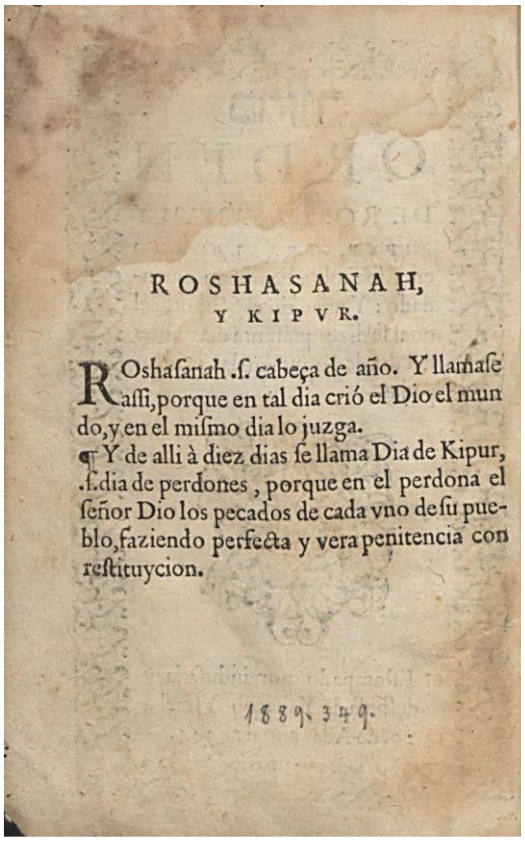
[5] Pettegree, 2019 E p. 278 mentions the use of Mainz as a false imprint by Amsterdam printers, amongst others by Athias, for English Bibles even as late as the 1670 and 1680s.
[6] Seeligmann, 1927, p. 36.
[7] Offenberg, 1993, pp. 56-57 mentions 5 copies.
[8] *S*hort-*T*itle *C*atalogue of the *N*etherlands.
[9] Originally published in Emden, 1562. A new edition of the Lutheran Bible, so called because of a marginal comment on Nehemiah 3: 5.
[10] The year Crusius attended a synod in Dordrecht.


מהזור

ORDEN

DE ROSHASANAH Y KIPVR, TRASLADADO en Eſpañol, y de nueuo emendado: Y añadido el Selihoth, el qual ſe dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.

¶ Eſtampado por induſtria y deſpeſa de Yahacob Yſrael à 20. de Adar año de 5344.


ROSHASANAH,

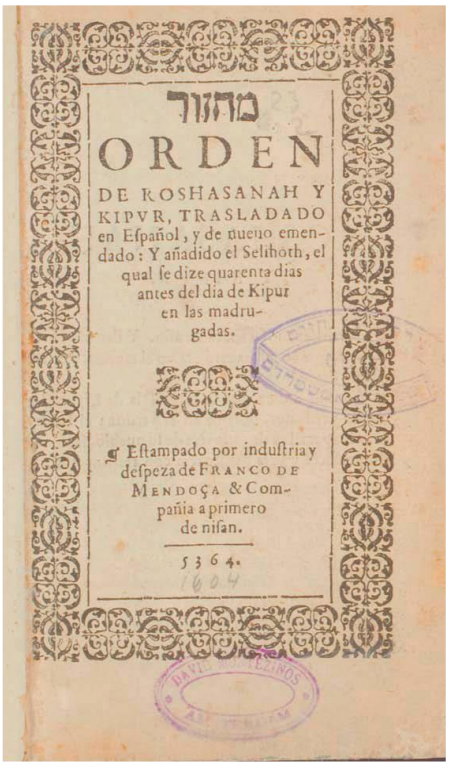
Y KIPVR.

ROshaſanah .ſ. cabeça de año. Y llamaſe aſſi, porque en tal dia crió el Dio el mundo, y en el miſmo dia lo juzga.

¶ Y de alli à diez dias ſe llama Dia de Kipur, .ſ. dia de perdones, porque en el perdona el ſeñor Dio los pecados de cada vno de ſu pueblo, faziendo perfecta y vera penitencia con reſtituycion.

1889.349.

28 Recto and verso of the title of the Dordrecht 1584 High Holiday Prayers


מהזור

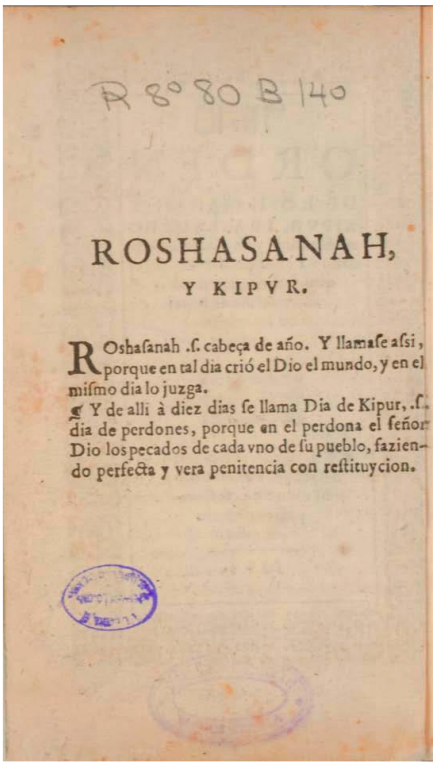
ORDEN

DE ROSHASANAH Y KIPVR, TRASLADADO en Eſpañol, y de nueuo emendado: Y añadido el Selihoth, el qual ſe dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.

¶ Eſtampado por induſtria y deſpeza de FRANCO DE MENDOÇA & Compañia a primero de niſan.

5364.

1604


R 8° 80 B 140

ROSHASANAH,

Y KIPVR.

ROshaſanah .ſ. cabeça de año. Y llamaſe aſsi, porque en tal dia crió el Dio el mundo, y en el miſmo dia lo juzga.

¶ Y de alli à diez dias ſe llama Dia de Kipur, .ſ. dia de perdones, porque en el perdona el ſeñor Dio los pecados de cada vno de ſu pueblo, faziendo perfecta y vera penitencia con reſtituycion.

29 Recto and verso of the title of the Amsterdam 1604 High Holiday Prayers

theologians. Why and by whom Verhagen was approached to print the two Jewish prayer books and why he accepted the commission will probably remain a riddle forever. It does not, however,

require a leap of the imagination to explain his reluctance to publicise Jewish prayer books under his own name and address.

Although bibliographers like Harm den Boer[11] and A.K. Offenberg[12] have called these editions in the vernacular 'an unchanged reprint' of the Ferrara 1552-1553 productions, a careful comparison of the Madrid copy[13] of the daily prayers with the Ets Haim copy of the 1552 Ferrara Oraciones de mes[14] already shows some significant differences at the beginning. For instance, the 1584 edition adds the 'Mah tovu'[15] verse to be said when entering the synagogue, and also contains several Bakashot which are lacking in the 1552 edition, as is the case with the Piyyut Yigdal.[16] Interestingly, the 1553 Ferrara edition of the prayers for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur apparently served as a model for the layout of subsequent editions of these prayers, beginning in Dordrecht as will be discussed hereafter.

7.2 AMSTERDAM 1604-1627

The production of Jewish books by Jews in the Northern Netherlands mainly came to be concentrated in Amsterdam and clearly follows all the patterns that have been described for the non-Jewish book world in the young and fast developing Dutch Republic.[17] This subject as far as it is related to the prayer books will be further discussed on pp. 133-135.The first Amsterdam edition appeared in 1604, the year the first Sephardi community Bet Jacob was founded. This edition contains the prayers for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.[18] The title page and layout resemble the 1584 Dordrecht edition, which seems to have been carefully followed by the Amsterdam compositor. The printing place is not mentioned and the publisher and sponsor is stated to be Franco de Mendoca & Compañia.[19] The initial period of Jewish book production in Amsterdam has remained undocumented and only a few rare copies have been preserved. As Pettegree and Der Weduwen stated, a poor survival rate was common for the period. Many works – not only Jewish books – were published, not a single copy of which has been preserved. This was especially the case when books were heavily used or were victims of war or natural causes. Due to the lack of uniformity in cataloguing and description, it is unusually difficult to locate surviving copies outside the main library collections that are known to contain this type of material. Documentation starts to increase from the start of Jewish Hebrew printing in Amsterdam in 1627, when Menasseh ben Israel published his first work, a Hebrew prayer book.[20] One of the interesting features of Jewish books that were printed at the time is that the names of compositors and correctors are sometimes mentioned, often providing information on their places of origin.[21]

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[11] Den Boer, Spanish and Portuguese printing; IDEM, 1995.

[12] Offenberg, 1993, pp. 77-96. An earlier version appeared as: Offenberg, 1987, nrs.1-2.

[13] I have examined this copy in PDF format.

[14] I have examined photocopies of the copy that has been removed from the Ets Haim Library without authorisation and which is now apparently in private possession.

[15] Num. 24: 5. As explained in chapter 13 this verse for long was excluded from Sephardi custom because of the traditionally rabbinic disrepute of Bileam who spoke them.

[16] These and additional elements are discussed in chapter 13. The title, however, is the same as that of Usque's 1555 Ferrara edition. As the only known copy of the Usque edition, now in the British Library, is quite incomplete (see Leoni, 2002), it is difficult to compare it with the 1584 one.

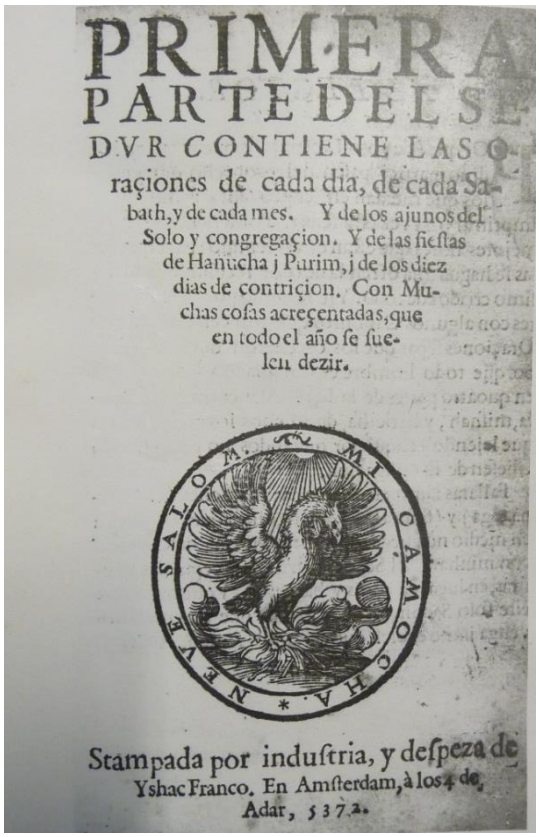
[17] Pettegree, 2019. The exclusion of a comprehensive index in the Dutch edition is quite regrettable.

[18] EH 23G2.

[19] The type used has been attributed to Amsterdam, but this has been doubted by Offenberg, see p. 97 note 22.

[20] Nadler, 2018.

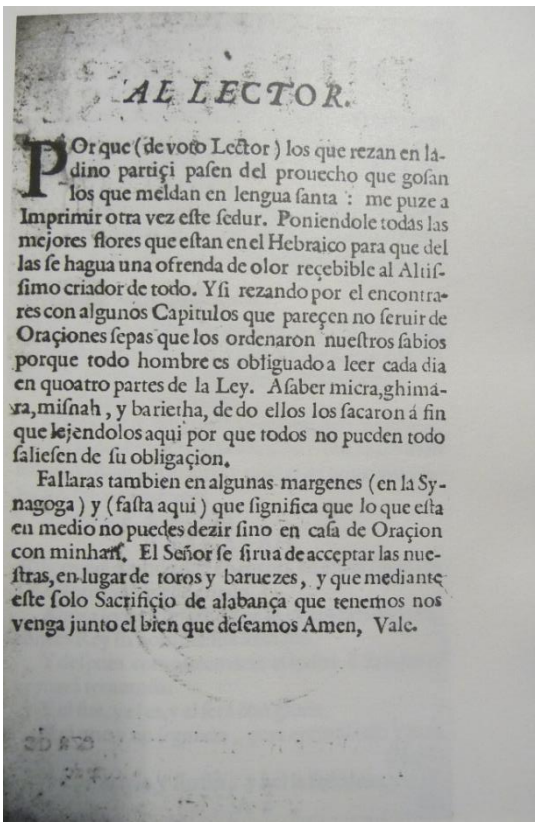
[21] This rarely occurs in non-Jewish books. It may be caused by a stipulation in Jewish law on intellectual property, which, however, did not always prevent economical competition forbidden by Halakhah, as numerous examples show. See e.g. the hint in a chronogram in List A nr. 127, p. 252: lo tasig gevul re'ekha (Deut. 19: 14), you shall not move your countryman's landmarks. Cf. p. 135, note 146.



PRIMERA
PARTE DEL SE
DVR CONTIENE LAS O-
raçiones de cada dia, de cada Sa-
bath, y de cada mes. Y de los ajunos del
Solo y congregaçion. Y de las ficstas
de Hanucha j Purim, j de los diez
dias de contriçion. Con Mu-
chas cosas acreçentadas, que
en todo el año se sue-
len dezir.

NEVE SALOM. MI CAMOCHA.

Stampada por industria, y despeza de
Yshac Franco. En Amsterdam, à los 4 de
Adar, 5372.



AL LECTOR.

POr que (de voto Lector) los que rezan en la-
dino partiçi pasen del prouecho que gosan
los que meldan en lengua santa: me puze a
Imprimir otra vez este sedur. Poniendole todas las
mejores flores que estan en el Hebraico para que del
las se hagua una ofrenda de olor reçebible al Altis-
simo criador de todo. Ysi rezando por el encontra-
res con algunos Capitulos que pareçen no seruir de
Oraçiones sepas que los ordenaron nuestros sabios
porque todo hombre es obligado a leer cada dia
en quoatro partes de la Ley. Asaber micra, ghimá-
ra, misnah, y barietha, de do ellos los sacaron á fin
que lejendolos aqui por que todos no pueden todo
salieses de su obligaçion.

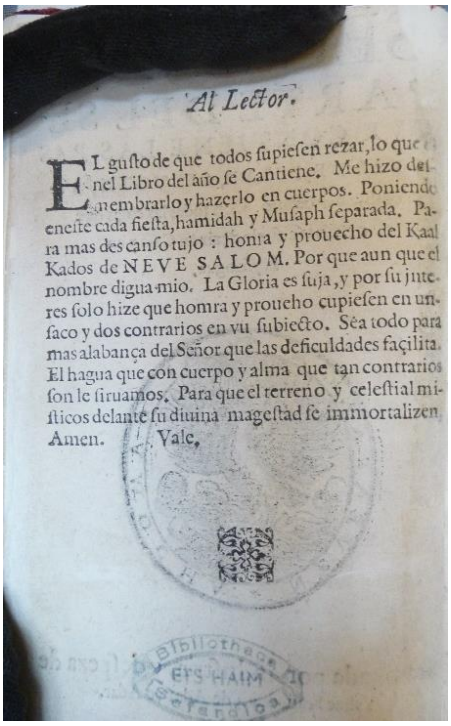
Fallaras tambien en algunas margenes (en la Sy-
nagoga) y (fasta aqui) que significa que lo que esta
en medio no puedes dezir sino en casa de Oraçion
con minhan. El Señor se sirua de acceptar las nue-
stras, en lugar de toros y baruezes, y que mediante
este solo Sacrificio de alabança que tenemos nos
venga junto el bien que deseamos Amen, Vale.

30 Title-page of the 1612 Daily Prayers, recto and verso

SEGVNDA
PARTE DEL SE-
DVR CONTIENE LAS PAS
CVAS DE PESAH, SEBVOTH, SV-
coth, y dia octauo. Con todas las cosas que
è nellas se suele dezir en Casa y en
la ysnogua.

NEVE SALOM. MI CAMOCHA.

Stampada por industria, y despeza de
Yshac Franco, à 4 de Adar ve Adar.
5372.



Al Lector.

EL gusto de que todos supiesen rezar, lo que
nel Libro del año se Cantiene. Me hizo det-
membrarlo y hazerlo en cuerpos. Poniendo
eneste cada fiesta, hamidah y Musaph separada. Pa-
ra mas descanso tujo: honra y prouecho del Kaal
Kados de NEVE SALOM. Por que aun que el
nombre digua mio. La Gloria es suja, y por su inte-
res solo hize que honra y proueho cupiesen en un-
saco y dos contrarios en vu subiecto. Sea todo para
mas alabança del Señor que las deficultades façilita.
El hagua que con cuerpo y alma que tan contrarios
son le siruamos. Para que el terreno y celestial mi-
sticos delante su diuina magestad se immortalizen
Amen. Vale.

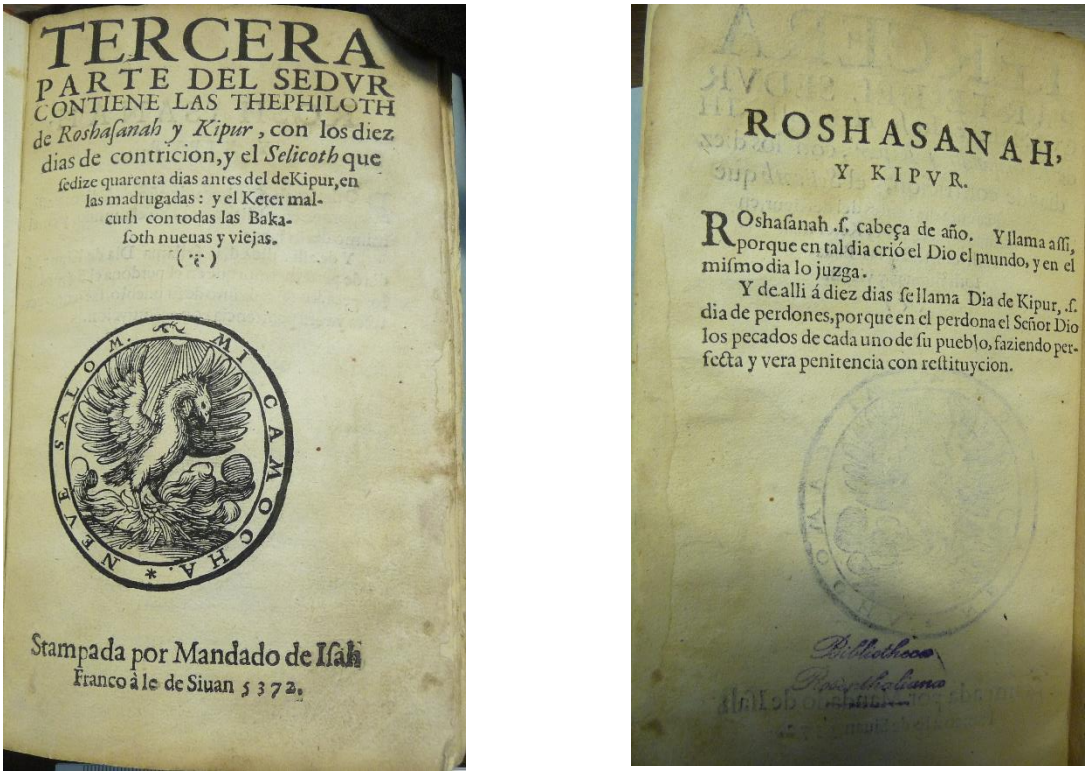
Bibliotheca
ETS HAIM
Lenzandola

31 Title-page of the 1612 Festival Prayers, recto and verso

3. High Holidays. Amsterdam, 1604[22]

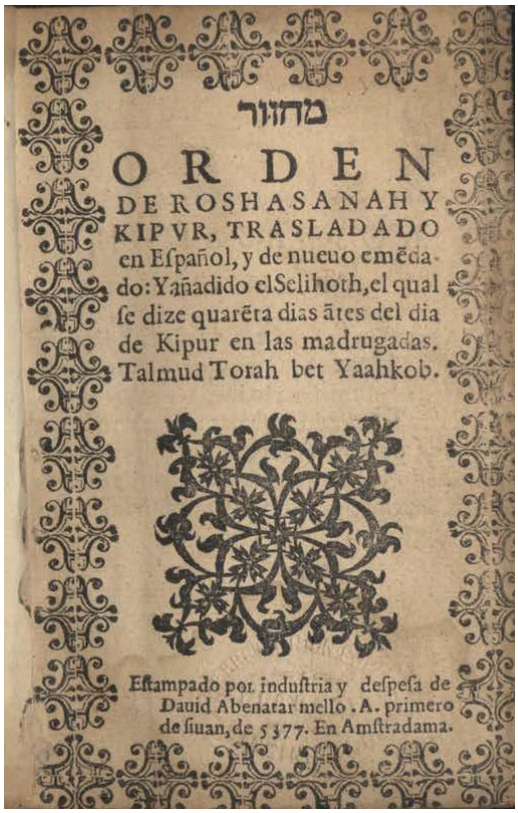
Comparing the recto and verso of the title-pages of the 1584 and the 1604 editions of the prayers for the High Holidays, as shown on the previous page, show that the former set the format for the later. The similarity between both editions is striking, but there are differences, the most important of which is the presence for the first time in the 1604 edition of Keter Malkhut and a number of Bakashot at the end of the book.

4. Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam, 1612
   a. Daily Prayers
   b. Festival Prayers
   c. High Holidays
5. High Holidays. Amsterdam, 1617
6. Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam, 1618
7. Fast Days. Amsterdam, 1618
8. Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam, 1622
9. High Holidays. Amsterdam, 1625
10. Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam, 1626
11. Daily Prayers. Amsterdam, 1627


TERCERA
PARTE DEL SEDVR
CONTIENE LAS THEPHILOTH
de *Roshaſanah* y *Kipur*, con los diez
dias de contricion, y el *Selicoth* que
ſe dize quarenta dias antes del de Kipur, en
las madrugadas: y el Keter mal-
cuth con todas las Baka-
ſoth nueuas y viejas.
(:)
Stampada por Mandado de Iſah
Franco à le de Siuan 5372.
ROSHASANAH,
Y KIPVR.
ROshaſanah .ſ. cabeça de año. Y llama aſſi, porque en tal dia crió el Dio el mundo, y en el miſmo dia lo juzga.
Y de alli á diez dias ſe llama Dia de Kipur, .ſ. dia de perdones, porque en el perdona el Señor Dio los pecados de cada uno de ſu pueblo, faziendo per-fecta y vera penitencia con reſtituycion.

32 Title-page of the 1612 High Holidays Prayers, recto and verso

[22] Offenberg, 1987 p. 57 no. 3 states that this edition may have been printed in Dordrecht. The numbers continue from p. 92 and correspond with the numbers in list A pp. 231ff.

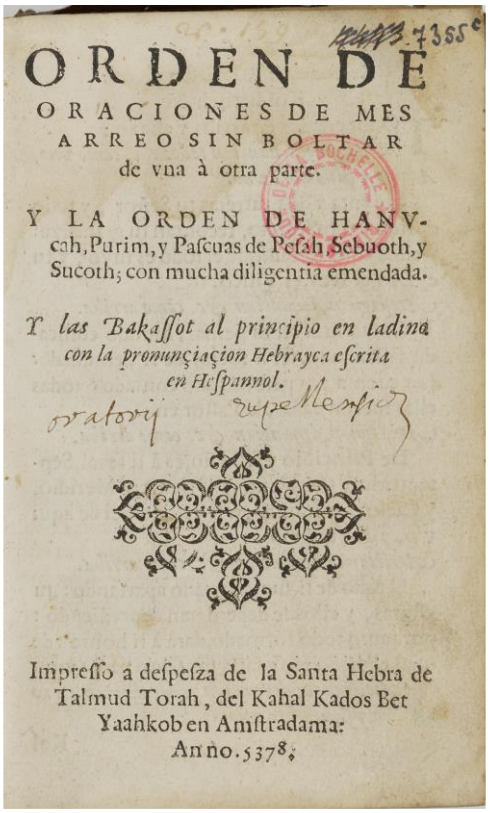


מחזור

ORDEN

DE ROSHASANAH Y KIPVR, TRASLADADO en Eſpañol, y de nueuo emẽda-do: Yañadido elSelihoth, el qual ſe dize quarẽta dias ãtes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas. Talmud Torah bet Yaahkob.

Eſtampado por induſtria y deſpeſa de Dauid Abenatar mello. A. primero de iuan, de 5377. En Amſtradama.



ORDEN DE

ORACIONES DE MES ARREO SIN BOLTAR de vna à otra parte.

Y LA ORDEN DE HANV-cah, Purim, y Paſcuas de Peſah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada.

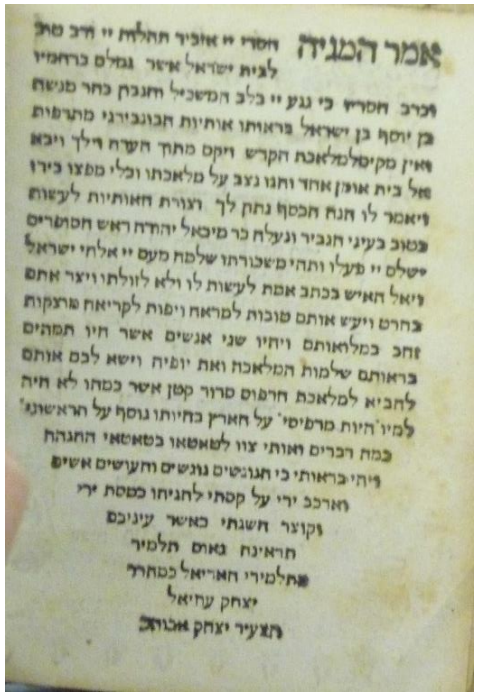
Y las Bakaſſot al principio en ladina con la pronunçiaçion Hebrayca eſcrita en Heſpannol.

oratorij

Impreſſo a deſpeſza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah, del Kahal Kados Bet Yaahkob en Amſtradama: Anno. 5378.

33 1617 High Holiday prayers Title-pages 34 1618 Comprehensive prayers

סדר תפלות



35 Title and corrector's statement of the 1627 first Hebrew Amsterdam edition

7.3 THE EARLY ASHKENAZI PRAYER BOOKS PUBLISHED IN AMSTERDAM

While many Iberian immigrants in the Northern Netherlands had previously lived as Conversos and may have become distanced from Jewish tradition, the Ashkenazi newcomers to the Dutch Republic brought with them a living heritage and the first Ashkenazi prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands at first sight do not show distinctive textual differences from their direct predecessors that had been published in Germany and more to the East, for example in Prague and Cracow.

The early Ashkenazi prayer books that were published in Amsterdam contained the Ashkenazi (= German, Western Ashkenazi) or Polish (= Eastern Ashkenazi) rite, though it is not rare to find both rites published together in one volume. Ashkenazi prayer books could contain the daily and Shabbat prayers, but often they were more comprehensive, and also included the Haggadah and the prayers for the Festivals and even the High Holidays. The many fierce disagreements between 'German' and 'Polish' Jews first caused the Ashkenazi Jews to be banned from the Sephardi synagogues as has been discussed in chapter 5. Eventually the 'Polish' Jews would found their own community, until the Amsterdam city authorities would compel them to reunite with their 'German' brothers in 1673. It is as yet unknown how their liturgies may have differed in practice in the Northern Netherlands. German and Polish rite in Early Modernity only differ in the piyyutim and selichot that are inserted in the obligatory prayers, not only their texts, but also the order in which they occur. These poetical elements belong, as is stated in my introduction to this study, to a special class of Jewish research and have been excluded from my research. Where the differences between the German and Polish rites in daily prayer are only distinctive in the prayers following the morning Amidah, they become very pronounced in the many piyyutim, especially for the festivals, and the Machsorim for the festivals in general reflect the Western or Eastern rite only, because the two have different piyyut traditions as is documented in the critical editions of the Ashkenazi Machsorim by Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt and his son in law Yonah Frankel, 1970-2000.

The early modern Ashkenazi obligatory prayers too show relative minor textual changes only, but remained in a certain evolution. The influence of medieval rabbinic theories is seen in details like the amount of words in a certain prayer, the presence or absence of a particle,[23] and many of these differences have been described by Seligman Baer in his Siddur Avodat Yisrael (1868) and by Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt in his various studies.[24] As will also will be extensively discussed in part 3 of this study, there are many differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer book, but there are interesting common textual and paratextual features as well and they will be discussed later in this chapter within their own categories. As may be expected, publishers could count on reaching a wide market with these publications, both in the Dutch Republic and in the countries to the East, stretching from Germany to the Ukraine. Undoubtedly, the many conflicts between Ashkenazi immigrants that have been so amply documented have long prevented the emergence of a local Amsterdam minhag, while the absence of any typical Rhineland customs[25] render the claim that Amsterdam was the only place where Rhineland customs were observed without interruption[26] unlikely at the least.[27] Any conclusion drawn on the basis of the prayer

[23] Examples are *pores* or *ha-pores* at the end of the Hashkivenu in the evening prayer or the Kaddish prayer during the days of repentance (*min kol birkhata* versus *mikol birkhata*).

[24] See also Berger, 2019.

[25] Such as placing wax candles around the Aron ha-Kodesh on Yom Kippur, or the bridegroom's custom of breaking a glass against a specially bricked-in stone in memory of the destruction of the Temple. Just before Rosh ha-Shanah, people would visit the graves of their nearest kin and would measure the circumference of the graves with linen threads, which were then made into wicks for those wax candles. See Baumgarten, 2020.

[26] See Brilleman, 2002 and 2007, introduction.

[27] Recently, Ashkenazi as well as Sephardi individuals have been industriously collecting earlier minhagim by interviewing people. As is already shown in Talmudic texts, human memory is often unreliable. The same source can for instance be remembered differently by several witnesses, as happened with two sons of a former Ashkenazi

books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands during the 17th and 18th centuries should be read with the following caveat in mind: 'The existence of a text does not necessarily indicate that people performed the rituals that appear in it, just as not all of the prayers found in the prayer book are actually said in practice, and vice versa, there are prayers that are said although they do not appear in the prayer books.'[28]

A number of textual and paratextual aspects of the 17th-century editions of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books will be discussed now.

7.4 TEXTUAL REMARKS

Generally speaking, the early editions of the Sephardi Jewish prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands followed their Ferrara predecessors, which had apparently reached the status of being exemplary of its class, just as the 1553 Ferrara edition of the Spanish Bible translation had apparently become the standard for biblical texts in Jewish literature.[29] The contents and order of the prayer books were, however, never canonised, as is obvious from various elements in the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books which were printed in Amsterdam during the 17th century.

7.4.1 THE SO-CALLED FIFTH BERAKHAH IN THE WEEKDAY-EVENING PRAYER

It is a biblical Jewish obligation to say *Keriat Shemah* in the evening and in the morning, and the rabbis of old instituted special blessings to precede and follow it. Already in Mishnah Berakhot these blessings, are discussed, including some old variants. In the evening and in the morning two blessings precede the Shemah, which in the evening is followed by two and in the morning by one blessing (Mishnah Berakhot 1: 4). The first hint to a fifth berakhah in the weekday evening prayer is from the Gaonic Period and *Sefer ha-Manhig* by the 12th century Provencal rabbi Abraham ben Nathan derives it from the Palestinian rite. After centuries it became restricted to Ashkenazi practice outside Israel and it was a surprise to see it included not only in the Ashkenazi prayer books, but also in the Venice and Ferrara editions that were discussed in the previous chapter. They would continue to be part of the Amsterdam Sephardi prayer books that were printed into the 18th century and only relatively late become restricted to the Ashkenazi prayer books that were printed there. Again it needs to be stressed that the fact that this element was printed is insufficient proof that it actually was said by the Amsterdam Sephardim.

7.4.2 REPETITION OF THE AMIDAH IN THE EVENING PRAYER

The exceptional custom to repeat the Amidah with Kedushah on Friday evening which was included in the 1544 Venice comprehensive and 1552 Ferrara daily prayers and has been discussed in the previous chapter, is not known to be included in any edition that was printed in the Northern Netherlands. Surprisingly the 1612 Amsterdam festival prayers include the repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer, a custom that did not occur in the editions from Venice and Ferrara that have been described in the previous chapter. While the repetition on Friday evening apparently was a possible Spanish custom, as it seems to be mentioned only by Menachem Meiri and is connected with the general acceptance to say the originally voluntary evening prayer, the repetition on the evening of the Pilgrim's festivals is an old custom from the Land of Israel which seems to have escaped later halakhic attention.[30] The Amsterdam 1612

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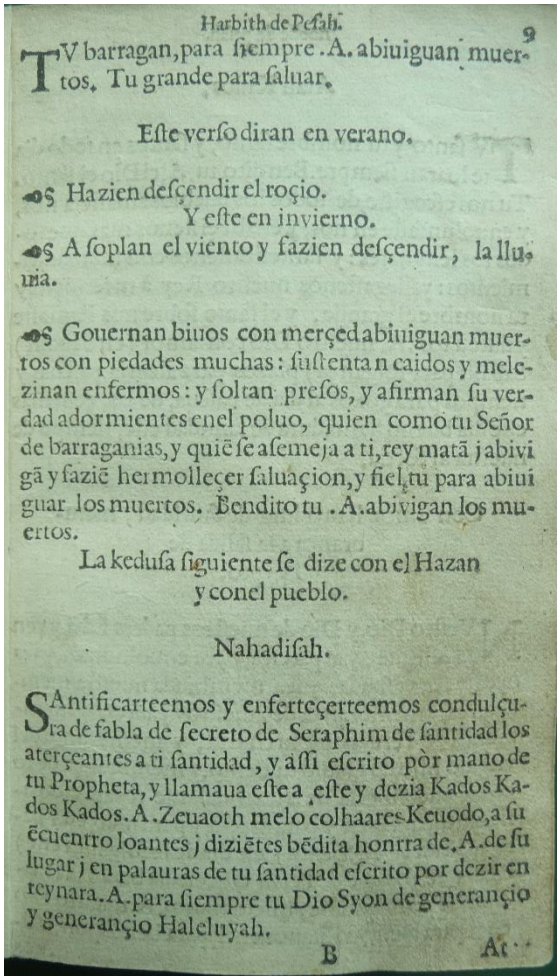
chazzan, who had opposite recollections of singing the 'Hanerot Halalu' when the Chanukiah is lit in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi synagogues. In preparation of the publication of *Sefer Chajim Lanefesj* in 1989, an Amsterdam Portuguese rabbi checked the Portuguese burial service. Years later he came to the conclusion that a particular prayer had to be replaced by another, abridged version of the same text. When did the rabbi get it right, the first or the second time?

[28] Bar-Levav, 2017, p. 122.

[29] Cf. p. 82.

[30] The subject will be further discussed in chapter 13, p. 197f.

edition is the first documented separate edition of the Sephardi Festival prayers in the vernacular and except for this detail (illustration 36) mostly parallels the liturgical tradition which is presented in the 1552 Ferrara comprehensive prayers. This is probably the only time that this repetition has been printed and without further research it is impossible to trace its arrival in Amsterdam. It is another element that proves that though the early Sephardi vernacular prayer books were closely related with their Ferrara predecessors that were described in the previous chapter, they are not unaltered reprints.



Harbith de Peſah. 9

TV barragan, para ſiempre .A. abiuiguan muertos. Tu grande para ſaluar.

Eſte verſo diran en verano.

§ Hazien deſçendir el roçio.
Y eſte en invierno.

§ A ſoplan el viento y fazien deſçendir, la lluuia.

§ Gouernan biuos con merçed abiuiguan muertos con piedades muchas: ſuſtentan caidos y melczinan enfermos: y ſoltan preſos, y afirman ſu verdad adormientes enel poluo, quien como tu Señor de barraganias, y quiē ſe aſemeja a ti, rey matā j abivigā y faziē hermolleçer ſaluaçion, y fiel, tu para abiuiguar los muertos. Bendito tu .A. abivigan los muertos.

La keduſa ſiguiente ſe dize con el Hazan y conel pueblo.

Nahadiſah.

SAntificarteemos y enferteçerteemos condulçura de fabla de ſecreto de Seraphim de ſantidad los aterçeantes a ti ſantidad, y aſſi eſcrito pòr mano de tu Propheta, y llamaua eſte a eſte y dezia Kados Kados Kados. A. Zeuaoth melo colhaares Keuodo, a ſu ēcuentro loantes j diziētes bēdita honrra de. A. de ſu lugar j en palauras de tu ſantidad eſcrito por dezir en reynara. A. para ſiempre tu Dio Syon de generançio y generançio Haleluyah.

B At··

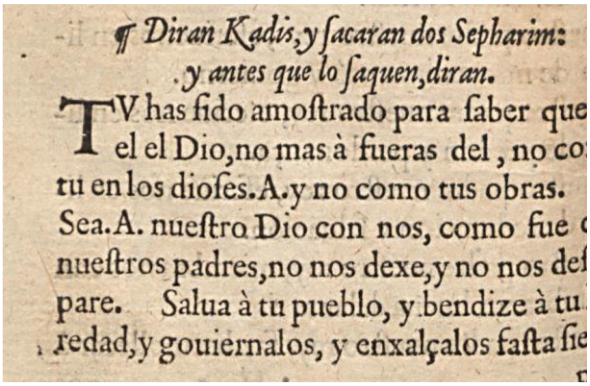
36 Repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer of a festival

7.4.3 VERSES SAID WHEN TAKING OUT THE SEFER TORAH AND BIRKAT HA-GOMEL

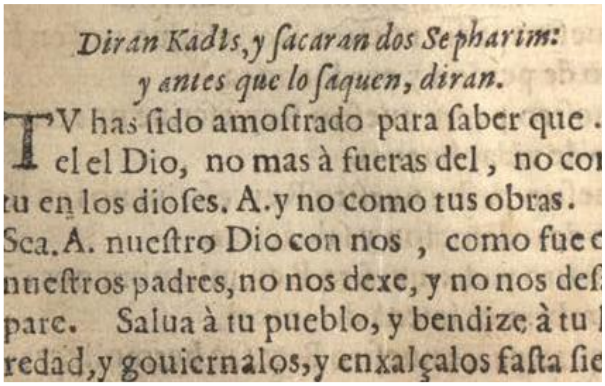
The early editions of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books that were produced in the Northern Netherlands show that these texts had not yet reached a fixed redaction, as can be seen in illustrations 37-40. As was stated in chapter 1 of this study, the reading of the Torah was one of the initial functions of synagogue activities and this is probably the reason that the reading of the Torah, taken the scroll out and returning it, are until today central ceremonies in the communal liturgy. These ceremonies often vary between the various rites, as do the texts that are said, and often these texts are distinctive for a certain rite. The early modern Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books that were printed in Amsterdam, prove that this element had not yet received its final redaction in both rites. Surprisingly this development escaped the attention of the editorial staff of *My People's Prayer Book*[31] and it awaits further research. The texts in prayer books of both rites start, as is shown in illustrations 37-40 (from Sephardi editions only), with the

[31] Hoffman, 1979-2007.

same verses that later became restricted to the Ashkenazi rite on Simchat Torah. Additional research may provide more information on these texts in earlier Ashkenazi tradition, but as I remarked in chapter 6, identical texts were included in the 16th-century Sephardi editions that were published in Venice and Ferrara. Eventually in both rites many of these verses would be deleted, accentuating the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi practice. More recently the number of verses that are said when taking out the Torah have become one of the defining differences between Eastern and Western Ashkenazi liturgy.


¶ Diran Kadis, y ſacaran dos Sepharim:
y antes que lo ſaquen, diran.
TV has ſido amoſtrado para ſaber que
el el Dio, no mas à fueras del, no co
tu en los dioſes. A. y no como tus obras.
Sea. A. nueſtro Dio con nos, como fue
nueſtros padres, no nos dexe, y no nos de
pare. Salua à tu pueblo, y bendize à tu
redad, y gouiernalos, y enxalçalos faſta ſie

37 Dordrecht 1584


Diran Kadis, y ſacaran dos Sepharim:
y antes que lo ſaquen, diran.
TV has ſido amoſtrado para ſaber que
el el Dio, no mas à fueras del, no co
tu en los dioſes. A. y no como tus obras.
Sea. A. nueſtro Dio con nos, como fue
nueſtros padres, no nos dexe, y no nos de
pare. Salua à tu pueblo, y bendize à tu
redad, y gouiernalos, y enxalçalos faſta ſie

38 Amsterdam, 1618

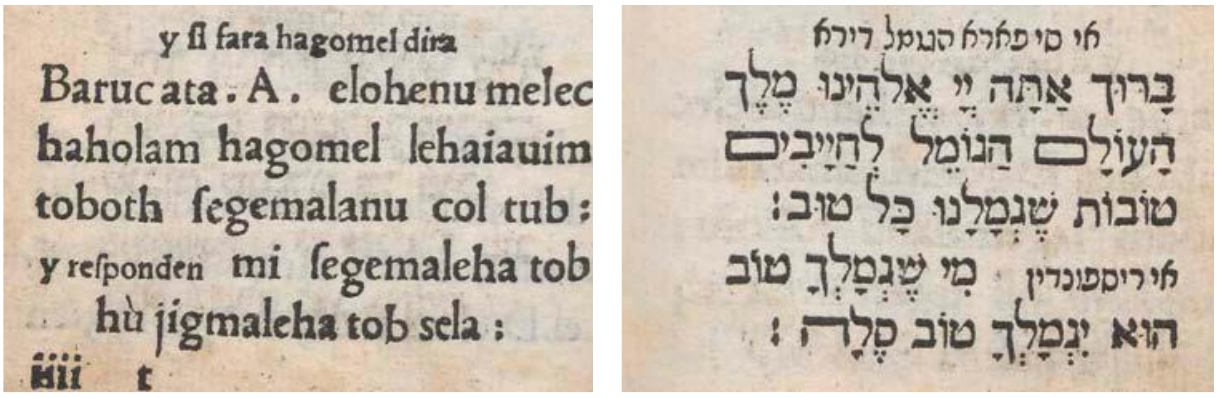

אתה הראת לדעת כי יי הוא האלהים
אין עוד מלבדו אין כמוך באלהים
יי ואין כמעשיך יהי יי אלהינו עמנו
כאשר היה עם אבותינו אל יעזבנו ואל ישטשנו
הושיעה את עמך וברך את נחלתך ורעם ונשאם עד
העולם ויהי בנסוע הארון ויאמר משה קומה יי ויפצו
איביך וינוסו משנאיך מפניך קומה יי למנוחתך אתה
וארון עזך בהניך ילבשו צדק וחסידיך ירננו
בעבור דוד עבדך אל תשב פני משיחך

39 Benveniste 1643 (Sephardi)


קדים תתקבל וקולס מיוסיף ס"ת
לעזר
אתה הראת לדעת כי יי
הוא האלהים אין עוד
מלבדו אין כמוך באלהים יי
ואין כמעשיך יהי יי אלהינו עמנו
כאשר היה עם אבותינו אל יעזבנו
ואל ישטשנו הושיעה את עמך
וברך

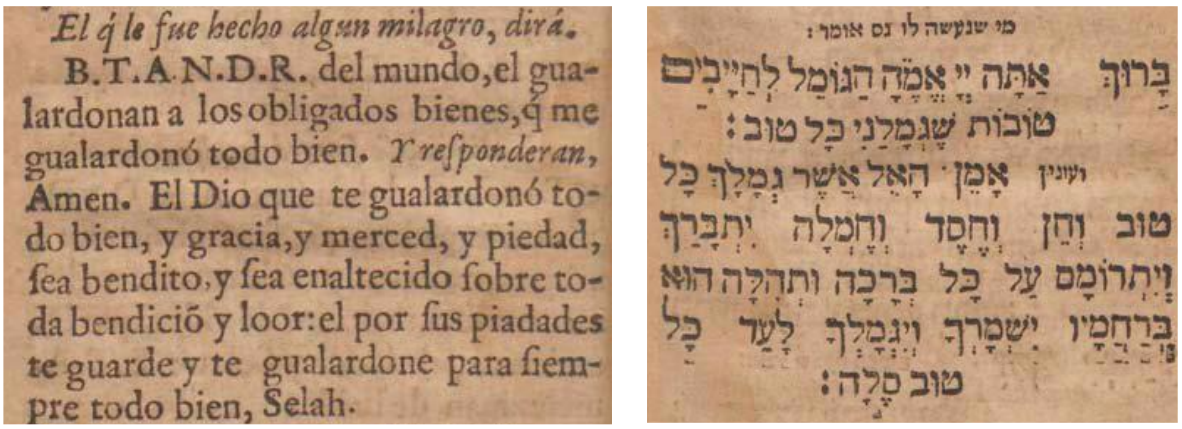
40 Menasseh ben Israel, 1648 (Ashkenazi)

Another interesting development is seen in the case of the Birkat ha-Gomel, the blessing that is said after the reading of the Torah by someone who has recovered from a life-threatening illness, has returned from a sea voyage or a desert crossing or has been released from captivity. The Torah blessings are often not printed in the early editions of the Jewish prayer book, but when they do, Ashkenazi and Sephardi formula for the blessing and the answer by the community are identical (illustration 41). The 1640 Amsterdam edition of the Sephardi prayer book is the first one known to me that includes a longer answer (illustration 42) which has since become the custom of the Amsterdam Sephardim and further information on the origin of this text and the way it became accepted in Sephardi Amsterdam is lacking.


y ſi fara hagomel dira
Baruc ata. A. elohenu melec
haholam hagomel lehaiauim
toboth ſegemalanu col tub:
y reſponden mi ſegemaleha tob
hù jigmaleha tob sela:
iii t
מי סי פתרח הגומל דירח
בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ
הָעוֹלָם הַגּוֹמֵל לְחַיָּבִים
טוֹבוֹת שֶׁגְּמָלָנוּ כָּל טוּב:
מי ריספונדין מִי שֶׁגְּמָלְךָ טוֹב
הוּא יִגְמָלְךָ טוֹב סֶלָה:

41 Venice 1552 The short answer Venice 1544

The same version is included in the Venice 1552 edition. The Torah Berakhot are not included in the Dordrecht editions.


El q̃ le fue hecho algun milagro, dirá.
B.T.A.N.D.R. del mundo, el gua-
lardonan a los obligados bienes, q̃ me
gualardonó todo bien. *Y reſponderan,*
Amen. El Dio que te gualardonó to-
do bien, y gracia, y merced, y piedad,
ſea bendito, y ſea enaltecido ſobre to-
da bendiciõ y loor: el por ſus piadades
te guarde y te gualardone para ſiem-
pre todo bien, Selah.
מי שנעשה לו נס אומר:
בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱמֶת הַגּוֹמֵל לְחַיָּבִים
טוֹבוֹת שֶׁגְּמָלַנִי כָּל טוּב:
ועונין אָמֵן הָאֵל אֲשֶׁר גָּמַלְךָ כָּל
טוּב וְחֵן וְחֶסֶד וְחֶמְלָה יִתְבָּרֵךְ
וְיִתְרוֹמַם עַל כָּל בְּרָכָה וְתְהִלָּה הוּא
יְרַחֲמֵנוּ יִשְׁמְרֵךְ וְיִגְמָלְךָ לָעַד כָּל
טוּב סֶלָה:

42 The long answer, Amsterdam 1640 (Seder Berakhot)

7.4.4 MYSTICISM, KABBALAH AND MESSIANIC FERVOUR IN THE PRAYER BOOK TEXTS

Later in this chapter the reception of mysticism and especially of Kabbalah by the Jews in the Northern Netherlands will be discussed. As explained in chapter 4 of this study, mysticism already in Antiquity gained a place in obligatory Jewish prayer and this continued in the medieval period.[32] That the mystical anonymous medieval poem *Ana bekoach* was already included in the early editions of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish prayer books has already been mentioned.[33] The main kabbalistic source in Early Modernity was the Zohar, which influenced Jewish thinking, life, and often also prayer. Do the prayer books that are printed in the Northern Netherlands reflect this tendency? Only one text from the Zohar was widely included in Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books: Berikh Shemei,[34] i.e. Zohar Vayakhel 11. It is said mostly on Shabbat but in some rites also on Monday and Thursday,[35] when the Sefer Torah is taken from the Ark to be read. The first printed Sephardi prayer book containing this text was published in Venice in 1584, where it is part of the weekday service. The first printed Ashkenazi edition to contain Berikh Shemei is the 1623 Lublin edition by R. Shabtai Sofer, which also included other kabbalistic elements. In Amsterdam, the text first occurred in the 1649 Benveniste[36] edition of the Ashkenazi

[32] See Goetschel, 1987.
[33] P. 84.
[34] Frankel, 1987 pp. 366-388; Hallamish, 2005 pp. 403-405; Huss, 2016 pp. 210-211; Langer, 2005a pp. 146-150.
[35] Berger, 2019 pp. 229-237.
[36] Understandable, as Benveniste published 7 kabbalistic works, one of them an introduction into Lurianic Kabbalah and the Zohar.

rite and in the 1661 Athias[37] edition of the Sephardi rite. The text, however, is conspicuously absent from the majority of the prayer book editions published in the Northern Netherlands according to the Western Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites in the 17th century. It is absent from most 19th- and 20th–century Dutch editions[38] and services in the official synagogues of both communities.[39] This does not mean that this text, to which great spiritual powers have been traditionally attributed, was never recited by private minyanim.

Two Early Modern mystical additions to the prayer book are Kabbalat Shabbat on Friday night and Hatavat Chalom combined with the Priestly Blessing. In the Sephardi prayer books that have been discussed in chapters 6 and 7, the Friday night prayer is preceded by Ps. 29, Mishnah Shabbat chapter 2, the end of TB Berakhot (64a), followed by Kaddish de-Rabbanan, Ps. 92-93 and Kaddish. Menasseh ben Israel in his first Hebrew prayer book dating to 1627 proudly announces on the title page the inclusion in his edition of the Piyyut Lekha Dodi, which was composed by the Safed mystic Solomon Alkabetz. It is to be found between the Mishnah chapter and the biblical verses that follow. This song was also incorporated in the later editions at the same place. In the 'complete' Kabbalat Shabbat Psalm 29 is preceded by Ps. 95-99 and is followed by the mystic poem Ana bekoach, Lekha Dodi and Psalm 92-93. This complete Kabbalat Shabbat was not adopted in the Western Sephardi prayer books, which accepted Ana bekoach only inconspicuously in the Zemirot[40] of the morning prayer and in the burial rite.[41] The Amsterdam Ashkenazi liturgy accepted the complete Kabbalat Shabbat, with the exception of Ana bekoach. Mishnah Shabbat chapter 2 is not said between Kabbalat Shabbat and the evening prayer as is common in the Eastern Ashkenazi rite, but after the Berakhah me'ein shevah (see p. 197).

Dreams have been intriguing people throughout history, as is already clear from the Genesis story of Joseph, who interpreted the dreams of the royal baker and cup bearer, as well those of Pharaoh himself. For such unsettling dreams, TB Berakhot 55b mentions a supplication, known since as the apotropaic Hatavat Chalom.[42] Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books both include some such prayer but its place differs. In most early printed Sephardi editions a short version follows the morning prayers, and a more extensive one, to be said before going to sleep. The early Ashkenazi editions too contain both versions, but later they appear in combination with the Priestly Blessing[43] on the Holidays,[44] a custom mentioned in Arba'ah Turim and Beit Yoseph. Ashkenazi editions from the 19th century onwards feature the supplication in a smaller font at the bottom of the page with the instruction: 'When the Cohanim are singing, one says …' This is interesting, as the instruction provided by the Tur and Beit Yoseph is that one must hear every word that is said by the Cohanim, and must say the words when the Cohanim, when chanting their melody, extend the final consonant of each of the three prescribed verses. Dutch Ashkenazim traditionally use special melodies for each of the Holidays on which the Cohanim bless the community from the Duchan. The chazzan indicates this melody when he prompts the

[37] Although Athias published only a few kabbalistic works, he was a devoted follower of Shabtai Tsevi and so open to kabbalistic influences.

[38] It occurs in the 1805 edition of the Ashkenazi Machsor with Yiddish commentary Kavvanat ha-Paytan.

[39] With the exception of the Amstelveen Sephardi synagogue, where it has been introduced on behalf of the Israeli members who were too greatly attached to the customs of their families and without whom it was not possible to make up a minyan.

[40] See p. 192.

[41] Burial rites of both western Ashkenazim and Sephardim have been influenced by the mystical works *Shenei Luchot ha-Brit* and *Ma'avar Yabok*. It is understandable that everything surrounding death and burial lends itself to a mystical approach.

[42] See Talmudic Encyclopedia vol. 8, cols. 753-758; Trachtenberg, 1979 pp. 244-248.

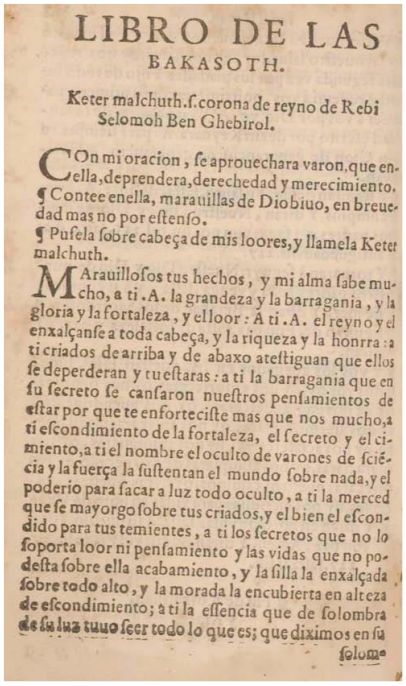
[43] Num. 6: 24-26.

[44] Berger, 2019 pp. 255-257.

Cohanim, by slightly prolonging the melody before pronouncing the final word of each verse. Before pronouncing the final word the Cohanim complete this prolonged melody. Those early Sephardi editions that include the 'Duchan' with the blessing to be said by the Cohanim, as well as the concluding prayer, do not include Hatavat Chalom, perhaps because this kabbalistic dream ceremony is customarily performed in silence. This, however, is no proof that it was not actually said in Sephardi circles. It would be an interesting study to compare the several versions of the Hatavat Chalom. Later in this chapter the reception of mysticism and Kabbalah, as well as the traces of messianic fervor in 17th-century Amsterdam printing will be discussed.

7.4.5 KETER MALKHUT, SELICHOT AND BAKASHOT

The lengthy and highly popular poem Keter Malkhut by Solomon ibn Gabirol[45] was, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, already included in the Bomberg Hebrew editions of the prayer book, as well as in the 1552 Ferrara comprehensive prayers at the beginning of the book. It was, however, excluded from the Ferrara 1552 daily prayers and both 1552 Venice editions. In the Northern Netherlands the poem was first published in the 1604 Amsterdam prayers for the High Holidays (see illustration 43), where it was given a place at the end of the book, before the Bakashot. Later it became a fixed feature at the end of the evening prayer of Yom Kippur in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books.[46]



LIBRO DE LAS
BAKASOTH.

Keter malchuth. ſ. corona de reyno de Rebi Selomoh Ben Ghebirol.

COn mi oracion, ſe aprouechara varon, que en-
ella, deprendera, derechedad y merecimiento.
¶ Conteeenella, marauillas de Diobiuo, en breue-
dad mas no por eſtenſo.
¶ Puſela ſobre cabeça de mis loores, y llamela Keter malchuth.

MArauilloſos tus hechos, y mi alma ſabe mu-
cho, a ti. A. la grandeza y la barragania, y la
gloria y la fortaleza, y el loor: A ti. A. el reyno y el
enxalçanſe a toda cabeça, y la riqueza y la honrra: a
ti criados de arriba y de abaxo ateſtiguan que ellos
ſe deperderan y tu eſtaras: a ti la barragania que en
ſu ſecreto ſe canſaron nueſtros penſamientos de
eſtar por que te enforteciſte mas que nos mucho, a
ti eſcondimiento de la fortaleza, el ſecreto y el ci-
miento, a ti el nombre el oculto de varones de ſcié-
cia y la fuerça la ſuſtentan el mundo ſobre nada, y el
poderio para ſacar a luz todo oculto, a ti la merced
que ſe mayorgo ſobre tus criados, y el bien el eſcon-
dido para tus temientes, a ti los ſecretos que no lo
ſoporta loor ni penſamiento y las vidas que no po-
deſta ſobre ella acabamiento, y la ſilla la enxalçada
ſobre todo alto, y la morada la encubierta en alteza
de eſcondimiento; a ti la eſſencia que de ſolombra
de ſu luz tuuo ſeer todo lo que es; que diximos en ſu
ſolome

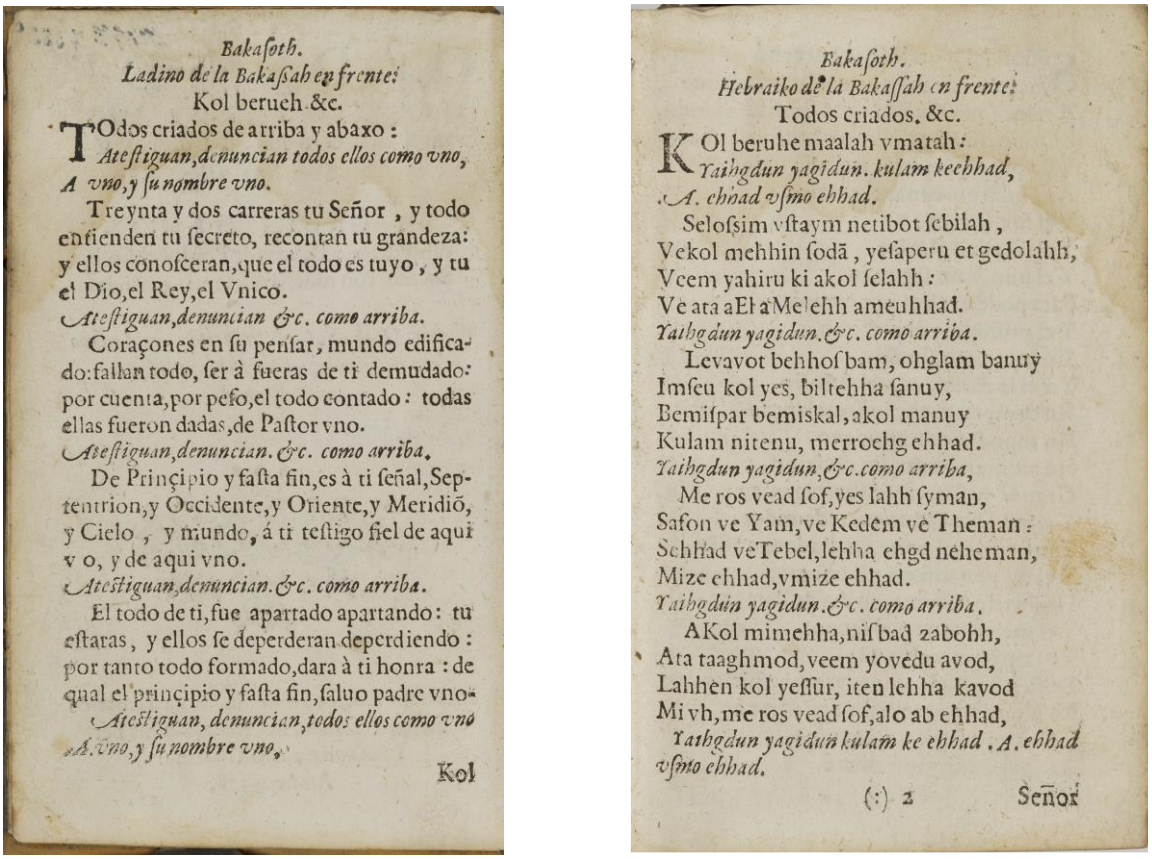
43 Ibn Gabirol, Keter Malkhut, Amsterdam 1604

The term *Selichot* is used for various prayers and piyyutim without a strict prescribed format that are said at various occasions. Here the difference between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books is clear, although not seldom neglected by cataloguers as will be explained in part 3 of this study. Sephardim say Selichot from Rosh Chodesh Elul till Yom Kippur and they are almost always printed with the prayers for Rosh ha-Shanah. These Selichot were absent from the Ferrara 1553 edition of the High Holiday prayers, but included in the Dordrecht 1584 and later Amsterdam editions. Ashkenazim start saying Selichot a couple of days before Rosh ha-Shanah and also continue till Yom Kippur. These Selichot are always printed separately in one or two

[45] See Gluck, 2001; Lewis and Gluck, 2003.

[46] As Keter Malkhut was not longer said in the Dutch Ashkenazi synagogues, it was excluded from the 1983 edition of the Yom Kippur prayers with Dutch translation.

volumes and are excluded from my study as they do not follow a strictly prescribed format. It should, however, be mentioned that Selichot are included in the obligatory prayers of Yom Kippur and fast days but these are not printed separately.[47]



Bakaſoth.
Ladino de la Bakaſſah en frente:
Kol beruch &c.

TOdos criados de arriba y abaxo:
Ateſtiguan, denuncian todos ellos como vno, A vno, y ſu nombre vno.
Treynta y dos carreras tu Señor, y todo entienden tu ſecreto, recontan tu grandeza: y ellos conoſceran, que el todo es tuyo, y tu el Dio, el Rey, el Vnico.
Ateſtiguan, denuncian &c. como arriba.
Coraçones en ſu penſar, mundo edificado: fallan todo, ſer à fueras de ti demudado: por cuenta, por peſo, el todo contado: todas ellas fueron dadas, de Paſtor vno.
Ateſtiguan, denuncian. &c. como arriba.
De Prinçipio y faſta fin, es à ti ſeñal, Septentrion, y Occidente, y Oriente, y Meridiõ, y Cielo, y mundo, á ti teſtigo fiel de aqui y o, y de aqui vno.
Ateſtiguan, denuncian. &c. como arriba.
El todo de ti, fue apartado apartando: tu eſtaras, y ellos ſe deperderan deperdiendo: por tanto todo formado, dara à ti honra: de qual el prinçipio y faſta fin, ſaluo padre vno.
Ateſtiguan, denuncian, todos ellos como vno A. vno, y ſu nombre vno.

Kol

Bakaſoth.
Hebraiko de la Bakaſſah en frente:
Todos criados. &c.

KOl beruhe maalah vmatah:
Yaihgdun yagidun. kulam keehhad,
A. ehhad vſmo ehhad.
Seloſsim vſtaym netibot ſebilah,
Vekol mehhin ſodã, yeſaperu et gedolahh,
Veem yahiru ki akol ſelahh:
Ve ata aEl a Melehh ameuhhad.
Yaihgdun yagidun. &c. como arriba.
Levavot behhoſ bam, ohglam banuy
Imſeu kol yes, biltehha ſanuy,
Bemiſpar bemiskal, akol manuy
Kulam nitenu, merrochg ehhad.
Yaihgdun yagidun, &c. como arriba,
Me ros vead ſof, yes lahh ſyman,
Safon ve Yam, ve Kedem ve Theman:
Schhad veTebel, lehha ehgd neheman,
Mize ehhad, vmize ehhad.
Yaihgdun yagidun. &c. como arriba.
AKol mimehha, niſbad zabohh,
Ata taaghmod, veem yovedu avod,
Lahhen kol yeſſur, iten lehha kavod
Mi vh, me ros vead ſof, alo ab ehhad,
Yaihgdun yagidun kulam ke ehhad. A. ehhad vſmo ehhad.

(:) 2 Señor

44 First Bakasha vernacular and romanised Hebrew in the 1618 Comprehensive prayers

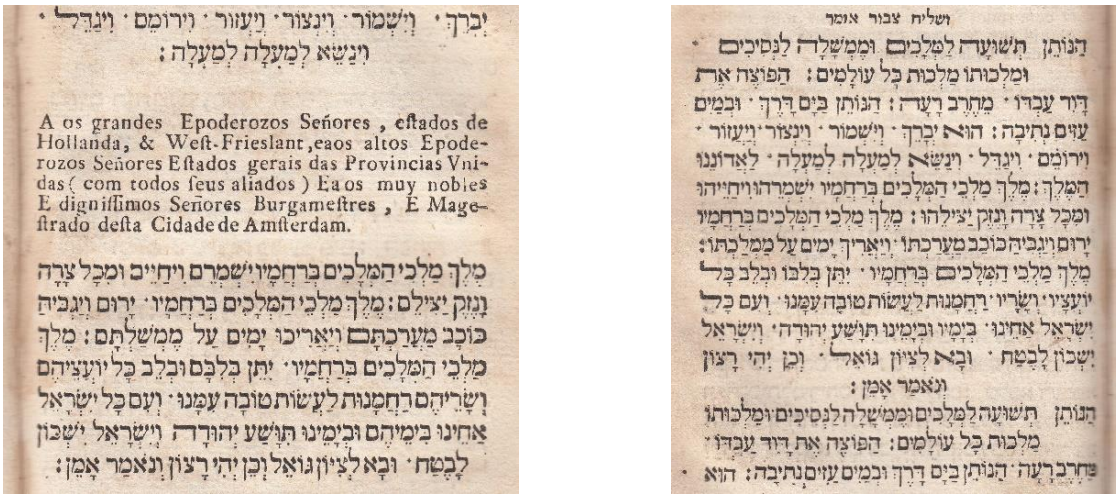
As will be explained in chapter 13, Bakashot are religious poems originating in Oriental communities and apparently were an essential part of a special liturgy for the night or early morning. They were only printed in the Sephardi prayer books, although some of these poems became well accepted in Ashkenazi liturgy.[48] In chapter 6 it has been stated that in the Venice and Ferrara editions 1519-1555 they were printed in various composition and places. The 1618 Amsterdam comprehensive prayers open with a number of Bakashot, both in translation ('Ladino de la Bakassah en frente') and in a Romanisation of the original Hebrew ('Hebraico de la Bakassah en frente', see illustration 44). Two of the Bakashot that are to be found in this edition were not included in previous editions: Cantad à el. D. mis ente(n)didos / Syru la El nebonay[49] and Puerta de lasa piadades / saar arrahami(m) leaghm behha boteahh.[50] These Bakashot do not belong to the Iberian tradition but to the Eastern Sephardi one. A possible explanation for how they found their way into an Amsterdam prayer book in 1618 will be given later in this chapter, when I shall discuss who was responsible for this edition. The vocalisation of Hebrew in the early

[47] Books with the prayers for the voluntary fast on the eve of Rosh Chodesh (*Yom Kippur Katan*) contain such Selichot and are mentioned later in chapter 10 with other voluntary prayers.
[48] For example Adon olam, Yigdal and some songs for Shabbat in the home-liturgy.
[49] שירו לאל נבוניי, ll. (6) verso – (7) recto. Piyyut for a Rosh Chodesh that coincides with Shabbat, Davidson ש 1056, earliest printed version cited Imrei Noam.
[50] שער הרחמים לעם לך בוטח, ll. (7)v.-(8)r. Piyyut for Rosh Chodesh, Davidson ש 2050, previously printed in Constantinople, ca. 1545.

prayer books lies beyond the scope of my research, though it may be noticed that punctuation marks like meteg and maqaf are absent before the 19th century.

7.4.6 THE HA-NOTEN TESHU'AH PRAYER

It has been discussed in chapter 6[51] that already in 16th-century Italy, the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer in Sephardi prayer books was headed *prayer for the King*. This practice was also adopted in the 17th-century Dutch Republic, as for instance in the 1646 Benveniste edition (illustration 45). At a certain point the heading would be changed into *Prayer for the authorities*. The standard phrase 'Our lord the King', was adapted to refer to the Dutch authorities in the Portuguese edition and gradually the authorities would be named in a Portuguese formula in an order which was subject to change. At first sight there did not seem to be an external motive for the varying order, but in the next chapter this subject will be treated again, as an incident in 18th-century Amsterdam directed me to an official decree by the States of Holland in 1663 on the prayer for the authorities that had to be said in the churches. At this point it must suffice to ask if the 1663 decree also applied to the synagogues, a question on which the answer could not yet been found.[52]


יְבָרֵךְ · וְיִשְׁמוֹר · וְיָנֵצוֹר · וְיַעֲזוֹר · וִירוֹמֵם · וְיַגְדִּיל ·
וְיִנַּשֵּׂא לְמַעְלָה לְמַעְלָה :

A os grandes Epoderozos Señores, eſtados de Hollanda, & Weſt-Frieslant, eaos altos Epoderozos Señores Eſtados gerais das Provincias Vnidas (com todos ſeus aliados) Ea os muy nobles E dignifſimos Señores Burgameſtres, E Mageſtrado deſta Cidade de Amſterdam.

מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יִשְׁמְרֵם וִיחַיֵּים וּמָכָל צָרָה
נָגָזֵק יַצִּילֵם : מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו · יָרוּם וְיַגְבִּיהַ
כּוֹכַב מַעֲרַכְתָּם וְיַאֲרִיכוּ יָמִים עַל מֶמְשַׁלְתָּם : מֶלֶךְ
מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו · יִתֵּן בִּלְבָּם וּבְלֵב כָּל יוֹעֲצֵיהֶם
וְשָׂרֵיהֶם רַחֲמָנוּת לַעֲשׂוֹת טוֹבָה עִמָּנוּ · וְעִם כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל
אַחֵינוּ בִּימֵיהֶם וּבִימֵינוּ תִּוָּשַׁע יְהוּדָה · וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכֹּן
לָבֶטַח · וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל · וְכֵן יְהִי רָצוֹן וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן :

תשועה לשלום אומר

הַנּוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לַמְּלָכִים וּמֶמְשָׁלָה לַנְּסִיכִים ·
וּמַלְכוּתוֹ מַלְכוּת כָּל עוֹלָמִים : הַפּוֹצֶה אֶת
דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ · מֵחֶרֶב רָעָה : הַנּוֹתֵן בַּיָּם דֶּרֶךְ · וּבְמַיִם
עַזִּים נְתִיבָה : הוּא יְבָרֵךְ · וְיִשְׁמוֹר · וְיִנְצוֹר · וְיַעֲזוֹר ·
וִירוֹמֵם · וְיִנַּדֵּל · וְיִנַּשֵּׂא לְמַעְלָה לְמַעְלָה · לַאֲדוֹנֵנוּ
הַמֶּלֶךְ : מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ וִיחַיֵּהוּ
וּמִכָּל צָרָה וְנֶגַע יַצִּילֵהוּ : מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו
יָרוּם וְיַגְבִּיהַ כּוֹכַב מַעֲרַכְתּוֹ · וְיַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים עַל מַמְלַכְתּוֹ :
מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו · יִתֵּן בִּלְבּוֹ וּבְלֵב כָּל
יוֹעֲצָיו וְשָׂרָיו · רַחֲמָנוּת לַעֲשׂוֹת טוֹבָה עִמָּנוּ · וְעִם כָּל
יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֵינוּ · בִּימָיו וּבְיָמֵינוּ תִּוָּשַׁע יְהוּדָה · וְיִשְׂרָאֵל
יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח · וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל · וְכֵן יְהִי רָצוֹן
וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן :
הַנּוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לַמְּלָכִים וּמֶמְשָׁלָה לַנְּסִיכִים וּמַלְכוּתוֹ
מַלְכוּת כָּל עוֹלָמִים : הַפּוֹצֶה אֶת דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ ·
מֵחֶרֶב רָעָה · הַנּוֹתֵן בַּיָּם דֶּרֶךְ וּבְמַיִם עַזִּים נְתִיבָה : הוּא ·

45 Amsterdam 1726. Two versions: prayer for the King (r) and prayer for the authorities of Holland and Amsterdam

At the end of the 17th century the prayer books according to both rites that were published in the Northern Netherlands are still in development, which is perhaps most clear in the Sephardi editions[53]: the 'fifth Berakhah' after Hashkivenu in the evening prayer has not yet completely disappeared, the morning blessings are not yet completely fixed, and in Kaddish the reading is 'tushbechata'. Although my research focusses on Early Modernity, for completeness the following chapter will deal with some later developments of the Jewish prayer book in the Northern Netherlands for the benefit of the students of later stages of the development of what could now be seen as national Dutch Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites.

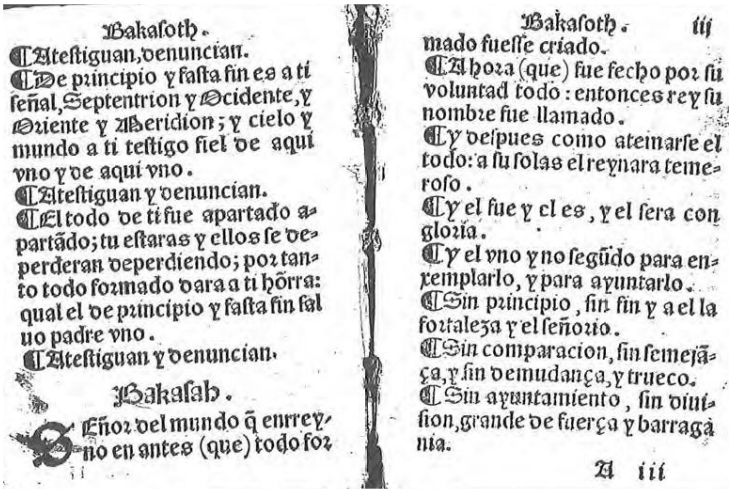
[51] P. 84. See also pp. 149 ff.

[52] See also pp. 149 ff.

[53] The details of the following elements are explained in part III of this study.

7.4.7 TEXTS IN BRACKETS

A common feature of the prayer books of both rites is the use of words or sentences in round and square brackets. This already occurs in the Ferrara comprehensive prayer book and continues until today.



Bakasoth.
CAteſtiguan, denuncian.
CDe principio y faſta fin es a ti ſeñal, Septentrion y Occidente, y Oriente y Aberidion; y cielo y mundo a ti teſtigo fiel de aqui vno y de aqui vno.
CAteſtiguan y denuncian.
CEl todo de ti fue apartado apartãdo; tu eſtaras y ellos ſe perderan deperdiendo; por tanto todo formado dara a ti hõra: qual el de principio y faſta fin ſal uo padre vno.
CAteſtiguan y denuncian.

Bakaſah.

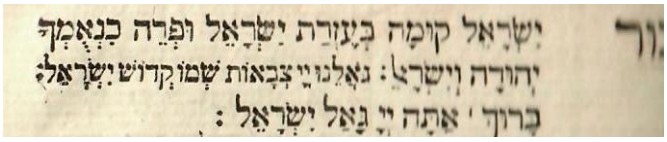
Eñor del mundo q̃ enrreyno en antes (que) todo fos

Bakasoth. iij
mado fueſſe criado.
CAhora (que) fue fecho por ſu voluntad todo: entonces rey ſu nombre fue llamado.
CY deſpues como ateinarſe el todo: a ſu ſolas el reynara temeroſo.
CY el fue y el es, y el ſera con gloria.
CY el vno y no ſegũdo para enxemplarlo, y para ayuntarlo.
CSin principio, fin fin y a el la fortaleza y el ſeñorio.
CSin comparacion, fin ſemejãça, y fin demudança, y trueco.
CSin ayuntamiento, fin diuiſion, grande de fuerça y barragania.

A iii

46 Brackets in Ferrara, 1552

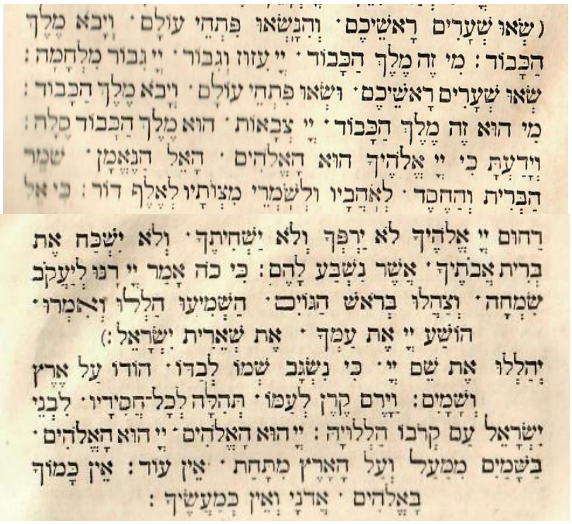
In many cases it remains unclear whether the bracketed text is a variant reading or is indicative of essential differences in custom. A clear example of the latter is found in the 'Birkat ha-Ge'ulah', the final sentences before the morning Amidah. In Dutch Ashkenazi prayer books, Isaiah 47: 4 is printed in round brackets or in a smaller type size.[54] It is not said by the Amsterdam community, which follows the old custom of Northern France,[55] though is recited in all other Dutch communities.



יִשְׂרָאֵל קוֹמָה בְּעֶזְרַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְדֵה כְנֶאֱמֶךָ
יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל: גֹּאֲלֵנוּ יְיָ צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל:
בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ גָּאַל יִשְׂרָאֵל:

47 In smaller print, Amsterdam, 1800

48 Ps. 24, Amsterdam, 1726



49 Ps. 24, Amsterdam, 1849

Brackets in both editions

[54] The same is found in the 19th-century German prayer books edited by Wolf Heidenheim in Rödelheim. Sometimes the verse was printed in a smaller font size, see illustration 47.

[55] The French custom in this case was fiercely attacked by Chasidei Ashkenaz who claimed that 'Rashi himself used to say it', but the sentence is absent from Siddur Rashi.

7.5 PARATEXTUAL REMARKS

Some paratextual elements that are analysed here, will provide arguments for a new approach of the 1612-1618 Amsterdam editions. The element which is perhaps the most difficult to describe in the appreciation of a book in hand is its first impression. A personal anecdote may help to illustrate this observation. Quite at the beginning of my professional career as an early printed and rare books librarian, I was invited by the director of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem to prepare a modest exhibition on the occasion of a visit by Amsterdam's mayor, Ivo Samkalden, for which I was given a few hours to spend. After a short excursion to the stacks I returned with mainly folio and large quarto books that had been printed in Amsterdam as well as a small volume that had been printed in Rotterdam, a city that was stated on the title page to be not far from Amsterdam! Selecting Dutch books from the shelves so many years ago was not a really difficult task. Starting with the first impression offered by the material and style of the binding, there are also the paper and the typography that can provide more information than what is stated on the title page. Before the end of the eighteenth century, publisher's bindings did not exist, although booksellers were known to offer part of their books in simple or a more luxurious bindings. Customers were of course free to employ the binder of their choice, so that this element of a book's appearance, as well as the paper used, will not be discussed here.

When I began my research I noted down various paratextual data about the books I analysed and described. As I have not been able to examine all the prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands myself, I must content myself with a few general observations. Generally speaking, Jewish prayer books are no paragons of typographic design, but from the start of Jewish book production in the Northern Netherlands, they can certainly not be accused of having been carelessly produced. Jewish prayer books in the Northern Netherlands were not printed in black letter, unlike many Protestant books of prayer and liturgical songs. Perfect alignment of the text of prayer books had already been common in Italy, and this is also the case for those printed in the Northern Netherlands.[56] The earliest copies may show evidence of 'bite' of the forme or irregular inking, but such technical irregularities were soon overcome, perhaps also as the technique of typefounding improved and the bodies of the individual fonts became better standardised, even long before the age of industrial typefounding. Sometimes instances of poor inking is to be noticed in the headers and footers. Other elements of layout, the division in paragraphs, indentation and leading, the use of initial capitals, mostly over two and sometimes three lines, were standard, even though there was no uniformity.

7.5.1 TITLE

All the early prayer book editions to have been published in the Dutch Republic contain a title page. The obvious procedure when describing them is to follow the arrangement of their various components, beginning with the title itself. As was also the case in the medieval period, the terms *siddur* and *machsor* were still interchangeably used in Ashkenazi and Sephardi editions. The term siddur was commonly translated into Spanish as *Orden*. As the description of their 1552 Ferrara editions has shown, one was titled Libro de Oracyones de todo el año, the other one Sedur de oraciones de mes. These titles unsurprisingly are present in the vernacular Sephardi prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries, where they were rendered in Hebrew as *Tefilot mikol ha-Shanah* and *Tefilot ha-Chodesh* (also *le-Chodesh* or: *midei Chodesh bechodsho*). Prayers for the whole year were published according to Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, but the title *Prayers for the month* did not enter Ashkenazi use.[57] As usual in the period, title-pages often contain a great deal of information that is not necessary to identify the book, which makes

[56] Widows and orphans were common until the 19th century. They sometimes reappear in our time in privately produced prayer books, e.g. Mienchat Dotar, Amsterdam 2015.
[57] With a 19th-century exception, see list A no. 393 (1856).

cataloguing these prayer books work for specialists, not the least because of the abundant use of epithets of various people associated with the work. As stated in the case of the Ferrara 1555 prayer book in chapter 6,[58] the claim that the book has been arranged in such a way that the reader does not have to leaf forward and backward ('arreo s. sin boltar de una à otra parte') should not be taken for granted, a statement that would be carefully copied for many years to follow in the Northern Netherlands, although many prayers that are said more than once were printed only once. Prayer books were often cherished daily companions in Jewish life, and have consequently suffered from heavy wear and tear. When somebody had to replace a ragged copy with a new one, it is to be expected that she or he would prefer to acquire a similar edition, if only because she or he already had grown used to the previous book that had lost its purpose. This may be the main reason that the various editions throughout the 17th century show such close similarities, including such statements on the title. The main elements to be found on a title page of the prayer books are the title proper, the imprint, the responsibility statement and the date of printing. For the latter chronograms are well-loved by publishers of Jewish prayer books until today as will be discussed later in this chapter.[59] Iconic graphical elements are ornaments, borders and printer's devices. Additional information on a book may be provided in a preface, an advertisement to the reader or a colophon.

As stated repeatedly, in my study I follow a bottom-up method, starting with the book in hand and in the case of the Amsterdam 1612-1618 editions too, I judged the paratextual elements without taking into account previous opinions. Previously in this chapter it became clear that the Amsterdam printers did their utmost to make make their editions of the High Holidays prayers look identical, especially the title pages with the exception of the 1612 edition. The compositors had apparently received instructions to follow previous editions in the layout of the prayers. As the High Holidays prayers are quite complex, it was easy to lose the place in the prayer book. Such uniformity of layout made it easy to check in the neighbour's book where to continue, which was not uncommon practice in communities that welcomed Conversos returning to Judaism.[60]

7.5.2 IMPRINT: PLACE, RESPONSIBILITY STATEMENT, DATE AND CHRONOGRAM

As far as the imprint is concerned, in 1612 it was apparently deemed safe to mention Amsterdam as place of origin. It has already been mentioned earlier that at this time of armistice in the war with Spain, the position of various religious denominations was insecure. Building a synagogue was officially prohibited, though implicitly allowed by the Amsterdam city authorities. As for the date, Jewish religious books provide it either according to the Christian era, or else have the year according to the Jewish era in ciphers or in Hebrew characters in a chronogram. The latter may sometimes be difficult to transpose, as typographical irregularities may make it difficult to discern between larger and smaller font sizes or special markings. It should be noted that the new year according to the Jewish calendar starts around September, and the new year according to the Gregorian calendar starts in January.

The fictitious name of the publisher has already been discussed in the description of the 1584 Dordrecht and 1604 Amsterdam editions. With respect to the fictitious Jacob Israel referred to in the imprint of the former edition, we noted that Franco de Mendoça cannot be identified with a known historical person. Here again, the 1612 edition marks a turning point, as Yshac Franco, as his name is spelled on the title page, was a well-known person in Jewish Amsterdam at the time.

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[58] Pp. 95, 165.

[59] Historically interesting is the reflection of 17th-century messianic fervour in Amsterdam as is seen in the chronograms.

[60] An additional profit was, that estimating the cost of a new edition was much easier by using a template, while the composer too would save time by following a printed copy.

He was one of the founding fathers of Bet Jacob in 1604, who later went on to become one of the founders of Neve Salom. Harm den Boer and A.K. Offenberg consider him to be the same person as the fictitious Franco de Mendoça who published the 1604 edition of the High Holiday prayers. The suggestion by these bibliographers, however, had been rejected previously by Jacob da Silva Rosa, librarian of Ets Haim, as Isaac Franco used the name Francisco Mendes de Medeiros outside the Jewish community.[61] I will return to this three-volume 1612 edition later when discussing the device.

The title-page of the 1617 edition of the Prayers for the High Holidays states: Talmud Torah bet Yaahkob. (Vignette) Estampado por industria y despesa de David Abenatar Mello (Talmud Torah bet Yaahkob. Printed by the industry and at the cost of David Abenatar Mello). The 1618 Comprehensive and the Fast day prayers both state: Impresso a despesza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah, del Kahal Kados Bet Yaahkob (printed at the account of the Holy Society Talmus Torah of the community Bet Jacob. An unbiased interpretation of these statements of responsibility has to focus on two details: first the relation between the society Talmud Torah and the community Bet Jacob, and second the person of David Abenatar Mello.

As stated earlier, in 1616 the communities Bet Jacob and Neve Salom unsuccessfully tried to unite the fraternities (Santa Hebra) Talmud Torah and Bikur Holim under one administrative board. Instead, a rejuvenated and strictly governed Talmud Torah remained under the direction of the Parnassim of the Bet Jacob community, who appointed the Governors of Talmud Torah. The children of the members of Neve Salom (and from 1618 onwards also of Bet Israel) were, however, fully accepted as students. The importance awarded by the founding fathers and their successors to the ready supply of prayer books and tefillin to pupils in need, as explicitly stated in the 1616 statutory provisions of Talmud Torah, seems to have escaped several earlier researchers. David Abenatar Mello arrived in Amsterdam in 1611 after having barely escaped death, having been compelled to be present at an auto da fé as a penitent only. He subsequently became one of the founders of the new Talmud Torah and served on the Board of Governors from 1616-1621. While acting as a governor in 1617, he privately bought a complete inventory of a printing office out of his own funds,[62] and donated the material to the new Board on his retirement in 1621. Mello may have wanted with this donation to offer the students the easiest (and cheapest?) access to prayer books. Of course at the time, this group of students was not large enough to create sufficient demand, nor could anyone have foreseen that the community would soon become large enough to warrant a large and constant supply of prayer books. It is, however, fair to assume that if a regular edition had all but sold out on the general market, it would not only generate enough profit to cover the cost of the complimentary copies for the needy students, but also provide enough financial resources for subsequent publications by Talmud Torah. Seeligmann correctly attributes the High Holidays prayer book to Talmud Torah, but fails to do so for the daily prayers.[63] There is no irrefutable proof that these two editions were indeed produced by Talmud Torah on its premises, but previous theories about a personal rivalry between David Abenatar Mello and Franco de Mendoça as representatives of Talmud Torah and

[61] De Vrijdagavond III, 1927 pp. 415-416. Offenberg, 1987 p. 63 note 3 provides another possible, though wry, identification, namely a padre Francisco de Mendo(n)ça, an active and fanatical enemy of Conversos in Portugal.
[62] "… das Letraz Ebraycas e Ladinaz punsoes matreizes e caixos tocantez a ynpressao Ebrayca quetem o noso Talmutora do qaal cados de Bed Yacob de seu cabedal que todo se fez no anno de 5377 … ao todo com os gastoz (a) soma de florins qinhentoz e trinta …". See: Gedenkboek, p. 23.
[63] Seeligmann, 1927, pp. 51-53. His comment on the occurrence of Hebrew types in the former prayer book and the lack of them in the second one seems to overlook the fact that these typefaces occurred in the vernacular Rosh ha-Shanah prayers since 1552 to indicate the tones that have to be blown on the shofar. They have therefore no use in the daily prayers.

Neve Salom[64] respectively, remain as yet unsubstantiated. Without any doubt, however, Talmud Torah and not Bet Jacob was the publisher of the 1617-1618 editions of the prayers.

The year of printing may correspond with the Jewish or common year, but often takes the form of a chronogram. Some chronograms in the middle of the 17th century contain hints to Shabtean, messianistic or chiliastic ideas that strongly influenced especially the Sephardic Amsterdam community but seems to have left few traces in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community. Some examples will be presented later in this chapter when the various printers are discussed.

7.5.3 DEVICE AND MOTTO

A final element of the title page to be discussed is the vignette or device.[65] Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the typographical ornaments in the 1584 editions were of essential importance in the identification of the Dordrecht editions. The same is the case with the attribution of the 1604 edition of the High Holiday prayers to Amsterdam. The very prominent vignette of the 1612 three-volume edition depicts the mythical phoenix rising from its ashes with the motto: 'Mi camocha Neve Salom' (Who matches you, Neve Salom). As we have seen, this was the name of the second Amsterdam Iberian Jewish community.

50 The Phoenix emblem

Books, especially early printed books, are quite often adorned with emblematic printer's devices on the title pages. We need only think of Aldus Manutius's anchor. Sometimes they were accompanied by a motto, such as the works published by the Estiennes, the Elseviers and Menasseh ben Israel. Sometimes heraldic devices were used, while official organizations liked to have sophisticated devices included, as did leading office holders. In this sense it might be possible to interpret the phoenix emblem as the printer's device of Yshac Franco, who thus wanted to demonstrate his connection with the second Sephardi Amsterdam community which he had helped to found.[66] Da Silva Rosa,[67] the Librarian of Ets Haim, for his part wondered whether the emblem might perhaps be considered to be the emblem of Neve Salom. His successors were less hesitant and firmly stated that the emblem and motto must have been the device of Neve Salom. Their opinion finds no basis in fact, however, as no preserved documents of that community feature the emblem. For now, the conclusion must be that the question

[64] See: Salomon, 1982, pp. 150 ff.
[65] Cf. Huisstede and Brandhorst, 1999; Vandeweghe and Op de Beeck, 1993.
[66] When we accept Swetschinsky's claim that the number of Jewish inhabitants of Amsterdam at the time was 650, the Neve Salom community, which was reported to be much smaller than that of Bet Jacob, would have had 300 members at the most, including newborn infants and the old and infirm.
[67] Da Silva Rosa, 1925, p. 42.

whether the emblem was Franco's personal device or that of the Neve Salom community must remain unanswered.[68]

The motto 'Mi camocha Neve Salom' may be wrongly associated with Ex. 15: 11 and with the Sephardi Piyyut for the Shabbat before Purim. Its combination with the phoenix easily suggests an association with Amsterdam as the city that provided a safe shelter for those who had escaped the clutches of the Inquisition and were here able to start a new life as Jews. This also holds for the members of the Neve Salom community. There may also be a link with the Twelve Years' Truce between the Dutch Republic and Spain effective since 1609. The real background of the emblem will probably forever remain a mystery. As the phoenix device has been discussed in the past, however, it deserves greater attention. Seeligmann[69] reproduced the title page and called the use of the emblem a 'typographical mistake'.[70] He believed the intention had been to use instead of a phoenix a pelican, similar to the one that was later used by Menasseh ben Israel in a 1630 Bible edition and afterwards by Uri b. Aron Phoebus ha-Levi. Seeligmann supposed the emblem had been derived from the printer's device of Guillaume (Lesteens) de Paris, an Antwerp printer and woodcutter[71] who was employed by a printing house called 'The Golden Pelican'. Later (though not before 1743), the pelican would be used as the device of K.K. de Talmud Tora. In 1743 an Antwerp printer, the widow of Henri Thieullier, used the phoenix with the motto 'Novus e cinere' (new from the ashes) as her device. Seeligmann mistakenly claimed that the phoenix reappeared as the device of Talmud Tora 'later, i.e. after the union of 1639'.[72] Seeligmann's claim was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that in his time, the pelican feeding its three chicks from its own breast was, and had been for many years, the emblem of the Amsterdam Talmud Tora community. For that reason it still deserves some attention. It is easy to interpret the emblem as an illustration of the united community's intention to take equally good care of all members of the three original smaller communities. Since the 18th century it has been used as an ornament within the community's complex surrounding the great synagogue.

The pelican (illustrations 51 and 52), as stated earlier, was used by the Antwerp printer Lesteens in 1649 but, as is shown here, in one volume the emblem shows three chicks, while in the next part there are five. In both emblems the chicks are feeding from the pelican's breast. The difference between both devices is remarkable.

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[68] The emblematic semantics of the phoenix and the pelican in medieval Christianity has been explained by Seeligman and later authors, e.g. Mintz-Manor, 2017. The latter study requires correction, not in the least because the title provided for the 'three-volume siddur' is in fact only that of the Segunda parte, and the biblical quote from Ex. 15: 11 is not from Miriam's song which is marked as an answer to the song of Moses and the people of Israel in Ex. 15: 21! Furthermore, note 3: 'This siddur was probably one of the first translations of a Jewish prayer book printed in Latin script for Jewish readership' completely overlooks bibliographical data and existing historical research. The medieval emblems were given new interpretations during the Renaissance, see: Daly, 2014 and the extensive literature quoted in this book. I wish to thank Eefje van der Weijden for pointing me to this work. These new interpretations and their use in Renaissance emblems must have been well known to the Portuguese entrepreneurs who settled in the Dutch Republic.

[69] Seeligmann, 1927.

[70] Seeligmann, 1927, p. 43.

[71] This may be the same person as Willem Lesteens (1619-1655), whose emblem featured in a 1649 edition, see illustrations 51 and 52. For other devices with a pelican see https://www.arkyves.org.

[72] In the late 1980s the Dutch historian Jaap Meijer researched the use of both devices by the Talmud Tora community and told me he had not found any additional information in the archives to firmly date the first use of either device. After the Holocaust the decimated Portuguese community for understandable reasons immediately returned to the phoenix as a symbol of its intention to return to its former glory.

51 Vol. 1 Pelican with 3 chicks

52 Vol. 2 Pelican with 5 chicks

The Amsterdam pelican however, when used as the logo of the Talmud Tora community, always feeds her three chicks from her breast. Although there are no examples known[73] of its use before the 18th century, its meaning is clear: it refers to the 1639 union when the new, large community Talmud Tora took care of the previous, smaller communities Bet Jacob, Neve Salom and Bet Israel and their institutions. It appeared on the title-page of a prayer book that was commissioned by the Parnassim of Talmud Tora since the end of the 19th century.

53 Ornamental representation of the pelican with 3 chicks in the Amsterdam Portuguese Synagogue complex

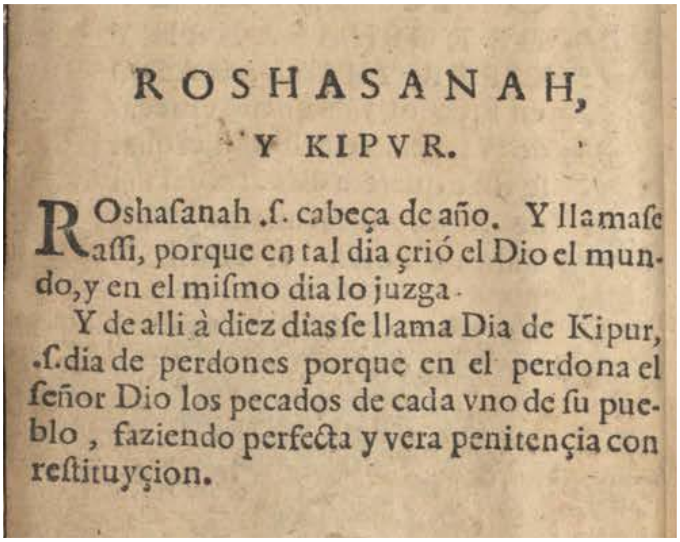
The pelican logo was replaced by the phoenix after the Holocaust as a sign of the community's resolve to rise again from the ashes. After this aside we will return to discuss another paratextual element to be considered.

7.5.4 PREFACE, ADVERTISEMENTS, APPROBATIONS AND COLOPHON

Prefaces or advertisements to the reader are often absent from Jewish prayer books, but when they occur, they may of course provide important information. For that reason such of these

[73] In 1988 the historian J. Meijer told me that in his research into the matter he failed to locate pre-18th-century examples of the pelican-logo.

elements as are present in the early editions have been reproduced together with their title pages and their descriptions. Regrettably, the piece that has been excised from the only known copy of the 1584 comprehensive prayers also obliterated part of the preface on the verso (illustration 25). However, the text of the preface that has been preserved offers a few solutions to assist the reader in turning to previous or following pages and rubrics. As stated before, the 1584, 1604 (illustrations 28-29), 1612 (illustration 32) and 1617 (illustration 33) editions of the prayers for the High Holidays contain the same text, which is headed *Roshasanah y Kipur*, as was the case with the 1553 Ferrara edition.



ROSHASANAH,

Y KIPVR.

ROshaſanah .ſ. cabeça de año. Y llamaſe aſſi, porque en tal dia çrió el Dio el mundo, y en el miſmo dia lo juzga.

Y de alli à diez dias ſe llama Dia de Kipur, .ſ. dia de perdones porque en el perdona el ſeñor Dio los pecados de cada vno de ſu pueblo, faziendo perfecta y vera penitençia con reſtituyçion.

54 Amsterdam, 1617

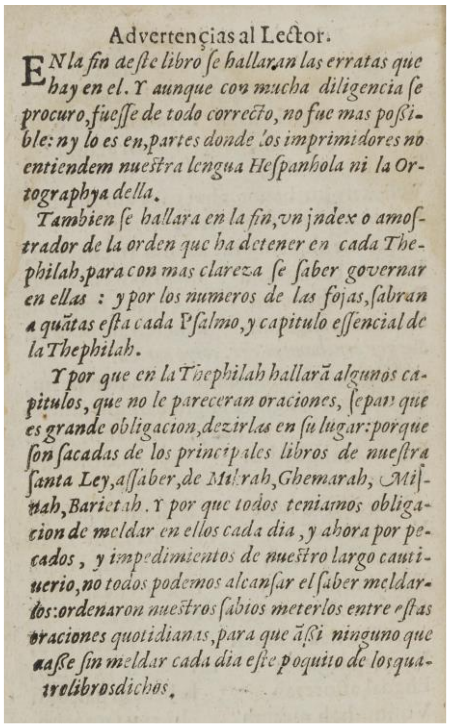
The preface to the 1612 daily prayers (illustration 30) first assures the reader that the work offers the finest flowers from the Hebrew version (Poniendole todas las mejores flores que estan en el Hebraico), as well as chapters which do not contain prayers, but which 'we are obliged by our Sages to read every day from the four parts of the Law: Scriptures, Gemarah, Mishnah and Baraita'.[74] The preface also states that some parts should only be said in the synagogue in the presence of a minyan. There is no indication in this preface of the intended users of the prayer book.

The preface to volume 2 of this series (illustration 31) contains the prayers for the Pilgrim Festivals and announces that the proper Amidah and Musaph is included for each Festival. This, of course, is easier than having the reader decide every time which variant text he must use. In contrast to what is stated by Salomon,[75] it is also the only place in the three-volume 1612 edition to mention Neve Shalom, and even so it is no more than a casual remark. It can hardly be interpreted as conclusive evidence that this edition was primarily published for the members of the Neve Salom community, even when bearing in mind the motto of the title page device.

The 1618 Talmud Torah edition contains a preface at the end of the the Bakashot at the beginning of the book (see illustration 44). Although the second half of this preface is similar in tone to the 1612 edition, it is not a straightforward reprint. Again, there is no hint in any of these early editions that their publication is the result of personal rivalry, or a matter of prestige, as is claimed by Salomon.

[74] This refers to portions from the Halakhic Midrashim.

[75] Salomon, 1982, pp. 150 ff.



Advertencias al Lector.

EN la fin deſte libro ſe hallaran las erratas que hay en el. Y aunque con mucha diligencia ſe procuro, fueſſe de todo correcto, no fue mas poſsible: ny lo es en, partes donde los imprimidores no entiendem nueſtra lengua Heſpanhola ni la Ortographya della.

Tambien ſe hallara en la fin, vn jndex o amoſtrador de la orden que ha de tener en cada Thephilah, para con mas clareza ſe ſaber governar en ellas : y por los numeros de las fojas, ſabran a quãtas eſta cada Pſalmo, y capitulo eſſencial de la Thephilah.

Y por que en la Thephilah hallarã algunos capitulos, que no le pareceran oraciones, ſepan que es grande obligacion, dezirlas en ſu lugar: porque ſon ſacadas de los principales libros de nueſtra ſanta Ley, aſſaber, de Mikrah, Ghemarah, Miſnah, Barietah. Y por que todos teniamos obligacion de meldar en ellos cada dia, y ahora por pecados, y impedimientos de nueſtro largo cautiuerio, no todos podemos alcanſar el ſaber meldarlos: ordenaron nueſtros ſabios meterlos entre eſtas oraciones quotidianas, para que ãſsi ninguno que paſſe ſin meldar cada dia eſte poquito de los quatro libros dichos.

55 Preface of the 1618 Oraciones de Mes.

As of 1646, a number of works contain one or more approbations by both local and foreign rabbis, an increasing feature of prayer books published in the second half of the 17th century. They were often meant as a kind of privilege to prevent pirated editions by the competition, although, as was generally the case with privileges, usually to no avail. A definite purpose was to forestall objections to the contents of a book, a practice which had been decreed by the Council of the Four Lands.[76] The non-Jewish authorities also often relied on these approbations and considered them as a nihil obstat. The approbations which were issued for 17th-century books published in Amsterdam were mostly signed by Ashkenazi rabbis from Germany and Central Europe.[77] Remarkably, in case of a conflict between one owner of a Jewish printing house and another, the dispute was put before the civil authorities or the guild,[78] and not before a rabbinical court or the leadership of the Jewish community of which the two claimants were members.

In a few cases the title or colophon mentions that the work follows the custom of the Amsterdam Portuguese community Talmud Tora, but such a claim has to be verified against the official minutes of that community and the resolutions of the Mahamad. Interesting is the mentioning of correctors, sometimes in a preface, at other occasions in a colophon. Later in the 17th century, it was not unusual for the name of the compositor or corrector to be mentioned, a feature which is not often, if at all, found in non-Jewish books. The inclusion of their names may have been inspired by the halakhic principle that it is obligatory to mention the name of anyone responsible for a text or tradition. The claims made by Mrs. Fuks,[79] that the inclusion of their names in the imprints helped compositors 'to find jobs in their nomadic existence', or that

[76] Cf. p. 61.

[77] Fuks, 1984, vol. 1, p. 229-230; vol. 2, p. 499-504.

[78] Unlike in the Middle Ages, the guilds in the Early Modern Period were secular professional organisations. Non-members were barred from practising a trade, see Prak, pp. 111 ff. See also Frijhoff & Spies, 1999 pp. 204 ff.

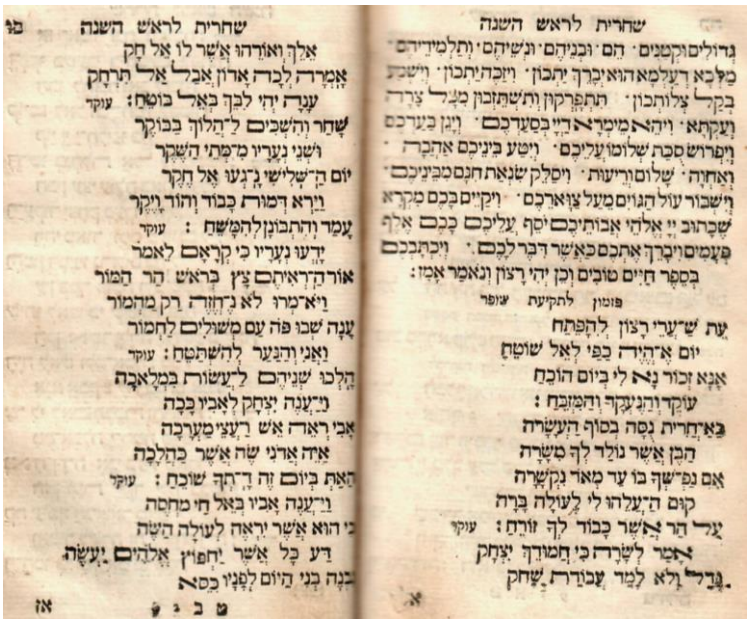
[79] Fuks-Mansfeld, 1998 p. 47. She suggests, on p. 48 of her article, that the presence or absence of toponyms in colophons is attributed to fear of the Inquisition, but this disregards regional onomastic differences which existed also in the Netherlands until recent times, e.g. the official use of patronyms.

printers, compositors and correctors were obviously highly appreciated in the Jewish community, are not substantiated by other sources.

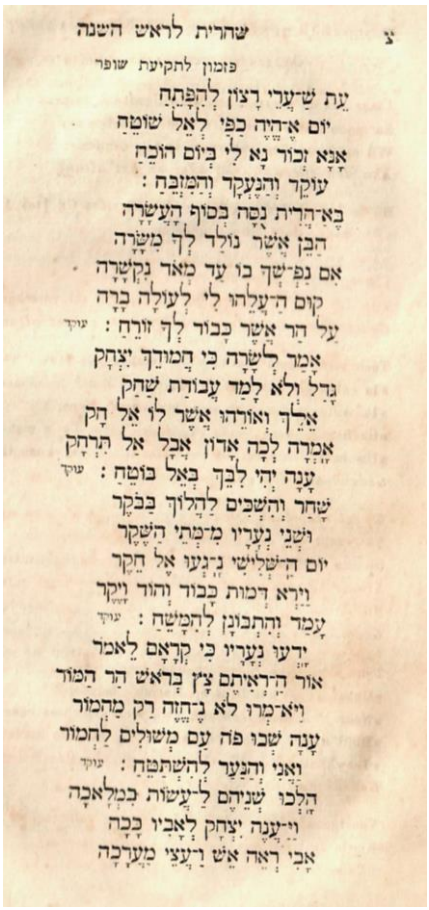
7.5.5 RUBRICS

An important paratextual element is that of the rubrics, which in early printed Jewish prayer books were sometimes printed in a different font size or typeface, though again without any uniformity even within the same edition. These are also features that can be witnessed in non-Jewish books of the same period. The rubrics and headings of prayers, Piyyutim and Selichot in both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi early modern Jewish prayer books appear to have been more or less standardised.[80]

In the 17th century and later it was quite common to indicate a melody preceding a song, in Jewish books indicated as 'Lachan so and so' (On the melody of …). Such indications are to this day to be found in Dutch Portuguese prayer books for special days. Another feature of these books is the insertion of a space between words or a hyphen between syllables, to indicate the distribution of the words to fit the traditional melodies. The following illustrations show this peculiarity in the Piyyut *Et Sha'arei Ratson* which is sung at the High Holidays:



56 Indication of the melody, Amsterdam, 1726



57 Idem, Amsterdam, 1849

[80] On the headings of Piyyutim, see chapter 14 of this study (pp. 191ff.).

7.5.6 DIFFERENT FONT SIZES

Differences in the font sizes in various parts of the prayer book are a peculiarity that has not yet been sufficiently studied. It has been supposed (in many discussions that have taken place on the subject, also outside the Netherlands) that the fixed parts of daily prayers were mostly typeset in the same font size, whereas portions that were only recited on specific days were either printed in larger, but mostly smaller, type sizes. It has not, however, been possible to establish that this was deliberate practice. Sometimes sections of a prayer that are said by the entire community are printed in the regular body text font used throughout the book, whereas sections that are skipped by some or by many are notably printed in a smaller font size. As has been discussed already on p. 86, the 1552 Ferrara comprehensive prayers contain a portion of the afternoon prayer for Yom Kippur that is set in a larger font size within the body text, though without any discernible reason. As this section appears at the end of a gathering, the explanation most probably is that the copy was divided between several compositors and that the compositor of this particular part realised as he reached the end that an otherwise empty space had to be filled. In a few other early editions, however, similar differences cannot be explained so easily. There was not yet much diversity in the use of typographical elements, even in complex books: running titles, headers and footers were in most early editions set in the same font size as the body text. This would change especially in prayer books produced in the 19th and 20th centuries, when portions of text were printed in various font sizes, though the underlying reason for this variety in sizes is still not clear.

7.5.7 BINDINGS

With respect to the bindings of Jewish prayer books it can be remarked that they are often quite simply bound in plain calf, vellum or in shagreen, the latter also known as shark skin. Sephardi prayer books sometimes have sumptuous, richly gilt red or green morocco bindings, occasionally with gauffered edges. Often, these luxury bound items were clearly wedding presents and not rarely adorned with a gilt supralibros. Quite a number of Dutch Protestant prayer or song books from the period have a turtle shell binding or rich silver[81] fittings, but they are very exceptional in their Jewish counterparts. After having discussed a number of paratextual features, I will now turn to the 17th-century Amsterdam printers, backers and workmen in the Jewish book industry, followed by a first evaluation of the position of early modern Jewish book culture within the general contemporary book culture in the Dutch Republic.

7.6 AMSTERDAM PRINTERS, BACKERS AND EMPLOYEES[82]

Earlier in this chapter the first printers of Jewish prayer books in the Northern Netherlands have been discussed. Now is the moment to turn to those who have become known as the pioneers of Jewish, and special Hebrew printing that made the name Amsterdam a mark of quality until today, readily used in catalogues of antiquarian booksellers and auctioneers. The research of publishers, backers, printers, compositors and correctors is an important part of book history, the more so for the period when Jewish printers and publishers constituted a minority. Information on the earliest non-Jewish producers of Jewish prayer books has to include data on their other publications, as well as offer suggestions why a client would commission a book from a certain firm and why such a firm would accept such commissions. The initial period of the production of Jewish prayer books in the Northern Netherlands only has scarce information to offer on these actors. Much information on the actors in book production in the Northern Netherlands has been presented in earlier specialist studies.[83]

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[81] A single turtle shell binding with gilt fittings reposes in the Amsyerdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos (on exhibition in the Jewish Historical Museum) and a few with more elaborate silver fittings are kept in the Royal Library in The Hague.

[82] This section, based on Fuks, 1984, describes the relation between books with obligatory and voluntary prayer only.

[83] The STCN is the standard source to consult. More information on publishers and book merchants is to be found in earlier classic works on Dutch publishing and book trade, e.g. Enschedé, 1978; Kleerkoper, 1914; Ledeboer, 1872;

Although it is common practice to call the owner of a firm that produces the printed word a 'printer', it is a term used in the workplace for those who work the printing press itself. Printers were less well paid than compositors, who were considered to be better educated. In this study the terms *publisher* and *printer* during the 17th century are used indiscriminately, as it is often impossible to define the exact role of the owner of a printing house at the time. Like their non-Jewish counterparts, the Jewish printers were busily engaged marketing their products on international platforms through book fairs, independent book merchants, and sometimes even staff who were paid in kind for their efforts, partly or completely. The most important Jewish owners of Amsterdam book production firms will be mentioned here in chronological order and the amount of kabbalistic works they produced will be mentioned to enable an initial evaluation of the reception of Kabbalah by Jewish printers in the Northern Netherlands, though not necessarily in the prayer books.

7.6.1 MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL 1604-1657, ACTIVE 1627-1655

Menasseh was the founder of the first Jewish Hebrew press in Amsterdam,[84] the first fruit of which was a book of Sephardi prayers for the whole year, finished on January 1, 1627 and titled סדר תפלות כמנהג קהל קדש ספרד. It was commissioned by Efraim Bueno and Abraham Sarphati. Menasseh ben Israel was a rabbi, Renaissance scholar, teacher, author, corrector, publisher and as such, a book merchant.

58 Chronogram in Menasseh's first prayer book, 1627

Fuks, 1984; Fuks, 1998. Very important information is presented in Studia Rosenthaliana in the section Amsterdam Notarial Deeds Pertaining to the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam up to 1639. As Ashkenazi Jews in that period were not involved in any important business networks and usually kept their distance from secular authorities, not many of their deeds or contracts, if any, are on record.

[84] He bought 8 kinds of Hebrew type from Nicolas Briot, a type-cutter and founder who came from Houy in Belgium to Gouda and later settled in Amsterdam where he worked for Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Paulus Aertsz. van Ravesteyn. Briot passed away in August 1626, five months after his transaction with Menasseh.

Menasseh ben Israel has rightfully been awarded a few biographies.[85] Here I only want to provide some additional remarks, which relate to two subjects that have been previously discussed: the struggle for supremacy between the Amsterdam Parnassim and their rabbis, and the sources of income of the latter. In the case of Menasseh, four aspects especially should be borne in mind for a full appreciation of his situation:

- Menasseh was the Chacham of Neve Salom and as such an employee of the Parnassim of Neve Salom, who paid his rabbinical salary. As explained earlier and stressed by Robert Bonfil, Shalom Rosenberg and David Ruderman,[86] the struggle between Parnassim and rabbis for supreme authority within European Jewry was mainly won by the former. New research on the situation in Amsterdam is long overdue, as apparently the position of the rabbinate was much weaker here than in Italy. The reason may be that the Parnassim in Menasseh's time felt called upon to strengthen the place of the Jewish community in an uncertain political, religious and social climate.
- He was a teacher at Talmud Torah and as such in the employment of its Board of Directors, who in turn were appointed by the Parnassim of Bet Jacob and could withdraw or reduce the salary he earned as a teacher. Menasseh's qualities as an educator, for example his influence on his pupils, deserve further research.
- Chacham Menasseh ben Israel was known for his excellent homilies, something confirmed by the Chacham and religious leader of the Neve Salom community. He has not left any known decisions and after 1639 occupied a somewhat subordinate position in the rabbinical hierarchy of the now united community Talmud Tora. Whether he had any impact as a local halakhic authority still needs to be established. He never made an international name for himself as a halakhist.
- Menasseh was undoubtedly an internationally renowned man of learning and respected as a member of the Republic of Letters by those correspondents who did not adhere too strictly to Christian doctrine.[87] It is safe to state that his fame in the non-Jewish world of learning surpassed his reputation in Jewish circles at the time.

Menasseh can be seen as an ambassador of Jewish learning in non-Jewish Europe, as he informed his correspondents and readers of Jewish views on subjects that were central in the interreligious discussions of that time, such as the soul, the resurrection, reward and punishment and even predestination.[88] He explained aspects of Judaism to other members of the Republic of Letters, hoping to diminish the existing hostility that had been caused by ignorance. His efforts in this were crowned when he went on his mission to Cromwell to plead for the readmission of Jews in the Commonwealth period. He is perhaps remembered best as the founder of the first Jewish Hebrew printing house in Amsterdam. In addition to his rabbinical and educational obligations, he soon acquired the status of an international businessman, being a printer as well as a book merchant, activities which also provided him with additional income. He started his commercial career at a time when the very settlement of Jews in the Dutch Republic, let alone Jewish entrepreneurship in book production and trade, was not widely accepted, much less embraced.

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[85] E.g. Nadler, 2018; Offenberg, 2000.

[86] Bonfil, 2004; Rosenberg, 1987; Ruderman, 2010.

[87] Letters by Hugo Grotius to Gerardus Johannes Vossius may modify the view that the former befriended Menasseh. Like Caspar Barlaeus, Gerardus Johannes Vossius held Menasseh in high esteem and his precocious son Dionysius translated part of the Conciliador into Latin, though his untimely death prevented him from doing the same with the subsequently published part. The other son, Isaac Vossius, however, looked down upon Menasseh, as is proven by his letters.

[88] The Conciliador could be of benefit to both Jews and non-Jews. The many apparent contradictions in the Bible already baffled both laymen and rabbis in Talmudic times. There existed a large body of exegetic literature in which the rabbis tried to reconcile these contradictory points by explaining them as instances relating to different cases. The selection Menasseh made on the basis of that body of literature deserves specialist research and may serve to shed light on his theological system.

For a Jew to start and continue a business under these circumstances demanded not only vision and daring but also great flexibility. His daring, successes and even, perhaps, his failures deserve specialist research. It would be good to put them in perspective by comparing them with the successes and failures of contemporary printers and booksellers, and also with his Jewish Amsterdam successors. It was the pioneer Menasseh ben Israel who chose not only to publish works with a Jewish content, but also to be identified as their publisher. He also initiated the printing of Yiddish in the Northern Netherlands[89] and was the first printer in this country to use *Otiyot tsur*,[90] the Ashkenazi cursive type that is also known as *Waybertaytsh* and was only used to print texts in Yiddish. The products that came from his press may not all of them have been the finest specimen of Hebrew typography at the time, and his commercial success may have fallen short of his expectations, but his courage and determination in a period and in a society marked by instability have ensured him lasting fame.

59 Otiyot Tsur (in this example of Athias)

To establish a position in the Republic of Letters, the book merchant Menasseh had to create an international network, something which was essential for any publisher in the period. It required regular attendance at large international book fairs to maintain it. Of course the existing commercial networks in which the members of his own community operated could also be of benefit to him. He started his career in the book trade at a time when conditions were not yet fixed: Amsterdam was not yet the economic capital of the Dutch Republic and it was constantly in conflict with the official Calvinist Church, whose officials were keen to ban more liberal forms of Protestantism, and certainly a non-Christian religion. This not only caused problems for Menasseh as a private Jewish businessman, but also for the Parnassim, who stood surety for the financial obligations of the members of their community. It is conceivable that some of the secular authorities genuinely entertained certain ideals on interreligious toleration, but it is also possible that religious discussions left the Parnassim indifferent and that their only aim was to safeguard the community from economic disaster.[91] For the same reason, the Parnassim might

[89] Sefer Mizmor letodah, 1644. Eisik Tyrna, Minhagim, 1645. Instructions in a prayer book according to the Ashkenazi rite, 1646. Pappenheim, Naftali b. Samuel, Hilkhot milah, 1647. Taytsh Aptek, 1647. On Amsterdam as a centre of creative Yiddish literature intended for the Ashkenazi world, see the several publications by Shlomo Berger.
[90] Abbreviation of *TS*ena *UR*ena, a popular biblical anthology in Yiddish that was mostly popular with women. This cursive Ashkenazi typeface, which is exclusively used for printing Yiddish, is very distinct from the Sephardi cursive which is also known as 'Rashi script'.
[91] See de Jong, 1979 p. 156.

decide to prohibit the publication of a work (or parts of it), as they feared it might put the community they were in charge of at risk. One such example was Delmedigo's book which was discussed in chapter 5. The Parnassim and Menasseh might easily have differed in their assessment of the possible negative consequences of such a publication, as Menasseh's eye would be more on opportunities in the international market, even when that market was at the mercy of political, military and economic conflicts. This was no less the case in the last decade of Menasseh's life, a time when North-Western and Central Europe were thrown into chaos and war. In 1648-1657, there was for instance civil war in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, mostly referred to as the infamous Chmielnicki Uprising or Cossack-Polish War. Cossacks united with the Crimean Tatars and local peasants to fight against the Polish-Lithuanian forces, inflicting mass atrocities against the civilian population, especially against the Jews. These conflicts stunted the international book trade, left their echoes in various publications and led to the writing of special prayers for the persecuted. In the Dutch Republic, the ending of the war with Spain in 1648 caused much internal conflict, both in the years leading up to the final peace and afterwards.

Menasseh's position in the world of learning may have brought him fame, but it did not necessarily create a large market for books he had not written himself. The business efforts of his family, in particular his brother Efraim and his brother-in-law Abarbanel, were focused on Brazil, at the time not a very profitable market for Jewish books. Both the non-Jewish as well as the Ashkenazi craftsmen whom Menasseh employed at the time appear to have helped Menasseh to distribute the fruits of his press.[92]

All this provides the background to an interesting incident in the life of Menasseh. On 29 March 1632 Amsterdam had issued a decree that Jews, even if they had acquired citizenship, were excluded from any of the official trades (i.e. any trade or business regulated by a guild, including keeping shops and selling wines and beers). The decree did not exclude Jews from printing and selling books, but they were not allowed to sell them in an official bookshop, which was seen as a public place that drew crowds, a place where current affairs were discussed. In 1648, at the time of the controversy over the Peace Treaty of Munster[93] and after it had been signed under pressure from the States of Holland,[94] Menasseh applied to the city government to be exempted from the 1632 decree and be allowed to open a real bookshop, a request that was promptly denied. It should be stressed again that at the time, bookshops were places of lively encounter where people used to gather and freely, if not heatedly, discuss matters. As the books Menasseh would sell were of a religious nature, an official shop (one that had a sign and advertised its books openly) could be taken as a public space used to propagate religious activities. The secular authorities of Amsterdam were of course keen to prevent any disturbance that might have resulted from a Jew being allowed to open an official and public bookshop. For Menasseh, the decision may or may not have made a difference in space, but in any case he was still able to continue his activities as a bookseller in his printing shop respectively warehouse.

In 1643 Menasseh apparently decided no longer to be actively involved in his press, putting the management in the hands of Eliahu Aboab who had earlier served Menasseh as a corrector. Aboab was one of the signatories of the 1639 union agreement between the three Amsterdam Sephardi communities, but further information on his personal and commercial background is lacking. He employed three new compositors when three of them left Menasseh's service, two of

[92] An exception has to be made for Judah (Leib) b. Mordechai Gimpel, who came from a well-known family of booksellers in Posen. When his contract with Menasseh ran out he began working for Immanuel Benveniste and may have become more involved in the expansion of the network of that publisher/printer.
[93] 1648: Paix de Westphalie; Arndt, 1998 pp. 12-43; As, 1998.
[94] Frijhoff & Spies, 1999, pp. 42 ff.

whom would subsequently be employed by Immanuel Benveniste. In 1646 Josef ben Israel, Menasseh's younger son, took over the management of his father's press until his untimely death in 1650, when he was succeeded by his elder brother Samuel. This son of Menasseh was known as Samuel ben Israel (Abarbanel) Soeiro, and would himself pass away in England in 1656. Only a single title was published under Menasseh's own imprint in this year, concluding the output of this pioneer press which produced 73 works, 48 in Hebrew and 25 in Latin type. Of those, 19 works contained prayers, berakhot and customs:

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	2	11
Customs	2	
Ma'amadot	1	1
Berakhot		2
Total	5	14

The press of Menasseh produced in 1655 an edition of Mekor Chayim, a mystical commentary on Tur/Shulchan Arukh 1-32. It is a nice, though sometimes baffling Jewish tradition to provide a year of publication in the form of a chronogram,[95] called perat in Hebrew.[96] The chronograms used by the various printers are a good indication of feelings that were recognizable and could freely be expressed by a publisher. So Menasseh in his first publication uses the words 'Untroubled is Israel's abode' (Deut. 33: 28). Later he will repeatedly mention redemption, joy and 'He will redeem' which all speak for themselves.

The bibliography of the works published and produced by Menasseh is still not complete, as many private and public collections are still inaccessible to researchers. Menasseh's Hebrew types were bought by Christian Ravius, Professor of Hebrew at Uppsala University.

7.6.2 DANIEL DE FONSECA (ALSO KNOWN AS LOPO DA FONSECA)

Biographical data on him are all but lacking. He published two titles in 1627, the first of which, on August 7, claimed to be 'the first fruit of printing in this city'. He was listed as a member of Neve Salom in 1616.

7.6.3 IMMANUEL BENVENISTE 1608-1664, ACTIVE 1640-1659

Benveniste was instrumental in establishing the reputation of Amsterdam as the centre of the free Jewish press thanks to his high-quality output. He is first mentioned in the Amsterdam register of marriages in 1640 as Emanuel Benveniste of Venice, 32 years old, whose parents are still alive.[97] His press produced 54 publications, 48 of which in Hebrew including 16 books with prayers:

[95] It consists of a word or (part of) a sentence or biblical verse in Hebrew, either all characters of which represent a cipher, or only those that are marked, for example by a larger font, an asterisk or another typographical sign like the use of red ink. In early printed books as well as in works with poor typography it is often quite difficult to establish the correct interpretation.

[96] One has to distinguish between P"G (perat gadol or great perat, in which a letter *dalet* or *he* has to be counted for the thousands according to the Jewish reckoning) and the P"K (perat katan, in which the thousands are not expressed). Identifying all biblical references in the chronograms was beyond the limits of this study.

[97] Fuks 1984, vol. 1 p. 153 comments on Benveniste's epitaph, without recognising that the term מסכיל ונבון is a honorary title as may be given a person of importance after his dead, a Sephardi practice that still exists today.

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	7	5 + 1 Italian rite
Selichot	1	
Unidentified	1	
Berakhot		1
Total	9	7

During the years 1644-1647 Benveniste published the Babylonian Talmud in a handsome small-folio format in a print run of 3,000 copies.[98] Benveniste had not been compelled to submit the text to a censor, as was the custom elsewhere. After the repeated public burnings in various places of copies of the Talmud at the instigation of the Roman Catholic Church from the middle of the 16th century on, the importance of this Benveniste edition cannot be overstated. As usual, the tractates were published and sold separately and it was up to the client buyer how he wanted to have them bound. It explains the varying contents and order in several of the volumes and sets.[99] As Benveniste came to Amsterdam from Venice, where Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities lived together, it may be assumed his business contacts were mainly to be found in Europe, and that he might expect to be able to sell large numbers of books more or less easily. He employed Judah (Leib) b. Mordechai Gimpel, one of the early members of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community, as a compositor and another Ashkenazi Jew, Samuel b. Moses ha-Levi (also known as Marcus Levy) as a foreman.

The use of rabbinic approbations by Benveniste in two of his publications shows the various purposes for which these approbations were used: either as a guarantee against competitors or to forestall opposition to the contents of a book. An example of the former is Korban Aaron by Aaron b. Eliezer Lippmann of Zempelburg,[100] containing an index to Torat Chatat by Moses Isserles, Amsterdam 1646/7.[101] An example of the latter is Sefer Emek ha-melech by Naftali b. Jacob Elhanan which Benveniste published in 1648. The introduction to Lurianic Kabbalah and the Zohar it contains might give rise to aversion, even at a time when messianic hopes were rising. The book comes with 10 approbations, all of them by Ashkenazi authorities and was the first of seven kabbalistic works that were published by Benveniste in the period 1648-1657, including the influential Shenei Luchot ha-Brit by Isaiah Horowitz. Benveniste states in 1642 in a chronogram: 'See, I will send you Elijah' (i.e. the Messiah) and published in 1644 Isaac Abarbanel's treatise on the redemption and coming of the Messiah, and two years later an introduction to the Kabbalah and commentary on the Zohar by Naphtali ben Jacob Elchanan.

Benveniste's notarial contracts prove that he found business partners in countries with large Ashkenazi communities, which indicates that an important part of his output could be easily acquired by Ashkenazi Jewry. This trend continued when the foremost among his employees, his main compositor and his foreman, started their own company:

7.6.4 THE PARTNERS JUDAH (LEIB) B. MORDECHAI GIMPEL AND SAMUEL B. MOSES HA-LEVI, ACTIVE 1648-1652

The two partners published 27 books, perhaps the most influential of which was Tavnit Hechal. Libellus effigei Templi Salomonis […], Amsterdam, 1650. This booklet by Jacob Judah Leon was intended as a complement to his model of Solomon's Temple which was a famous exhibition

[98] Rabbinovitz, 1952, pp. 93-95. See also Mintz and Goldstein, 2005.

[99] The Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos owns three sets, each diferent from the others.

[100] Now called Sępólno Krajeńskie in Poland.

[101] Fuks, Typography, no. 219. The approbations are written by rabbis from Posen, Hamburg, Emden and Amsterdam (Saul Levi Morteira, David b. Joseph Pardo and Menasseh b. Israel).

item at the time. It was seen by many and earned the author the moniker Jacob Leon Templo. Their production included one prayer book, an edition of Selichot and a book containing Birkat ha-Mazon, all 3 according to Ashkenazi custom and 6 mystical works. The chronograms used again are interesting: the chronogram in the 1649 edition of Jacob b. Isaac Zausmer's commentary on the Masorah[102] is especially noteworthy. It reads: 'By merit of this you will soon be awarded redemption by your Messiah.' The colophon is dated 'the year of Elijah Messiah'. A variant on this quote was used the next year by the partners in two other publications, to become a regular feature of their chronograms from then on. A homily for the Festival of Tabernacles and a work in Yiddish published in 1652 are dated 'In the year of life and peace'. This points to Jewish appreciation of peace at a time when quiet returned following William II's attack on Amsterdam in 1650 and the abolition of the post of Stadholder by the States of Holland in the 'Grote Vergadering' (1651) both of which had thrown the Republic and Amsterdam into a state of turmoil.[103] It is incidentally well-known that chiliastic enthusiasm[104] was by no means limited to the Jewish world.

7.6.5 URI PHOEBUS B. AARON WITMUND HA-LEVI, 1627-1715, ACTIVE IN AMSTERDAM 1658-1688

Uri was the grandson of Moses Uri b. Joseph ha-Levi, the first spiritual leader and chazzan of the Amsterdam Sephardi congregation Bet Jacob and as such a member of the Sephardi (honoris causa) as well as the Ashkenazi community. He enrolled as a member of the Amsterdam Guild of Booksellers, Printers and Binders under the name Phylips Levi on January 28, 1664.[105] He left Amsterdam after March 25, 1691 for Zolkiew, where he set up a press, publishing his first work in 1693. He returned to Amsterdam in 1705 where he passed away on January 17, 1715. He was buried at the Sephardi Beth Haim in Ouderkerk. The story of his religious affiliation is a curious one as he first joined the (German) Ashkenazi community but subsequently left it to become a member of the Polish Jewish community. On his return to the German community in 1669 he donated the famous Amsterdam Machsor manuscript to that community as a fine for his earlier withdrawal.[106] When ultimately the Amsterdam city government compelled the German and Polish communities to unite, Uri decided on that occasion to become a member of the Portuguese community, which he was allowed to do owing to his grandfather's many merits for the then still young community, as mentioned above. He embarked on an adventure that is exemplary of both the ambitious and rash projects that were undertaken at the time by the most important and to this day celebrated Amsterdam Jewish printers Uri Phoebus ha-Levi and Josef Athias. It is illustrative of the risks they were prepared to take, but also of their lack of scruples regarding rival colleagues. In December 1670 – when the Portuguese community started the preparations to build their main synagogue – Uri and his Protestant backer Borrit Jansz. Smit prepared to publish an edition of the Bible in Yiddish in 6,000 copies. The translation was made by Jekuthiel ben Isaac Blitz.[107] It was not a smooth ride for them. First of all, they were swindled by Haim ben Judah Leib of Pila, who promised to provide approbations for the work by the leading Polish rabbis, for which he was paid in advance. Eventually he presented them with only a few falsifications. The ambitious project was furthermore thwarted by what was not only a personal disaster for Uri Phoebus, but also for the Dutch Republic as a whole when in 1672, the year which is known in Dutch history as the *Rampjaar*, i.e. the Disaster Year, the Republic was attacked by France, England and Munster. The 'Fathers of the Republic', Johann and Cornelis de

[102] Early notes on the grammar, vocalisation and cantillation of the Hebrew Bible.
[103] As the Dutch Reformed Church saw itself as the *New, Batavian Israel*, the parallelism between the term 'Grote Vergadering' and the Jewish 'Men of the Great Assembly' (see p. 6) is clear, though it may be purely coincidental.
[104] Goldish, 2001.
[105] Van Eeghen, 1965, pp. 111-112.
[106] This manuscript has been acquired by the Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum.
[107] Aptroot, 1993.

Witt, were lynched by the rabble in The Hague and William III was reinstated as Stadholder. Although both the publisher and his financial partner Borrit Jansz. Smit went bankrupt, somehow Uri succeeded in restarting his business and in 1675 they found Josef Athias prepared to join forces with them as a financial partner in the Yiddish Bible project, which was resumed very early in 1676. The partnership was, however, already dissolved on February 6, 1676, when Athias decided to publish his own edition of a Yiddish Bible in a translation by his compositor, Joseph b. Alexander of Witzenhausen.[108] Uri Phoebus would finish his edition, which was corrected by Willem Blaeu and Justus Laurensz. Baeck, only in 1679.

It was the beginning of a fierce and ruthless marketing competition between Uri Phoebus ha-Levi and Joseph Athias for the East European market, and it would also prove to be disastrous for both entrepreneurs. Uri was forced to give his workshop and inventory in pawn in 1686, though he continued to work until 1691, when he left Amsterdam for Zolkiew in Ukraine where he set up a press in 1693. Eventually he would return to Amsterdam in 1705 but did not return to printing. Uri Phoebus produced 97 works in Amsterdam, all of them in Hebrew type, 32 of which contained prayers. A very important initiative was the publication of the Kurant, the first Yiddish newspaper in 1686,[109] which, however, was soon transferred to David de Castro Tartas.

Uri Phoebus published a work on magical names and symbols, as well as five mystical works, one of them two letters of Solomon Molcho, a 16th-century announcer of Messianic coming. In 1663 Uri used the extensive chronogram: 'May the Prophet and King Messiah Elijah come soon, in our days'. The chronogram of another work of the same year reads: 'Redeem Your people'. A year later his beliefs become more pronounced: 'In the days of the Messiah' to evolve into: 'The year See, I redeem My people'. This was in 1666, the year the Shabtean frenzy also reached Amsterdam. After it had become known that Shabbetai Tsevi had publicly converted to Islam, Uri Phoebus saved his face with the chronogram: 'And will merit soon the coming of the Messiah' and 'The Messiah, son of David will come'. Uri Phoebus ha-Levi, as will be illustrated later, was not the only one to be misled by the aspirations of the delusional Shabbetai Tsevi. A book he started in 1671 but could only finish in 1675 because of the Third Anglo-Dutch War of 1672-1674 is dated: 'the year when peace flourishes'. The chronograms of the various printers deserve further study to reveal their engagement with the major contemporary events that left their marks on society.

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	10	4
Unidentified		1
Blessing after the meal	1	
Berakhot	1	1
Azharot	2	
Customs	3	
Haggadah	1	
Ma'amadot	1	
Selichot	1	
Tikun	1	
Eve of the New Month	4	
Total	25	6

[108] For an analysis of the translations by Blitz and Witzenhausen, see Aptroot, 1993.
[109] Pach, 2014.

His great ambitions and talents as a publisher and owner of a printing house notwithstanding, Uri Phoebus ha-Levi, like his competitor and successor Athias, not only repeatedly overplayed his hand, he was also unable to read the signs of his times, which saw wars and upheavals all over Europe, destroying various markets that in normal times might have absorbed the large number of (not only Jewish) books that were produced in Amsterdam.

7.6.6 JOSEPH ATHIAS, C. 1635-1700 AND HIS SON IMMANUEL, C. 1664/5-1714, ACTIVE 1658-1709[110]

The Athias firm is probably the most famous Amsterdam Jewish printer's firm of the 17th century. The high-quality, uncensored Hebrew books he published deserve to be remembered as paragons of Jewish book production. In this light it is quite sad to note that Athias, a great publisher as has been demonstrated earlier,[111] lacked sufficient commercial and financial skills. 57 Hebrew books, including 24 with prayers, were produced by his firm. A survey of the works in Latin type is not yet available.

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	5	10
Blessing after the meal	2	
Tikun		7
Total	7	17

The main categories that can be distinguished in Athias's output are Bible texts and prayer books in various languages. He also printed the third, corrected and enlarged edition of Isaiah Horowitz's Shenei Luchot ha-Berit, the monumental 1702-1703 edition of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah and its standard commentary Lechem Mishneh in 3 volumes in 1703.[112] The Maimonides edition until this day stands as a monument of typographical splendour and attraction, in particular because of the sumptuous wide margins which demonstrate that Athias certainly loved books, but was not really cost-aware.

Josef Athias published relatively few kabbalistic works: the already mentioned Shenei Luchot ha-Brit, two shortened editions of that work and three others. Some of his chronograms and illustrated titles indicate that he belonged to those Portuguese who enthusiastically welcomed Shabtai Zwi as Messiah, as is clear in the various Tikunim that he published in 1666. After he uses in 1664 the chronogram 'So that you will live' he moves on to 'Moshia' (Redeemer) in 1666. There exist various editions of such small-sized Tikunim with various imprints and they deserve analytic research.[113] One of the Athias Tikunim bear a title woodcut depicting the High Priest, another one contains an additional engraved title in three tiers, depicting on top Moses on Mount Sinai, in the middle a group of Jews in eastern attire and at the bottom a similar picture, but with the man at the head of the table losing his turban but having his head anointed from heaven. Following the 1666 Shabtai Tsevi debacle, he retreats to the chronogram 'His Messiah will [certainly] come' in 1667 and 1768. Biographical data on father Joseph and son Immanuel are scarce. In 2001 the Amsterdam printing firm of Tetterode gave a cabinet containing types from Athias' press in semi-permanent loan to Amsterdam University's Allard Pierson, where it is kept at the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.[114]

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[110] According to Fuks, 1984 p. 303 Immanuel took over his father's firm in 1685. This is indicated in the records of my bibliographical list0s. On the Athias firm see I.H. van Eeghen, De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680-1725 (5 vols. in 6), 1960-1978.

[111] See the previous page.

[112] The fourth volume was printed by Proops in 1714.

[113] For the Tikunim that were published by David de Castro Tartas in the same year, see under his name on the next page.

[114] Offenberg, 2005.

60 Shabtai Zwi as King Messiah

7.6.7 DAVID DE CASTRO TARTAS, ACTIVE 1662-1695[115]

Data on his birth and death are absent, but his parents came to Amsterdam from Braganza in Portugal after a stay in the French city of Tartas in Gascoigne. He is first mentioned as a compositor in the Menasseh firm when it was under the management of Joseph ben Israel, but there are no further records on him until he started his own press in 1662. He joined the printer's guild at a so far unknown date. He published 67 works in Hebrew type and an as yet unknown number of editions in Latin type, including in total 37 books with prayers.[116]

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	3	18
Selichot		1
Private prayers	1	
Ashmurot		1
Azharot		1
Haggadah	1	
Ma'amadot		1
Selichot		1
Tikun		4
Eve of the New Month	4	1
Total	9	28

He also published the newspapers Gazetta d'Amsterdam (in Italian) and Gazeta de Amsterdam (in Spanish); in June 1687 he took over publication of the Yiddish *Kurant* from Uri Phoebus ha-Levi.[117]

[115] In some imprints, the name is written as de Crasto Tartaz.
[116] Fuks, 1984, vol. 2 pp. 380-382 lists 42 titles in Spanish and Portuguese and remarks: "Tartas may have printed many more non-Hebrew books, besides the Spanish and Italian papers he also printed. …"
[117] See Pach, 2014.

When Tartas started his enterprise, two important Hebrew printers were already active in Amsterdam. Apparently the international market was large enough to absorb more Jewish books. De Castro Tartas seems to have entertained the ambition to become the official printer of the wealthy Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community and its various institutions. This would not have brought him riches, but would have meant a steady series of commissions, which often provided contemporary printers with the security of a regular income. Likewise, the publication of newspapers ensured a similar small but regular income which could be augmented by the income from advertisements, which automatically also benefited the sale of the books that were announced in them.[118]

David de Castro Tartas sighs in a 1663 chronogram: 'The Almighty will hear me when I cry to Him.' In 1666 he states in a book with prayers by the Amsterdam rabbis Isaac Aboab and Solomon d'Oliveyra (completed February 5: 'See, I will redeem my people' and in a book of Pericopes, finished on May 5: 'Happy are you, Israel, who can be compared with you, a people that puts its trust in the Eternal.' In the same year he publishes at least two Tikunim that resemble those published by Athias in the same year[119] and uses the chronogram 'See, I redeem'. At first sight this may be closely read as dismissing Redemption by an intermediary,[120] but twice he mentions elsewhere in a work: 'The Redeemer, the first year' which indicates that he not less than his competitor Athias participated in the Shabtean enthusiasm. He published 14 mystical and kabbalistic works, most Tikunim and in this he surpassed Athias.

David de Castro Tartas specialised in the production of books that were sure to be heavily used: Biblical texts and prayer books, well executed though without being overly luxurious. Of special interest are his 1666 editions, the year of the Shabtean tumult. A number of these, which mostly contain Kabbalistic nocturnal prayers, can be dated by the chronogram מושיע (Redeemer) and sometimes contain an additional engraved title page showing Shabbetai Tsevi as the King Messiah. His most famous edition is undoubtedly Siftei Yeshenim by Shabbetai b. Joseph Bass from Prague, the first bibliography of Jewish books by a Jewish author.[121] In 1691 Tartas published an important halachic work: Peri Chadash by Hezekiah da Silva, a commentary on Yoreh De'ah, the second volume of the Shulchan Arukh. He also published the works of Daniel Levi de Barrios, the collector of legendary stories on the history of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community,[122] whose 'Triumpho del governo popular y de la antiguedad Holandesa'[123] was, as Swetschinski stated,[124] until recently regarded as the main source on the historiography of the Amsterdam Sephardim. Apart from the Tikunim, the press produced 4 more mystical or kabbalistic works.

7.6.8 MOSES KOSMAN B. ELIJAH GOMPERZ AND HIS SUCCESSORS MOSES B. ABRAHAM AVINU, ASHER ANSHEL B. ELIEZER AND ISSACHAR BAER B. ELIEZER, ACTIVE 1687-1713

This press produced 23 books with prayers in a total of 51 Hebrew books, of which the best known one is the first Amsterdam edition of the Pesach Haggadah[125] for the use of both

118 Pach, 2014, pp. 236-237.
119 See illustration 60.
120 As is stressed in the Pesach Haggadah: the Exodus was caused not by an envoy or by an angel, but by the Almighty Himself.
121 Like all pre-19th century bibliographical works, the data provided are limited, rendering the work an interesting, but far from definitive source.
122 Pieterse, 1968.
123 Amsterdam, 1683.
124 Swetschinski, 2004, p. 168.
125 Fuks, 1984, no 521.

Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Printed it 1695, it is the first Haggadah with engraved illustrations[126] by Abraham b. Jacob 'the proselyte', which would be subsequently used throughout Europe. It also contained the first printed map of the Holy Land[127] with legends in Hebrew. The work has two states, one with an additional engraved title page with six medallions, the other one showing Moses and the burning bush.[128]

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	3	
Blessing after the meal	1	
Ashmurot	1	
Haggadah	1	
Selichot	1	
Tikun	6	
Total	13	

Kosman also published a book of arithmetic, a type of work that was very popular at the time to assist merchants with their calculations. This press is the only one in 17th-century Amsterdam to produce prayers according to a single rite only, in this case the Ashkenazi one.

7.6.9 CASPAR PIETERSEN STEEN, 1643-1703, ACTIVE 1692-1703

Eight works in Hebrew types, bought from the estate of David de Castro Tartas, were published by the press of Steen, an Amsterdam bookbinder and book merchant of whom no prayer books and works in Latin type are known.[129] He published two kabbalistic biblical commentaries and a collection of magic medicine. Among his compositors were a few Ashkenazi Jews.

7.6.10 MOSES B. ABRAHAM MENDES COUTINHO, ACTIVE 1698-1710

No biographical data on this printer have been preserved; initially the transliteration of his Hebrew family name was Coitinho. He not only took over the remainder of David de Castro Tartas's types, but was also assisted for some time by his predecessor's son-in-law Samuel Teixeira Tartas The press produced 32 Hebrew works, 14 of them containing prayers.

	Ashkenazi Rite	Sephardi rite
Prayer books	7	3
Customs	1	
Selichot	2	
Tikun		1
Total	10	4

Mendes Coutinho published 7 kabbalistic works, including a Tikun, the Zohar Chadash, Tikunei ha-Zohar and Sefer Raziel.

7.7 SOME OTHER PERSONS INVOLVED

[126] After the biblical scenes by Matthaeus Merian. Icones biblicae praecipuas Sacrae Scripturae historias eleganter & graphicè representantes. Amsterdam, 1648.
[127] Probably the first printed map with Hebrew legends is the map depicting 'the settlement of the sons of Noah' in Hugh Broughton's Parshegen nishtevan, Amsterdam, 1606, see Burnett, 2000; Werner, 1996.
[128] Catalogue 22: Interesting Books and Manuscripts on various Subjects. Amsterdam, Nico Israel Rare Books, 1980, no. 143 (description by A.W. Rosenberg).
[129] Van Eeghen, 1967, p. 53.

As Pettegree and der Weduwen repeatedly state in their *The Bookshop of the World*, the production and selling of books at the time was a costly and risky business and as they explicitly state in the case of Menasseh ben Israel and Athias[130] often beyond the means of a single printer. Money had to be raised and joint ventures were common in the Dutch Republic, and so both Jewish and non-Jewish persons in search of investments were prepared to take their chances in the sight of possible profits and became backers of a certain edition. In the production of books various people are involved but most of them remain unmentioned.[131] Who were preparing the author's copy for the composer, who were the composers, correctors, those who prepared the forme, inked the type or worked the printing press? Data on most people who have been involved in any way with the production of Jewish books in Amsterdam during the 17th century are scarce and deserve a thorough study of archives[132] and notarial documents. It has been the contribution of the late L. Fuks and his spouse, R. Fuks-Mansfeld who in their Hebrew Typography[133] provided much new information, including lists of compositors[134] (most of them Ashkenazim) who often moved from one employer to another and sometimes would establish their own press. As will be discussed on the following pages, Jewish employers in this period often contracted compositors against a fixed yearly salary, which was sometimes supplemented in kind, whereas in Dutch non-Jewish business they were generally paid at piece rate. Fuks's list of correctors[135] features a slightly higher percentage of Sephardim. The authors of laudatory poems, however, are mostly Ashkenazim.[136]

As an incentive for further research here follows an alphabetical list of some backers, compositors, and others who are mentioned by Fuks, intended purely as first references:
Jonah Abarbanel. Menasseh's brother-in-law and the backer of some of his books. Eliahu Aboab, a printer and publisher, successor to Menasseh, who took over the latter's printing office in 1643. He was one of the signatories of the 1639 union agreement between the three Amsterdam Sephardi communities, but any further information on Aboab and his enterprise is lacking. He first worked for Menasseh as a corrector; when he later took over his business he also acquired his types, including his Otiyot Tsur.[137] Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1693) was Chakham of the Amsterdam Portuguese community and one of the key figures behind the initiative to build its main synagogue. Author of a few laudatory poems in works published by Menasseh. Together they served as rabbis of the Neve Salom community. Not to be confused with the printer Daniel da Fonseca. Arent Dirck Bos backed the 1646 vocalised Mishnah edition by Menasseh and published a catalogue of books printed by Menasseh in 1648.[138] Nicolas Briot was a type-cutter and founder who came to Gouda from Houy in the Southern Netherlands and later settled in Amsterdam, where he worked for Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Paulus Aertsz. van Ravesteyn. He passed away in August 1626, five months after Menasseh had bought 8 kinds of Hebrew type from him. Efraim Bueno (1599-1661) backed Menasseh's 1627 prayer book together with Abraham Sarphati. He received his degree in Lyon in 1642 and practised as a physician in Amsterdam.

130 Pettegree and der Weduwen, 2016 ff. 336.
131 See e.g. Gaskell, 1974 pp. 5-170; Jennett, 1973.
132 Few business archives from the period have survived in municipal or national archives, the preservation of a printer's archive on the premises as is the case with that of the Antwerp Plantin-Moretus firm is exceptional.
133 Fuks, 1984, only 2 vols. published, covering the period until c. 1710 only.
134 Fuks, 1984, vol.1, p. (227); vol. 2, pp. 494-496.
135 Fuks, 1984, vol. 1, p. (228); vol. 2, p. 497-498.
136 Fuks, 1984, vol. 1, p. 231-232; vol. 2, p. (505).
137 See p. 121, note 84.
138 Catalogus variorum insignium Hebraicorum atque Hispanicorum librorum qui typis Menasseh ben Israel impressi apud ipsum venales habenter.

Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591-1655) was the author of Sefer Elim. He was a Rabbi, physician and astronomer, colleague and friend of Menasseh, born in Iraklion in Crete and studied at Padua University. After his time in Amsterdam he moved to Prague, where he died. Joseph Salom ben Salom Gallego (chazzan in Amsterdam 1614-1628). The author of Imrei Noam and involved in the production of Menasseh's 1627 prayer book as a 'mevi la-defus'.[139] Jacob ha-Levi from Venice wrote an approbation to Delmedigo's Sefer Elim. Johannes Janssonius was a well-known Amsterdam printer and publisher, who backed some Bibles, Psalters and a Minhagim book produced by Menasseh. Josef ben Alexander of Witzenhausen worked in the service of Eliahu Aboab as compositor and as the translator of the Yiddish Bible published by Joseph Athias in 1676. Joseph ben Israel, the younger son of Menasseh who took over the printing press from Eliahu Aboab in 1646. Judah Leib ben Mordecai Gimpel, an Ashkenazi compositor who was employed by Menasseh 1631-1640, by Immanuel Benveniste 1641-1656, by Uri Phoebus ha-Levi in 1658 and by Joseph Athias in the years 1661-1664. In the years 1648-1652 he published 27 books with his partner Samuel b. Moses ha-Levi. Henricus Laurentius was an Amsterdam printer and publisher who participated financially in some of Menasseh's books and also published a few Hebrew works in Franeker. Bartholomeus Laurensz was a non-Jewish compositor who was employed by Menasseh in 1631. Simchah Luzatto was a rabbi in Venice and wrote an approbation to Delmedigo's Sefer Elim

Moses bar Nathan of Hammelburg worked a compositor in the service of Eliahu Aboab. David Pardo was rabbi in Amsterdam and backed his colleague Menasseh's Festival prayers of 1631. Christian Ravius, professor of Hebrew at Uppsala University, bought the Hebrew types from Menasseh. Ruben bar Eliakim of Main worked as compositor for Eliahu Aboab. Nehemiah Saraval, an author from Venice, wrote an approbation to Delmedigo's Sefer Elim. Abraham Sarphati (1596-?) together with Ephraim Bueno backed Menasseh's 1627 prayer book. Efraim Soeiro was Menasseh's brother and business associate. Samuel ben Israel or Samuel Abarbanel Soeiro was the elder son of Menasseh who took over the family business in 1651, after his brother had passed away a year earlier. Finally to be mentioned is Elias Tael, an Amsterdam paper merchant, who probably invested in the Menasseh 1638 Pentateuch edition.

7.7.1 THE 'MEVI LA-DEFUS' OR 'MEVI LE-VEIT HA-DEFUS'

In the above list the term 'mevi la-defus' or 'mevi le-veit ha-defus' was used. According to the Israeli scholar Zev Gries,[140] the exact meaning of this term is unclear as it changes according to period and place. It came to be better defined from the beginning of the Haskalah,[141] when it was used to denote the person who established the printer's copy, chose the publisher and/or printer and was responsible for correcting the proofs. During the 17th century, the use of the term was uncertain, which deserves further research.[142]

7.8 MYSTICISM AND KABBALAH IN 17TH-CENTURY AMSTERDAM PRINTING

Earlier in this chapter it has been illustrated that mystical texts hardly entered the books with Jewish obligatory prayers that were printed in Amsterdam in the 17th century. The survey of the total production of Amsterdam Jewish books shows another picture: in the period 1627-c. 1710 a total of 61 mystical and kabbalistic books were printed in the city. Chiliastic ideas prosper in a mystical context and it is clear that Shabtai Zwi, Nathan of Gaza, Nehemiah Hiyya ben Moses

[139] See the explanation of the term later on this page.

[140] Gries, 2019.

[141] At the end of the 18th century.

[142] In Fuks, Typography, a person thus named is sometimes referred to as editor, sometimes as corrector and even sometimes as a sponsor. The literature quoted by Gries in his article is in Hebrew only and mainly focuses on the period starting at the end of the 18th century. (I am grateful to Mr. Angelo M. Piattelli from Jerusalem for promptly answering my question on the subject.)

Hayyun (c. 1650 – c. 1730), etc. were mystics, close to Kabbalah, but their activities were actually chiliastic. Messianic movements existed in Jewish history since Antiquity and though they are often deeply embedded in mysticism, they have to be studied as a different class. In Early Modernity the Zohar had become the main source of Kabbalah in which Lurianic theories would become leading.[143] That Messianism in the 17th century would mount the Kabbalistic bandwagon was to be expected, and unsurprisingly Amsterdam Jewish publications in the 17th century show a gradual increase of Messianism which reached its zenith in the 1666 Shabtean frenzy. The international acceptance of mysticism, and especially Kabbalah in shown by a steady, though not impressive, rise of such publications in Amsterdam where printers were part of the network of the international book trade at a time that the local market still was limited. Though during this period books containing obligatory prayers that were published in the Northern Netherlands remained almost completely free of kabbalistic elements, a growing number of Tikunim point to the success of Kabbalah in more private Jewish society. The Ets Haim Library in Amsterdam possesses a typed list of societies, made by its pre-World War II librarian Jacob da Silva Rosa. The study of this list could provide a better understanding of the reception of Kabbalah in Dutch Jewish society since the 17th century.

Recapitulating the production of mystical and kabbalistic works by 17th-century Amsterdam Jewish presses is shown in the following list:

Printer	Active	Mystical works
Menasseh ben Israel	1627-1655	1
Immanuel Benveniste	1640-1659	7
Judah Gimpel & Samuel ha-Levi	1648-1652	6
Uri Phoebus ha-Levi	1658-1688	5[144]
Joseph Athias	1658-1709	6
David de Castro Tartas	1662-1695	14
Moses Kosman and successors	1692-1703	10
Caspar Pietersen Steen	1692-1703	1[145]
Moses Mendes Coutinho	1698-1710	7
Without name of the printer	1655-1693	4

Most of these publications are Tikunim, for Shabbat, Erev Rosh Chodesh and the night of Shavuot, showing that many Jews, not necessarily all in the Northern Netherlands, readily accepted the possibility to contribute to improve Jewish life by applying mystical rites and the reading of texts that were supposed to have such power.[146]

After the discussion of the personalities who were involved in early modern Jewish printing in Amsterdam, some attention has to be given to the place of the Jewish book in the contemporary Dutch world of the book.

7.9 THE EARLY MODERN JEWISH BOOK IN ITS CONTEMPORARY DUTCH CONTEXT

Although a number of Dutch printers, especially in the university seats of Leiden and Franeker, had the fonts to print 'exotic' texts, that is to say non-Latin scripts, the task of printing them was

[143] It is interesting that Abraham Cohen Herrera's work Puerta del Cielo, containing his interpretation of Lurianic Kabbalah, has been preserved in various manuscripts, showing its popularity, but it was not printed. See Yosha, 1984.

[144] Plus one on magic.

[145] Plus one on magic.

[146] It has to be stressed that Ma'amadot have been excluded from these data as they, as will be explained later, have no mystic origin but refer to Temple practice of old.

entrusted to the more senior compositors. The early Jewish printers for their part seem to have employed Ashkenazi professionals who came to Amsterdam from Germany, Central and Eastern Europe.[147] As has been mentioned before, the inclusion of their names either on the title page or in the colophon appears to have been an exclusive feature of Jewish books.

A subject that is of special interest is the remuneration of the various professionals involved. Mrs. Reina Fuks wrote on the subject,[148] providing proof that they worked for a fixed fee or partly for payment in kind. In non-Jewish firms, compositors were commonly employed on piecework as Frans Janssen[149] has shown, while Pettegree and Der Weduwen also mention the practice of paying in kind. In itself, the fact that Jewish employees were paid at a fixed salary may be called remarkable in a profession which saw their non-Jewish colleagues employed on piecework, but what is the reason behind this quite striking difference? The answer may be found in the biblical commandment to pay the day labourer at once: 'You shall not defraud your fellow or commit robbery: the wages of a labourer shall not remain with you until morning.' [150] This obligation to immediately pay the day labourer could well have been extended to include a duty to pay staff otherwise engaged on piecework their daily wages. As this might be impractical for the printing house owner, fixed salaries may have offered a solution. The remuneration of Jewish and non-Jewish printing staff deserves further research, and 17th-century responsa may provide some interesting data.

In the same halakhic setting, there is the work to be considered that was carried out on Shabbat by non-Jews, who are stated to have been allowed to work on Saturday instead of on Sunday.[151] For a correct understanding of the situation it is necessary to elucidate the halakhic rules for *Ma'aseh Shabbat*, stipulating that anything produced solely or mostly for Jewish use on a Shabbat or to profit from it, is forbidden for a Jew. Non-Jews, however, were not bound by such a rule on Shabbat, as long as their products were their own property. Such products of their work were considered private property and could be freely sold, even to Jews, who are not obliged to inquire when the product was made. If a non-Jewish labourer is allowed to work at the printing shop on the Shabbat by himself and the fruit of his work is his private property, the problem of *Ma'aseh Shabbat* does not exist. The added advantage for the non-Jewish employee would be that he would not have to lose income from not being allowed to work both on Shabbat and on Sunday. The subject of non-Jews active in Jewish printing houses on Shabbat deserves further research in the Amsterdam archives and in the responsa of the period. It is also true that not all halakhic rules were meticulously followed in Amsterdam at the time, especially those on trade and competition which, as is well documented in the rabbinical decisions of the period, were often infringed.[152] Violations of Shabbat laws, however, are of a different order and without contrary evidence we have to assume that in those days they were strictly observed in Jewish places of work.

An interesting feature of Jewish printing in Amsterdam at the time is, as has been stated repetitiously, the presence of correctors even in small firms. Frans Janssen[153] writes that only the larger firms employed correctors. In non-Jewish firms, correcting was considered part of the

147 See also Baumgarten, 2010, pp. 329-357.
148 Fuks-Mansfeld, 1998 p. 51 ff.
149 Janssen, 1986.
150 Lev. 19: 13. Translation by AWR according to the tropes in the Hebrew text.
151 Fuks-Mansfeld, 1998 p. 49.
152 Cf. list A, no. 127, p. 252, with a chronogram quoting Deut. 19: 14. The biblical prohibition to shift the boundaries of a neighbour's plot is extended in Halakhah to cover improper professional competition. See Talmudic Encyclopedia (Heb) vol. 26 col. 366 ff. s.v. Yored le-umanut chavero.
153 Janssen, 1986 p. 82, 164.

work (and thus the salary) of the compositors. As they were working on piecework, the standard of correction was generally not too high. A first proof of corrections that were carried out in the Amsterdam Jewish prayer books is found at the end of the preliminary matter in the 1618 comprehensive prayers, where the preface starts with a number of *errata*. In later editions, such as the 1627 first Hebrew prayers, the corrector's name is included, while the list of 17th-century Amsterdam Jewish correctors provided later in this chapter contains a number of prominent rabbis. This again raises the question of the remuneration of these correctors, an interesting subject for further research. As David Ruderman[154] has shown, early modern rabbis and the authority they wielded are an important subject of research, and many questions have not yet been answered. As the Amsterdam Sephardim often looked for guidance to their Venetian brothers and sisters, as I have repeatedly stated, it is easy to suppose that the position of the rabbis was more or less the same in both places. A study of the struggles between rabbinate and Parnassim in Amsterdam, however, shows that in Amsterdam it was the latter who were in control and that the former never reached the level of communal authority their colleagues in Italy enjoyed.[155] As far as income is concerned, however, there are clear parallels: they had to rely on external activities for a viable living, [156] one of these being to correct printer's proof.

It has to be stated explicitly that the many notarial deeds[157] relating to Jewish printers, sponsors and employees, were not restricted to these Jewish entrepreneurs and their business relations, nor to the world of the book only. As Frijhoff and Spies[158] have made clear, this steady appeal to the services of a notary was a typical and as yet not fully explored aspect of Dutch culture in the 17th century. A final, though elementary question has been reserved until last: for whom were the early editions intended? Were they produced for the local market or were they mainly to be sold elsewhere? To answer that question it is necessary to turn to the demographic data and the common rules and principles of economy and business practice.

7.10 THE JEWISH POPULATION AND THE LOCAL MARKET FOR JEWISH BOOK PRODUCTION

That the question of the target market was not asked regarding the Venice and Ferrara editions, especially those in the vernacular, may seem logical as both cities harboured many Converso refugees and also were centres of the international trade in Jewish books as has been touched upon in the Venetian editions of the Aleppo rite. It is interesting to see that Cavallero's translation from the Hebrew was apparently popular for some time in Venice, where it was reprinted a couple of times, though it seems to have lost its attraction afterwards. The more modern version of the vernacular in the Atias/Usque prayer books provided the basis for all later editions, including those that appeared in the Northern Netherlands. When the restrictive climate in Italy increasingly turned the production of Jewish books into a hazardous undertaking, the thriving Dutch Republic with its constitutional freedom[159] of conscience and a relatively unrestricted press became an obvious successor, with Amsterdam as its main seat.

Various authors have speculated about the intended readership for the early editions of the Jewish prayer book in the Northern Netherlands. David Swetschinski voices the common

[154] Ruderman, 2010 passim.
[155] See Bonfil, 2004.
[156] Ibid., pp. 187 ff.
[157] See the special section in the various volumes of the Studia Rosenthaliana, 1969-.
[158] Frijhoff & Spies, 1999 pp. 176.
[159] Stipulated in the Union of Utrecht that was signed by a number of Dutch provinces on January 23, 1579.

opinion that they were produced first and foremost to serve local needs.[160] Jonathan Israel,[161] however, suggested that the market aimed at was far more international, even pointing to Jewish books that were smuggled from the Northern Netherlands to the Iberian Peninsula.[162] Beyond doubt, the 1584 Dordrecht editions were not intended for the local market as there is no documentation of Jewish presence at that moment in the Northern Netherlands. How this presence would develop in later years may have been roughly described earlier in this chapter, but more detailed analysis is necessary to evaluate the conditions at the time the 1604 and later editions were published in Amsterdam, before other Jewish books were produced in the region. Such analysis has to take into consideration the common principles of economics and business practice.[163] Three models might explain the beginnings of Jewish book production in the Dutch Republic:

1) The publisher responded to the demands of existing customers.
2) The publisher tried to create a demand;
3) The publisher wanted to surpass a competitor for reasons of prestige and profit.

To properly apply those models, one has first to establish the Jewish demographic situation of Amsterdam[164] and its development during the 17th century. Estimates on the size of the Amsterdam Jewish population[165] at the time have been published a.o. by Swetschinski and Israel.

DANIEL SWETSCHINSKY:[166]
Portuguese Jewish marriages and estimated population 1610-1699

	1610s	**1620s**	**1630s**	**1640s**	**1650s**	**1660s**	**1670s**	**1680s**	**1690s**
Number of marriages	52	66	62	110	155	169	187	278	255
Estimated population	600-50	775-825	725-75	1,300-75	1,825-1925	2,000-2,100	2,200-2,325	3,275-3,475	3,000-3,175

JONATHAN ISRAEL:[167]
The estimated growth of the Jewish population of Amsterdam (1610-1795)

	1610	**1630**	**1650**	**1675**	**1700**
Sephardim	350	900	1,400	2,230	3,000
Ashkenazim	0	60	1,000	1,830	3,200
Total	350	960	2,400	4,060	6,200

As far as the laws of demand and supply are concerned, demographic evidence concerning the Jewish population in the Northern Netherlands proves without any doubt that there was no local market for the Dordrecht and early Amsterdam editions.[168] No specific information is available

[160] Israel, 1988, p. 150: 'Printing establishments emerged first in immediate response to a local need and very soon thereafter expanded beyond the boundaries of the European Portuguese diaspora to include much of central and eastern European Jewry. … First and foremost, as concerns Portuguese Jews, there was a need for the most basic religious texts. Some prayer-books were available from Italy, but the quantities must have been small and the supplies unable to keep space with the growth of the northern European diaspora …'

[161] Israel, 1988, p. 68.

[162] This is also the picture sketched in Yerushalmi, 1984. On Western Sephardi diaspora see Nahon, 1993; in the 18th century: Oliel-Grausz, 2001; IDEM, 2004; IDEM, 2008.

[163] I am greatly indebted to Arthur E. Vis, who was so kind as to explain these principles to me and show me the way to apply them to my study.

[164] As stated before, Jewish settlement outside Amsterdam was marginal only at the time.

[165] Certainly during the first three decades of the 17th century, the number of Jews in the Northern Netherlands outside Amsterdam was too small to assume there was sufficient local demand.

[166] Swetschinsky, 2004, p. 91 based on a rate of between 8 and 8.5% between population and marriages.

[167] Israel, 2017, p. 111 and his note 39 on p. 411, where he corrects his earlier opinion.

[168] Cf. Pettegree, 2019 E, p. 336.

on the print run of the individual editions,[169] but even if there were at most 650 Jews living in the Northern Netherlands around 1610, as postulated by Swetschinsky, it would probably mean there were about 220 adults at the most, meaning that some 110 Jewish adult males would require a prayer book. Although this figure more or less remained the same until 1650, the fact remains that several editions of the prayer book were published in Amsterdam where, unlike in Italy, there was no question of segregation of the community or the destruction of Jewish books, which would mean they would have to be replaced. Only later would the Dutch Jewish community grow to such a number as to represent a potentially profitable local market for a publisher.

Some of the modern multinational corporations prove that demand can be successfully created, so why should such an ambition have been beyond the scope of early modern publishers, especially when they had the precedent of Aldus Manutius, who rose to fame with the introduction of a distinctive new typeface, the italic, and quality texts in pocket format? Amsterdam publishers of prayer books like Isaac Franco and David Abenatar Melo were merchants with a keen business sense and an international network of trade partners. It would be illogical to think that they would set their sights on the extremely limited local market. They were certainly aware of the need for risk management and often set up joint enterprises to prevent great losses. On the other hand, history shows that not everyone was a shrewd entrepreneur, as is illustrated by the fate of an acclaimed and important Amsterdam publisher later on in the 17th century, Joseph Athias, who gained international fame with the quality of his press and the importance of his publications. He most certainly managed to create a demand but apparently his business instinct did not match his professional qualities: his firm ended in bankruptcy,[170] apparently because he had built up heavy debts over a long period. His situation became all the more hopeless because he had a large number of unsold copies in stock and left a great number of publications in standing type.[171] As Gaskell[172] explained, it was quite unusual to keep standing type as it meant for the printer that a lot of his material was unproductive.

How great is the chance that men like Franco and Melo went into business for reasons of prestige or to surpass a competitor, as H.P. Salomon[173] has suggested in the case of the 1612 and 1617-1618 editions? As until now no independent documentation on such personal enmity has been produced, there is no reason to revise my opinion that the 1612 edition was produced for a more general group of users. My case for the 1617-1618 editions has been made earlier: although part of the edition may have been intended to provide free prayer books to the students of Talmud Torah, the main part must have been available for general sale. It is therefore reasonable to find the answer in the rapidly expanding international book trade at the time, in which the existing Sephardi networks took a central place.

Once more I return to the 16th century when I suggested that the Venice editions of the Aleppo rites were mainly intended for customers in the Levant, especially as Venice had more or less a monopoly on Mediterranean trade. Since the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch Republic soon took over this position[174] and so Amsterdam books could be traded on a large scale all over the Mediterranean markets, including in Italy. Such international spreading of books of all kind is richly documented and there is no reason to exclude prayer books from such practice. Surely during the first period of the production of Jewish prayer books in the Northern Netherlands, local Jewish population was either absent or much too small to offer a feasible market, while

169 The average print run at the time was between 500 and 1,000 copies
170 See Swetschinsky, 2004; Van Eeghen, 1968.
171 See also p. 153.
172 Gaskell, 1974, pp. 116-117.
173 Salomon, 1982 p. 150 ff.
174 Prak, 2020 p. 40.

existing mercantile networks were already sufficiently developed to provide a wide and international market.

7.11 CONCLUSION

It remains fascinating that Jewish prayer books were published in the Northern Netherlands even before there existed a considerable Jewish community, and their origin could not have been local. Previous to trying to discover the origin of the first generation of Jewish prayer books (1584-1618), it was necessary to make an inventory of all these editions of which at least one copy is known to exist. Starting with both Dordrecht 1584 editions, they have been numbered and listed, while their more extensive descriptions are included in the bibliographical lists at the end of this study (pp. 233ff. and pp. 303 ff.). In this chapter it has been concluded that these early editions, containing the obligatory prayers according to the Sephardi rite in an Iberian Jewish vernacular, generally follow the same Sephardi liturgical traditions that are included in the 1519-1555 editions from Venice and Ferrara that have been discussed in chapter 6.[175] No information is available on the way this tradition found its way into the Northern Netherlands. Undoubtedly the 1584 Dordrecht editions were printed on command of an unknown patron from elsewhere in Europe. For later Amsterdam editions the printers may have had access to the knowledge of religious leaders that came to the city from Italy and elsewhere, like chazzan Joseph Shalom Gallego from Salonika. It has been shown that in spite of the similarities between the various editions, they were certainly not unchanged reprints.

While many Iberian immigrants in the Northern Netherlands had previously lived as Conversos and may have become distanced from Jewish tradition, the Ashkenazi newcomers to the Dutch Republic brought with them a living heritage. From 1634 onwards also Ashkenazi prayer books would be printed in Amsterdam which would follow German (=Western Ashkenazi) or Polish (=Eastern Ashkenazi) rite, or both in the same volume. As there is no doubt that the Ashkenazi immigrants in the Northern Netherlands brought with them their various customs and rites, the early Ashkenazi prayer books that were printed in Amsterdam do not show any textual variants that need special explanation, other than the extensive ceremony of taking out the Sefer Torah which also is included in the Sephardi rite of the period. This element deserves further comparative study of 16th-century Ashkenazi and Sephardi editions to provide more information on the subject. The traditions of Germany and Poland had adepts in 17th-century Amsterdam (who often, as illustrated earlier, fiercely disagreed amongst each other), but it is as yet unknown how their liturgies may have differed in practice in the Northern Netherlands. Where the differences between the German and Polish rites in weekday prayer are only distinctive in the prayers and selichot after the morning Amidah, they become very pronounced in the many piyyutim in the festival prayers. For that reason the Machsorim for the festivals contain either the Western or the Eastern rite.

Only some distinctive elements between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites have been discussed and these and others will be more extensively been explained in chapters 12-14. In the present chapter it was illustrated that some of these differences are only witnessed in prayer books that have been printed after the 17th century, for example the 'fifth Berakha' in the weekday evening prayer which until than was also part of the Sephardi prayer book. The repetition of the Amidah on Friday night that is included in the Venice 1544 and Ferrara 1552 editions was not continued in the editions that have been printed in the Northern Netherlands, whereas I did not find any example of the repetition in the evening prayer of the Festivals before or after the 1612 Amsterdam edition. Some other textual elements that received attention are the so-called fifth

[175] The Halakhic position on the use of the vernacular in prayer will be discussed extensively in chapter 15 of this study, pp. 211ff. and in appendix 3, p. 339ff.

Berakhah in the weekday evening prayer, the repetition of the Amidah in the Friday night or Festival evening prayers, the verses said when taking out the Sefer Torah for reading in the synagogue, the Birkat ha-Gomel and the prayer for the civil authorities Both Ashkenazi and Sephardi early modern prayer books show an extensive liturgy for taking out the Sefer Torah which is very close to the Western Ashkenazi liturgy on Simchat Torah until today. This element would only start to change sometimes during the 18th century, when the books that were printed in Amsterdam started to show a much shortened text, clearly differing between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Significant is the gradual introduction in the Amsterdam Sephardi prayer books of a longer answer of the community on the Birkat ha-Gomel, the blessing of someone who has escaped mortal danger.

Although many books containing mystical and kabbalistic voluntary prayers have been printed in Amsterdam, such elements did barely find their way into the obligatory prayers: while the Ashkenazi prayer books would include the 'complete' Kabbalat Shabbat, the Sephardi books only accepted the Lekha Dodi poem. Berikh Shemei, a chapter from the Zohar, with the exception of a few editions, remained outside most[176] obligatory prayers according to the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites that were printed in Amsterdam, a subject which certainly deserves further study.[177] Keter Malkhut would enter Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books after the evening service of Yom Kippur. The Ashkenazi Selichot of Elul and the Ten days of Repentance were printed in one or two separate volumes, while in the Sephardi prayers they were almost always printed preceding the prayers for Rosh ha-Shanah. Bakashot have remained restricted to the Sephardi prayer books where they eventually got a fixed place at the beginning of the daily prayers, while for many years the members of the Amsterdam community have been ignorant of their function and origin, to be explained in chapter 13 of this study. Finally, the prayer for the secular authorities, which was originally titled 'prayer for the king'. Gradually the term King would disappear from the printed text, leaving an empty space to indicate that one was free to use the appropriate term, but which should eventually name some Dutch authorities. In the Sephardi prayer book this would happen in a Portuguese formula as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The analysis of the paratextual elements responsibility statement and device on the title page of the 1612-1618 Amsterdam editions resulted in the conclusion that the previous hypothesis that the 1612 3-volume prayer book set was made especially for the Amsterdam Neve Salom community can be doubted as the name Neve Salom is mentioned only in the preface to the second volume and in an oblique way. The phoenix device is found exclusively on the three title pages and the motto is insufficient proof for interpreting this element as the logo of the Neve Salom community. On the other hand, strong arguments have been presented for the claim that the 1617-1618 editions were published by the Talmud Torah Society, an independent body of the Bet Jacob community. Its treasurer David Abenatar Melo had bought the inventory of a complete printing house on behalf of the Society. With respect to the rubrics of the Sephardi prayer books, it has been concluded that they show a remarkably uniformity, both in Hebrew and in the vernacular, from the time of the 1519 Bomberg edition in Hebrew.

A survey of the Amsterdam printers of Jewish prayer books shows how the prayer books they printed relate to their overall production. Some aspects of Menasseh ben Israel's output have been discussed in relation to secular leaders and rabbis in 17th-century Europe and the situation in Amsterdam, where the city government fluctuated in its policy towards the Jewish minority in response to the shifting political realities of the Dutch Republic. Towards the middle of the 17th

[176] Interesting is its appearance in the 1805 edition of the Machsor 'im kavvanat hapayytan in 1805, while it was absent from previous editions of this Machsor with Yiddish commentary.

[177] The major exhibition on Kabbalah in the Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum, previously in the Vienna Jewish Museum, did not pay attention to this aspect.

century, the Dutch international book trade was at its height. The Dutch Republic's economic prosperity consolidated itself in the second half of that century, though after 1672, successive wars curbed the book trade at a time when cut-throat competition in Dutch book production, also between Jewish firms, had already become the rule. Some of the most important Amsterdam Jewish printing houses eventually went bankrupt Their failure was due to a conglomerate of reasons: the lack of sound business strategies allowing to respond to the rapidly fluctuating political, military and economic conditions in Europe, a saturated and declining market, and also hubris, willingly taking too many risks in often troubled times. The closing down of foreign distribution channels in the 17th and 18th centuries invites further research into the rise and fall of Amsterdam Jewish presses against the backdrop of the historical events of the time.[178]

Data showing both parallels and differences between the Jewish book world and its non-Jewish counterpart in the early modern Dutch Republic have been provided. On the whole, their book production in itself does not reveal any essential differences, although the practice of mentioning correctors and compositors by name appears to be restricted to Jewish books. Another striking feature is that of the remuneration of compositors, who were occasionally, like their non-Jewish colleagues, partly paid in kind, but were apparently employed on annual contracts at a fixed salary, while their non-Jewish counterparts who worked for Christian firms were employed on piecework. There are numerous notarial deeds relating to Jewish printers, but it must be borne in mind that enlisting the services of a notary at the time was an integral part of Dutch society.

Finally, the position of the local market was discussed in relation to the early Jewish demography of Amsterdam, where the majority of the Jewish immigrants were living, and the standard rules of commerce and marketing. It is undeniable that from the beginning, the production of Jewish books in the Dutch Republic, including prayer books, would never have flourished if there had been no international market. The steadily growing local Jewish community naturally also benefited, but it was still too small to explain the production of so many prayer books before a strong local market had had the chance to develop. An exception has to be made for the 1617-1618 editions that were published on behalf of the Talmud Torah society, which took the financial risk because the purpose of these editions was also to support indigent students who were unable to purchase their own copies of the elementary prayer books that have been described.

A complete and quantitative analysis of all books containing obligatory as well as voluntary prayers that have been published in the Northern Netherlands[179] is still due. It can, however, be concluded that at the end of the 17th century, books containing obligatory Jewish prayers had commonly accepted contents, but that these contents were not yet completely fixed.

The next chapter briefly describes subsequent developments of Jewish prayer books to try and establish whether the earliest editions can already be said to represent a 'national' Dutch prayer book tradition.

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[178] Rabbinovitz, 1952 explains the pause in the publishing of the second Amsterdam Talmud edition by the fact that it was not subjected to censorship and infringed on a Berlin privilege. Both of these were unlikely to have deterred an Amsterdam printer. The real reason must have been that until 1720, the German, Bohemian and Moravian markets were closed for competition from Amsterdam, as is also apparent from Rabbinovitz's text. At the time, the first Amsterdam Talmud edition by Benveniste had still not sold out. For studies of the international Jewish networks and the exchanges between Jewish communities in Europe, see Bregoli et al., 2018; Bregoli and Ruderman, 2019.

[179] 'Foreign' rites, e.g. Italian, 1651 and 1652), Bohemian and Moravian (1663, 1668), and Algerian (1685) were also published in Amsterdam. Interesting is the 1678 formula 'according to the Ashkenazi rite as previously printed in Frankfurt'. The rites of Carpentras and even Cochin and Shengali (Sri Lanka) would follow in the 18th century.

Chapter 8
LATER DEVELOPMENTS
BELOVED AND EVER EVOLVING TRADITIONS

After the 17th century the printing of books containing obligatory Jewish prayers in the Northern Netherlands continued, enabling to trace the possible development of 'national' Dutch Ashkenazi and Sephardi liturgical traditions. A survey of the distribution of obligatory Jewish prayers that were printed in the country in the period 1584-2020 enables a first quantitative comparison of the listed editions. It is to be stressed that in the course of the 18th century, the local market had grown to such an extent that for the Jewish presses that were still active, there were sufficient, if not ample, opportunities to serve all the Jewish communities that were now living in several parts of the country with prayer books.[1] Some elements that have been described in the previous chapter are followed in their later development showing some interesting changes. The question of the intervention by Dutch secular authorities in Jewish ceremonial affairs that has been raised in the previous chapter is discussed again against the evidence provided by some documents regarding the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community. Another subject is the possible cross-fertilisation or dependence between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Amsterdam communities in terms of their rites and customs. The chapter ends with a short discussion of the most recent developments and an answer to the question on the possible development of Dutch Ashkenazi and Sephardi liturgical traditions.

8.1 THE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH PRAYER BOOKS 1584-2020

Prayer books are intended for use and by wear and tear editions have been lost and for that reason a list of books containing obligatory Jewish prayers that were published in the Northern Netherlands through 2020 can only be preliminary, to be extended as other editions will be recorded. The following list (excluding Kabbalistic prayer books and books containing voluntary prayers) shows a drop in the period 1651-1660. The reason for this drop is unclear and deserves further research, unlike the years 1671-1680 when the 'Year of Disaster' 1672 and the period of wars between the Dutch Republic and various other powers brought disaster to book production and trade in general. The troubles of the penultimate decade of the 18th century and the subsequent French occupation explain the sudden reduction of the production of Jewish prayer books at the end of the century.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTION OF OBLIGATORY JEWISH PRAYERS

			1701-1710	40		1801-1810	13		1901-1941	26
1584-1620	7		1711-1720	27		1811-1820	10		1950-2020	36
1621-1630	6		1721-1730	32		1821-1830	8			
1631-1640	9		1731-1740	26		1831-1840	9			
1641-1650	24		1741-1750	15		1841-1850	9			
1651-1660	13		1751-1760	18		1851-1860	19			
1661-1670	23		1761-1770	23		1861-1870-	14			
1671-1680	10		1771-1780	19		1871-1880	10			
1681-1690	18		1781-1790	4		1881-1890	10			
1691-1700	11		1791-1800	11		1891-1900	11			
Total	**121**			**215**			**113**			**62**[2]

That civil rights and the benevolence of King Louis Napoleon, coupled with French endeavours to bring the communal services of the various religions in their empire under State control[3] and

[1] For this period see: Blom and Cahen, 2017; Israel, 2017, pp. 114-130; Kaplan, 2017; Michman et al., 1985; IDEM, 1992; Wallet, 2017; Zwiep, 2017.

[2] This amount is preliminary as it is based on my list of edition which is still open to additions.

[3] Cf. the newsletter of the NLI d.d. 18-10-2020
https://blog.nli.org.il/en/grand_sanhedrin/?_atscid=3_2269_123571419_9982187_0_Tzx3fdzexxdsa2pdwss&utm_

organisation may explain the relatively impressive number of Jewish prayer books that were published in the first decade of the 19th century. As King William I of the Netherlands tried to continue the imperial precedent and even established a special Department of Religion with a full-minister, followed by laws on religious communities, education and the examining of competent teachers, the climate was perfect for the production of prayer books with Dutch translation opposite the Hebrew text. Although compulsory education in the Northern Netherlands was only instituted in 1900, Jewish schools had already been given fresh impulses during the preceding decades and for that reason prayer books probably became more than previously part of daily Jewish life. On the other hand growing secularisation and equal rights broke open Jewish society and gradually the (payed)[4] membership of Jewish communities started to dwindle. An interesting feature of Jewish life in the later modern period is the reception of the Dutch language in their prayer books by Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews.

At the end of the previous chapter it was stated that at the end of the 17th century, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi books containing obligatory Jewish prayers had commonly accepted contents, but that these contents were not yet completely fixed. In this chapter some of the elements[5] that have been discussed in the previous chapter will be followed, while also giving attention to some new elements. Before entering the discussion of those textual and paratextual elements, some more general notes on the development of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books will illustrate their development after the 17th century.
The morning blessings still have not been completely fixated, as are the texts preceding the reading of the Torah.[6] The early printed Sephardi prayer books show interesting variants, the most elaborate of which are biblical verses that are used in the Ashkenazi rite for Simchat Torah, starting with Deut. 4: 35.[7] The later consensus was to start with Ps. 132: 16. This part of the synagogue literature deserves further research.

8.2 ASHKENAZI PRAYER BOOKS

The 17th century witnessed Ashkenazi prayer books in Hebrew and Yiddish only. An exception has to be made for the so-called occasional prayers.[8] At various occasions, e.g. wars, peace treaties, epidemics and other disasters, religious communities were ordered by the States General, the States of a specific province or a city government to organise special fast-days and prayer-services in their places of worship. Such services and prayers were printed in Dutch, enabling the authorities to confirm a denomination's compliance. As most one-time-only publications were afterwards been disposed of, such ephemera, historically important as they may be, have been scarcely preserved.

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source=activetrail&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Newsletter%20%27Life%20Before%20the%20Holocaust%27%2018%20Oct%202020. It should be remarked that the example of civil conditions for Jewish marriages has precedent in the Dutch Republic already early in the 17th century and was not restricted to Jewish marriages which had to be approved by the official Church or by the city government..

[4] Membership fees were established according to the income revenues (the community would receive the relevant data from the State Institutions) and members who were unable to fulfil such obligations as they were too poor to be charged tax, lacked almost any communal rights and were often dependent on charity. The decimation of Dutch Jewry after World War II and additional secularization severely further limited the market for Jewish prayer books.

[5] The various specific prayers will be discussed in part III of this study.

[6] For the 'Torah Service' in Ashkenazi rite see Berger, 2019 pp. 138-181.

[7] Cf. the Festival Prayers, Amsterdam, Benveniste, 1643 and the daily prayers, Amsterdam, Menasseh ben Israel, 1643 (illustration 39).

[8] These are treated as *ephemera* in chapter 10 of this study. To another class belongs the Sefer Chaim la-Nefesh, published in 1703 by Moses Frankfurt in Amsterdam. It was the first of such books with prayers for the sick, at burials and on the cemetery published in the Northern Netherlands, see Bar-Levav, 1997; IDEM, 2017.

In the 18th century, the Proops firm introduced an interesting 'new' feature to the Ashkenazic prayer book. The firm published a set of three volumes in a large quarto format which was clearly for the use of chazzanim throughout the Ashkenazi world. As such, they returned to medieval precedent. Copies of this edition were of course heavily used, which makes them quite rare, especially ones in a good condition. I have therefore not tried to compile a list of all the subsequent editions, not even those published by the Proops firm.

The history of the Amsterdam Ashkenazim[9] includes an interesting chapter, which is the foundation and subsequent dissolution of the 'Neie Kille' (1799-1808). The granting of equal civil rights a year after the French occupied the Dutch Republic in 1795 deeply divided the Jewish communities of Amsterdam. Their conservative members opposed the new situation that had arisen, while the more progressive members welcomed it.[10] The latter founded a new Ashkenazi community, which openly reacted against the conservative community from which it had separated. In the end, King Louis Napoleon in 1808 dissolved the new community, which had its synagogue within a stone's throw of the main Ashkenazi synagogue complex and the Esnoga. The new community led by Rabbi Isaac Graanboom did not leave any prayer books, but its printed regulations for the synagogue service is a fountain of information. A comparison between these regulations and later regulations of the united Amsterdam Ashkenazi community is certainly in order.

It can safely be concluded that from the beginning of the 19th century onwards Ashkenazi prayer books were published specifically for the Dutch community.[11] The first Ashkenazi prayer book with a Dutch translation[12] by Josef Asser Lehmans (Buchbinder 1765-1842), Chief Rabbi of The Hague, to be identified by me was published in 1822, the time when the WdJ entered its flow and *Gebetbuch Reform* had started in Germany. The early editors of these prayer books, Abraham David Lutomirski[13] (1799-1893), Samuel Israel Mulder (1792-1862), Gabriel Isaac Polak (1803-1869) and Mozes Levi van Ameringen (1826-1915), were Ashkenazi Dutch practitioners of the WdJ. It is interesting that the first translators worked in The Hague and Rotterdam and that Amsterdam apparently was more conservative and Mulder, Polak and van Ameringen came in contact with German WdJ adherents like Wolf Heidenheim (1757–1832) and Seligmann Baer (1825-1897), and with their Italian colleague Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865). These editors of Jewish prayer books relied on trustworthy manuscripts and early printed editions, but editorial conjecture and new ideas on grammatical theory led them to 'emend' alleged earlier corruptions. Most important for further research is the question how these Dutch editors and translators received earlier opinions, starting with those of the medieval Chasidei Ashkenaz and early modern editions and commentaries to the prayer book.

In Ashkenaz, Solomon Zalman ben Judah Loeb ha-Kohen Hanau (1687-1746) turned his attention to the critical treatment of the prayer texts. The first of his influential, but also controversial publications was published in 1708. In his grammar *Binyan Shelomo* he rejected many earlier theories, which drew him into conflict with the Frankfurt leadership, after which he

[9] See Tal, 2010. On the economic aspects of the 18th-century Amsterdam Ashkenazim community, see Yogev, 1978.
[10] The conflict was complex but primarily focused on the signing of the equal rights motion by the Jewish members of the Amsterdam society Felix Libertate.
[11] Regulations for the synagogue service, e.g. Amsterdam 1911 by R. Josef Hirsch Dünner, in the instructions for the Yom Kippur Service in Amsterdam stipulate which of the Selichot that were printed in the standard Machsorim by Polak and van Ameringen had to be skipped. This again shows, as stated repeatedly before, that the printed texts are in themselves insufficient to establish local custom. See also Bar-Levav, 2017 p. 122.
[12] On the change from Yiddish to German and Dutch in late 18th-century Amsterdam, see Aptroot, 2002. On multilingualism in Western Ashkenazi culture, see Berger et al., 2003
[13] Tefillah we-Rinah. Amsterdam, Proops, 1839. Another edition appeared in 1857.

moved to Hamburg. His prayer book *Sha'arei Tefillah* (1725)[14] included an approbation by the former Amsterdam Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Tsevi Hirsch Ashkenazi[15] ('Chacham Zwi', 1656-1718). This influential prayer book was followed in 1730 by *Yesod ha-nikud* (on Hebrew vocalisation) and in 1733 by *Tsohar ha-tevah*, containing a comprehensive overview of all his innovative grammatical theories. Chacham Zwi's son Jacob Emden (1697-1776) opposed many of Hanau's innovations in his own prayer book, the grammatical part of which is called *Luach Eresh*, Altona 1769.[16] Emden also criticised the prayer book edited by Jonathan Eybeschütz, although this may be considered an integral part of the Emden-Eybeschütz controversy on the latter's alleged Shabbatean ideas. A thorough study of the reception of their ideas as provided by Heidenheim, Baer and their Dutch contemporaries could provide interesting new insights into the background of the Dutch prayer book since the middle of the 19th century. It should be mentioned that the Amsterdam Ashkenazim would come to regard the 1828 Proops edition of the daily and Festival prayers as the ultimate authorised version of their own local rite. The large quarto edition of Baer's *Avodat Yisrael* siddur eventually replaced the Proops edition in large 4° on the chazzan's pulpit after the latter edition had been sold out and most copies were worn by use. The post-World-War II generation would eventually accept the often revised *Aresjet Sefatajim* siddur, of which the first recorded edition I have been able to locate was published in 1863, as representing the authorised Dutch rite. As later editors, such as the rabbis Lion Wagenaar and Joel Vredenburg, often accepted variant readings, this acceptance has to be reconsidered on the basis of the external sources I have repeatedly put forward in this study. A remarkable feature is the number of editions of Ashkenazi Shabbat prayers from 1840 onwards, which were first issued with the translation by Samuel Israel Mulder, later by that of Gabriel Polak, whose translation of the Ashkenazi Machsor in the edition of Mozes Levi van Ameringen would remain in use well into the 20th century. An edition of the Ashkenazi daily prayers following earlier editions of the *Aresjet Sefatajim* siddur, with a new translation by Jitschak Dasberg, was published in 1970 and has been repeatedly reprinted since. The Polak-van Ameringen Machsor was replaced by a new edition in 1981-1998. The Shabbat prayers, without a translation, were separately published in 2018, reissued with the daily prayers in 2020.

8.3 THE SEPHARDI PRAYER BOOKS

Like the Ashkenazi prayer books, the Amsterdam Portuguese prayer books on the whole reflect a rather continuous tradition. The 1760 edition by Jacob da Silva Mendes and the 1765 and 1671 editions, revised by Samuel Rodrigues Mendes, published by Jansson & Mondovi, [17] became leading for the subsequent chazzanim of the Amsterdam Portuguese community. It is interesting that a complete set of the Portuguese prayers in Dutch only (Gebeden der Portugueesche Joden) in four volumes was published in The Hague, 1791-1793.[18] The Portuguese B.C. Carillon published an Ashkenazi prayer book in Dutch in 1832 and it would be the Ashkenazi Samuel Israel Mulder who became in 1837 the first translator of all the Portuguese prayers, with the

[14] Not to be confused with a prayer book with the same name which was published in Hanau in 1616 by Isaac ben Simon Samuel ha-Levi.

[15] While serving the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community, he decided that one should not turn to the synagogue entry when singing the final strophe of Lekha Dodi on Friday night (the late Chief Rabbi M. Just told me he had seen the autograph copy of this decision). It is one example of his opposition to the introduction of kabbalistic rites in Amsterdam.

[16] Cohen, 1937; Schacter, 1988.

[17] That these editions still opted for the international market is illustrated by the prayer for the authorities: first is printed the prayer for the king ((irrelevant to the situation in the Dutch Republic), followed by the ha-Noten prayer for the Dutch authorities, see illustrations 45, 61, 62.

[18] The acquisition of the Dutch language by Ashkenazim and Sephardim prior to the 19th century deserves new research.

Hebrew text and Dutch translation on opposite pages.[19] In 1864 the first revised edition of the Festival prayers appeared, 'multiplied and corrected' by David de Raphael Montezinos. A new version of the daily prayers was published in 1884 by Jacob Lopes Cardozo jr. 'met aanwijzingen der gebruiken in het Nederl[ands], van den klemtoon, de Kamets Chatoef enz.[20] In his prefaces to this and to the 1876 editions of the prayers for Yom Kippur it becomes clear that Lopes Cardozo deeply engaged in the grammatical correction of the prayer book texts.[21] The members of the Portuguese Jewish community would eventually revert to the simple edition in Hebrew only, on behalf of the Board of the community, called *Tefilat kol peh*. The first edition of this work located by me was published in 1895. The Portuguese daily prayers were published with a pre-World War II Dutch translation by Benjamin Ricardo in 1950. The Hebrew text on the opposite pages had been reproduced from the previously mentioned Tefilat kol Peh and the 1950 edition was reprinted in a reduced size in 1993. The prayer books for the Festivals, Fast days and High Holidays with a Dutch translation were reprinted from 19th-century predecessors in a somewhat reduced size in 1995. The prayers for Friday afternoon and Shabbat were newly edited according to contemporary practice and published, without a translation but with Dutch and English rubrics, in 2017, together with the Pentateuch with the stops[22] in the weekly reading of the periscopes as they appeared in the 1769 edition by Moses Piza, the authoritative edition in the Amsterdam Portuguese synagogue. A new edition of the Festival prayers and the Fast days in the same layout but including Dutch translation is at present being prepared.

According to local oral tradition, early 19th-century Amsterdam editors of the Portuguese prayer books absorbed a number of textual 'corrections' that had been presented by Samuel David Luzzatto in his Livorno editions. As Samuel Mulder, the only such editor at the time, was engaged in correspondence with Luzzatto,[23] this may be correct, but deserves further research, comparing the Livorno and Amsterdam Portuguese editions by Mulder.

8.4 NON-TRADITIONAL PRAYERS

Non-traditional prayers would only be published in the Netherlands after 1920. As explained previously, their contents are not fixed and are only loosely related to the Ashkenazi and Sephardi obligatory prayers and for that reason remained outside my research. Editions that are described by Marianne van Praag[24] and Asjer Waterman[25], or of which copies are kept in the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos are included in my list A, pp. 231ff.

8.5 TEXTUAL REMARKS

In the previous chapter, some remarks were made on certain textual elements that became incorporated in the Jewish prayer books to have been produced in the Northern Netherlands or had not yet become completely standardised. The repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer of a festival that was part of the 1612 Amsterdam festival prayers, however, did not return in later

[19] The Mulder editions, following the Rodrigues Mendes/ da Silva Mendes edition of 1771, show an Ashkenazi influence in the Morning Prayer where they read 'Chei ha-olamim' instead of the Sephardi 'Chai' (see p. 192). This was corrected in later revised editions. On the High Holidays following Ps. 29 between brackets follows part of Ps. 24 with some additional verses which are not said presently but which is present without brackets, e.g. in the High Holiday prayers, Dordrecht 1584; Festival prayers, Amsterdam, Benveniste, 1643 and Menasseh ben Israel, 1646. It should, for that reason, not been confused with the Ashkenazi custom to read Ps. 29 only on Shabbat, but when a Festival coincides with a weekday, to say Ps. 24 instead of Ps. 29 (see Berger, 2019 pp. 167 ff.

[20] 'Meaning: with the indication of the customs in Dutch, the accent, the kamatz chatuf, etc.

[21] See also appendix 4, pp. 355ff.

[22] On Shabbat seven, on Mondays and Thursdays three persons are called for the reading of the Torah according to a traditional division of the text.

[23] See the publications of the *Tongelet* Society: Bikoeree Tongelet (1822); Peri Tongelet (1825).

[24] Van Praag, 2008.

[25] Waterman, 2017.

editions. Some other textual elements in the prayer books that were subsequently published will be discussed here in the same order as in the previous chapter.

8.5.1 THE SO-CALLED FIFTH BERAKHAH IN THE WEEKDAY EVENING PRAYER

As explained in the previous chapter, the so-called fifth Berakhah[26] in the weekday evening prayer, which was originally included in both the Ashkenazi[27] and Sephardi[28] prayer, gradually disappeared from the latter in the 18th century.

8.5.2 VERSES SAID WHEN TAKING OUT THE SEFER TORAH AND BIRKAT HA-GOMEL

During the 18th century the biblical verses said when the Sefer Torah is taken out would change both in the Ashkenazi and in the Sephardi prayer books. As mentioned in the previous chapter, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi texts for this ceremony started with Deut. 4: 35.[29] Later they would be shortened, accentuating the difference between both rites. Ashkenazi prayer books[30] would eventually start the ceremony with Numeri 10: 35, followed by Isaiah. 2: 3b, Ps. 34: 4, I Chron. 29: 11 and Ps. 99: 5. In later Sephardi prayer books the accepted order became: Ps. 132: 9-10, Ps. 34: 4, I Sam. 2: 2, Ps. 18: 32, Deut. 33: 4, Eccles. 3: 18, Eccl. 3: 17, Ps. 119: 165, Ps. 29: 11, Deut. 32: 3 and a call to honour the Torah. This part of the synagogue literature deserves further research.

In the previous chapter it has been stated that the Torah blessings were generally part of the Ashkenazi prayer books that were published in the 17th century, while they are often absent from the Sephardi prayer books from that period. This would gradually change during the 18th century, when also the long answer (see illustration 42) would become standard in the Sephardi editions.

8.5.3 MYSTICISM AND KABBALAH IN THE PRAYER BOOK TEXTS

Mystical, nor Kabbalistic elements found their way into later Ashkenazi or Sephardi editions. There is, however, one curiously interesting element in the Amsterdam Sephardi custom that may originate from kabbalistic ideas, causing the change of one vowel in the Kaddish, for which no parallel has been found. The Aramaic word in the Kaddish, normally written תושבחתא and pronounced *tushbechata* is written תִשבחתא (to be pronounced *tishbechata*) in the 1726 edition of the set of prayer books with many kabbalistic elements by Isaac Leon Templo.[31] This has since become the common spelling and pronunciation in the Amsterdam Portuguese community and their prayer books. As Amsterdam Sephardi education gave an important position to grammar, the subject deserves further research, especially the question if this element originates in kabbalistic ideas.[32] This change of vocalisation is in no way connected with some changing grammatical theories in the Wissenschaft des Judentums which also found its way to the Netherlands. These theories would cause changes in the vocalization of biblical verses that are part of obligatory prayer in 19th-century editions of especially Ashkenazi prayer books through the 21st century. This subject will be discussed in appendix 4 (p. 355ff.) of this study as a possible example of a specific Dutch Jewish custom.

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[26] See p. 108.

[27] See Berger, 2019 pp. 81-97; 207-209; 316-319.

[28] E.g. Dordrecht, 1584; Amsterdam, Menasseh ben Israel, 1646.

[29] Cf. the Festival Prayers, Amsterdam, Benveniste, 1643 and the daily prayers, Amsterdam, Menasseh ben Israel, 1643 as shown in illustrations 37-40.

[30] See Berger, 2019 pp. 138-181.

[31] EH 20D23-30; 20G41-45.

[32] During the first decades of the 18th century Amsterdam witnessed a fierce anti Shabtaist battle in which some important personalities were the Shabtaist Nehemiah Chiyah Hayun and his rabbinical opponents Tsevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, Solomon Ayllon and the visiting R. Moses Hagiz (1671-1750). See Carlebach, 1990; Emmanuel, 1964; Goldish, 2004; Kaplan, 1974

8.5.4 CHANGES IN VOCALISATION AND OTHER GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

During the 19th century some diacritics from biblical origin would enter the prayer-book texts in the Northern Netherlands: the *meteg* and the *maqaf*, the first being a vertical dash left from the vowel sign to indicate the accented syllable, the second a horizontal dash in the upper position, connecting two words. As has been stated by Paul Kahle in his introduction to the third edition of Kittel's Biblia Hebraica, their use in the early biblical manuscript is inconsistent and previously they are not included in the Jewish prayer books. An apparently late Amsterdam Sephardi newcomer is the combination of meteg and shevah to indicate a pronunciation which differs from the written text, in this case a meteg right of a shevah to indicate that it is traditionally pronounced as *a*. This is a nice example of confusing cause and effect: generally in Sephardi terminology the meteg is called *ga'ya* (געיא),[33] while momentarily that term is reserved by Amsterdam Sephardim for the combination of the shevah and to its right the meteg.[34] This curiosity deserves further research. Local or regional pronunciation that deviates from the accepted written vocalisation is sometimes well documented,[35] but in this case it may be the result of the adaptation of pronunciation to grammatical theories.[36]

8.5.5 DID SECULAR AUTHORITIES INTERVENE IN JEWISH CEREMONIAL MATTERS?

In chapter 5 it was stated that the Sephardi Mahamad in 1635 banned the Ashkenazim from their synagogues because the latter were constantly disturbing the communal prayers, and that the regulations of the 1639 union explicitly forbade Ashkenazy access to Sephardi synagogue services. Later in the continuing story of never-ending Ashkenazi internal conflicts such disruptions prompted the Amsterdam city government in 1673 to compel the two separate (and autonomous?) communities of 'Germans' and 'Poles' to unite. As it was assumed that this measure was taken to restore the public peace, it did not immediately raise the question when and how far the secular authorities intervened in Jewish ceremonial affairs. Even the historical fact that the secular authorities were able to oblige the various denominations to hold occasional services to pray for relief from disaster, war or epidemics, or to thank for peace and deliverance from danger, an obligation which Dutch Jewish communities fulfilled,[37] did not trigger any response. In chapter 7 another possible intervention by civil authorities in Jewish ceremonial affairs has been touched upon, a 1663 decree deciding the 'prayer formula controversy'.[38] This decree prescribed in which order national, regional and local authorities had to be mentioned in certain prayers that had to be said in the Protestant churches. As stated in the previous chapter, during the 17th century Dutch secular authorities found their way into the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer that was printed in the Jewish prayer books and the 1663 decree could explain the inclusion of the burgomasters and city government of Amsterdam in the ha-Noten prayer said by the Amsterdam Portuguese community. An anecdotal episode in the 18th century referred to by Kaplan[39] inspired me to explore the matter a little further. The anecdote related by Kaplan concerned a conflict over the employment in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi synagogue of not only a

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[33] See Chumash Ish Matzliach, p. לג.

[34] Pronounced *gangya*, see Pereira, 1994, p. 39.

[35] See e.g. Chumash Ish Matzliach, Benei Berak, 2000 passim.

[36] That 19th-century Amsterdam editors of prayer books tried to keep pace with new linguistic theory is clearly proven by statements by e.g. D.R. Montezinos in his preface to the second edition of the order of the prayers for the Festivals, Amsterdam, 1864: "… tevens hebben wij hier en daar de taal, die sedert dien tijd verschillende veranderingen heeft ondergaan, gewijzigd." (Translation: we have also here and there altered the language, which since that time [i.e. the time of the first edition by S.I. Mulder, Amsterdam, 1843] has undergone several changes). He expresses himself in even stronger terms in his preface to the 1876 edition of the prayers for Yom Kippur. See also J. Lopes Cardozo in his preface to the Amsterdam 1884 edition of the Portuguese daily prayers. It should, however, be stressed that these editors did not change the vocalisation of *hallelu*.

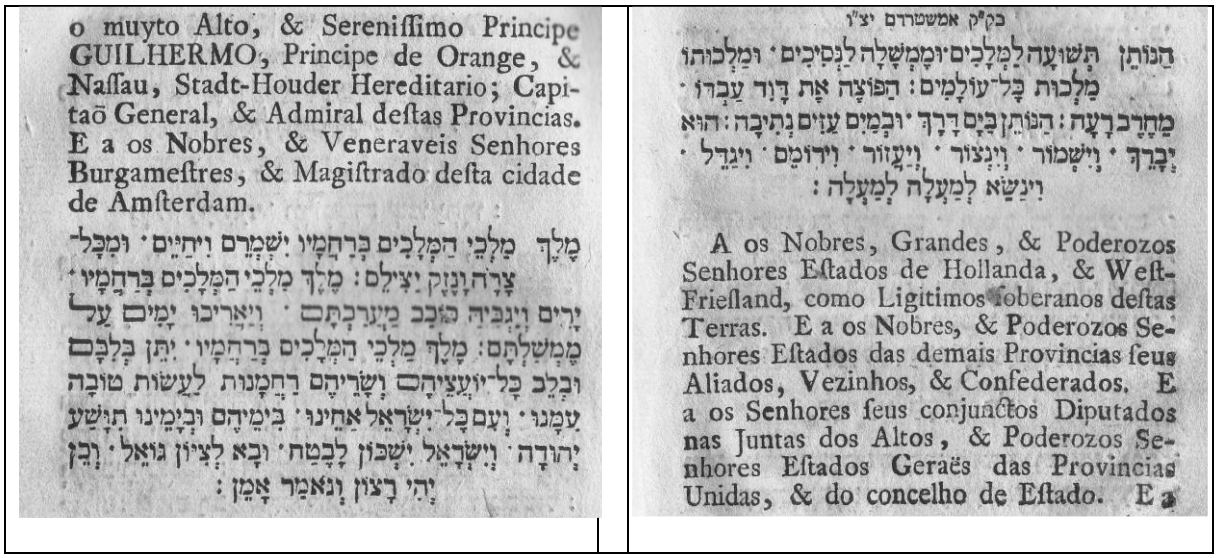
[37] As is obvious from the many ephemeral prayers that were published.

[38] See p. 74, 84 and 107

[39] Kaplan, 2017 p. 160.

chazzan, but also a *Singer* and a *Bass*. Kaplan attributed the controversy to the rejection of liturgical renewal by conservative community members. A previous article on this conflict by Izak Prins[40] showed me, that the heart of the matter was more complex, and also quite interesting as well as amusing. It revealed a clash between musical cultures and taste, which, however, are of no concern to the subject of the Jewish prayer book. Prins referred to documents on the regulations for the Ashkenazi ceremonial order, documenting that the Amsterdam city government occasionally was required to approve any changes in such regulations, providing a novel legal precedent. It is well known that Emperor Napoleon I created a Jewish Consistory (and even tried to install a modern Sanhedrin), and that his brother Louis Napoleon, who was King of Holland from 1806 to 1810, repeatedly intervened in internal Jewish affairs. This policy would be continued by King Willem I of the Netherlands, who even installed a Ministry of Religious Affairs and regulated all religious education by law, including the competences and examinations of educators and religious functionaries.

The 18th-century Ashkenazy controversy as reflected in the documents published by Prins, however, completely changed the picture, as they conclusively demonstrate the active involvement of the Amsterdam secular government in Jewish ceremonial matters. The regulations for the liturgical order of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community[41] had been established by the Board of the Ashkenazi community on 9 June 1735. It was confirmed 'at the order and command of Burgomasters and Rulers of Amsterdam' on 31 March 1737. Later in the century, the Ashkenazi Parnassim in 1754 and 1778 applied to the city government for its approval to change section 49 of these regulations (ruling on the employment of a *Singer* and a *Bass*). It was only then, towards the very end of my research, that I became aware of this anomaly, which I must leave for future research, especially as I have not as yet found any other documents or references. Mr. Harmen Snel, Director of the Amsterdam Municipal Archives (Stadsarchief) informed me that neither the municipal archives, nor those of the Ashkenazi community, which have only partly survived the Holocaust, are able to provide information on the subject.


o muyto Alto, & Sereniſſimo Principe GUILHERMO, Principe de Orange, & Naſſau, Stadt-Houder Hereditario; Capitaõ General, & Admiral deſtas Provincias. E a os Nobres, & Veneraveis Senhores Burgameſtres, & Magiſtrado deſta cidade de Amſterdam.

מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יִשְׁמֶר וְיחַיֵּם · וּמִכָּל־
צָרָה וְנָזָק יַצִּילֵם : מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו ·
יָרִים וְיִגְבֵּיהַ הוֹדָם · וְיַאֲרִיכוּ יָמִים עַל
מַמְשַׁלְתָּם : מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו · יִתֵּן בְּלִבָּם
וּבְלֵב כָּל־יוֹעֲצֵיהֶם וְשָׂרֵיהֶם רַחֲמָנוּת לַעֲשׂוֹת טוֹבָה
עִמָּנוּ · וְעִם כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲחֵינוּ · בִּימֵיהֶם וּבְיָמֵינוּ תִּוָּשַׁע
יְהוּדָה · וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח · וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל · וְכֵן
יְהִי רָצוֹן וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן :

בק"ק אמשטרדם יצ"ו

הַנּוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לַמְּלָכִים · וּמֶמְשָׁלָה לַנְּסִיכִים · וּמַלְכוּתוֹ
מַלְכוּת כָּל־עוֹלָמִים : הַפּוֹצֶה אֶת דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ ·
מֵחֶרֶב רָעָה : הַנּוֹתֵן בַּיָּם דַּרְכּוֹ · וּבְמַיִם עַזִּים נְתִיבָה : הוּא
יְבָרֵךְ · וְיִשְׁמוֹר · וְיִנְצוֹר · וְיַעֲזוֹר · וְיָרוֹמֵם · וְיִגְדַּל ·
וְיִנַּשֵּׂא לְמַעְלָה לְמַעְלָה :

A os Nobres, Grandes, & Poderozos Senhores Eſtados de Hollanda, & Weſt-Frieſland, como Ligitimos ſoberanos deſtas Terras. E a os Nobres, & Poderozos Senhores Eſtados das demais Provincias ſeus Aliados, Vezinhos, & Confederados. E a os Senhores ſeus conjunctos Diputados nas Juntas dos Altos, & Poderozos Senhores Eſtados Geraës das Provincias Unidas, & do concelho de Eſtado. E a

61 Amsterdam 1778. Prayers for the Dutch authorities and the Prince of Orange (see the discussion)

As shown in illustrations 45, 61, and 62, the Amsterdam Sephardim eventually established a version of the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer in which a section in Portuguese is included, exactly in the order that was decreed by the States of Holland in 1663. Of special interest is the sentence 'E a o muyto Alto, & Serenissimo Principe GUILHERMO, Principe de Orange, & Nassau, Stadt-

[40] Prins, 1915.

[41] 'Kerkelijk Reglement'.

Houder Hereditario; Capitaõ General, & Admiral destas Provincias. …' A stated in chapter 5, the position of the house of Orange was one of the controversies between monarchists and republicans, between the strict official Calvinist church and the more lenient other religious denominations. The 1663 decree expressly forbade to mention the name of a representative of the House of Orange. In 1651, the Great Assembly had after all proceeded to abolish the Stadholderate and had excluded members of the House of Orange from government 'forever'.[42] This decree, as mentioned previously, would be rescinded in 1672, the 'Disaster Year', when the Stadholder was reinstated. The title became hereditary in 1747 as expressly stated in the formula *Stadt-Houder Hereditario,* hereditary Stadtholder in the 1771 edition. Some Sephardi Parnassim had cemented strong business relations with members of the House of Orange, first with the Stadholders, as of 1813 with the successive kings of the Netherlands explaining that the House of Orange would be awarded a special place in the prayer. [43] The myth of special care taken by the House of Orange and its Jewish subjects[44] was gladly inserted in Ashkenazi memory as well.[45] For a long time, the reference to the government of the Dutch Republic and that of the city of Amsterdam was regarded in Amsterdam oral Jewish tradition as a sign of gratitude on the part of the Portuguese immigrants, who had been welcomed into the Dutch Republic and had been awarded unprecedented rights as citizens. A systematic study of the history of this element in both Ashkenazy and Sephardi Dutch prayer books seems to be altogether lacking, and it could well be a clear example of the intervention by the secular authorities in ceremonial matters of not only the Protestant churches, but evidently of the synagogues as well. It suggests that not gratitude but the insistence of the secular authorities was the reason for the formulation of the prayer in Portuguese in the 18th century.

Gebed voor de overheid en het Koninklijk Huis:
Prayer for the government and the royal family:

הַנּוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לַמְּלָכִים וּמֶמְשָׁלָה לַנְּסִיכִים וּמַלְכוּתוֹ מַלְכוּת כָּל־עוֹלָמִים,
תהלים קמד ישעיה מג
הַפּוֹצֶה אֶת־דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ מֵחֶרֶב רָעָה: הַנּוֹתֵן בַּיָּם דֶּרֶךְ, וּבְמַיִם עַזִּים נְתִיבָה:
הוּא יְבָרֵךְ, וְיִשְׁמֹר, וְיִנְצֹר, וְיַעֲזֹר, וְיָרוֹם, וְיַגְדִּיל, וְיַנְשֵּׂא לְמַעְלָה לְמַעְלָה

A sua Majestade el Rei dos Países-Baixos e sua Real Consorte, a Sereníssima Princesa de Orange e as demais Sereníssimas Princesas suas Filhas, a Sereníssima Princesa Madama sua Mãe, a todos os descendentes da Casa Real de Orange-Nassau, aos ilustres Membros que concorrem no Governo destas Terras e aos nobres e veneráveis Senhores Burgamestre e Magistrados desta Cidade de Amsterdam/Amstelveen.

מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יִשְׁמְרֵם וְיחַיֵּם, וּמִכָּל־צָרָה וָנֶזֶק יַצִּילֵם. מֶלֶךְ
מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יָרִים וְיַגְבִּיהַּ כּוֹכַב מַעֲרַכְתָּם וְיַאֲרִיכוּ יָמִים עַל
מֶמְשַׁלְתָּם. מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יִתֵּן בְּלִבָּם וּבְלֵב כָּל־יוֹעֲצֵיהֶם
וְשָׂרֵיהֶם, לַעֲשׂוֹת טוֹבָה עִמָּנוּ וְעִם כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֵינוּ. בִּימֵיהֶם וּבְיָמֵינוּ תִּוָּשַׁע
יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח, ◂ וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל, וְכֵן יְהִי רָצוֹן וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן:

62 'Prayer for the authorities and the Royal Family', Amsterdam 2017

Even when it is more than possible that this adaptation of the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer by the Amsterdam Sephardim is the result of the 1663 intervention of the States of Holland, one has to

[42] See p. 53.

[43] The Hebrew-Dutch prayer that was printed in Leiden by the Elsevier firm in 1636 at the occasion of the successful siege of 's Hertogenbosch (Fuks, 1984 no. 43) and dedicated to the victorious Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry of Orange cannot be compared with the ha-Noten prayer.

[44] Cohen and Wallet, 2018.

[45] A similar myth originated in Portugal after the 1506 Lisbon massacre, attributing to King Manuel an intervention on behalf of the Jews which never took place, see Yerushalmi, 1976.

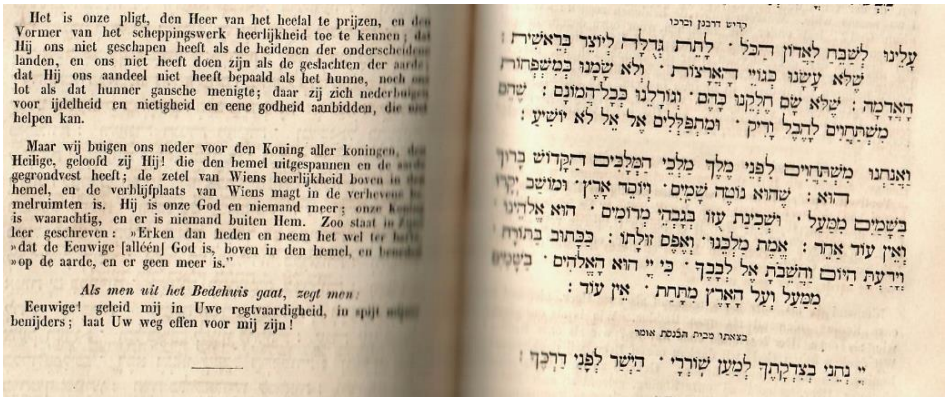
remember that, as Pettegree and Der Weduwen have shown,[46] not all resolutions and decrees were preserved by the Dutch authorities at the time. A final remark on the development of the use of the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer in the Amsterdam Sephardi liturgy. The prayer is printed or referred to in the Venice, Ferrara, Dordrecht and early Amsterdam editions preceding the reading of the Torah on weekdays, on Shabbat and Festivals. At some moment in the 19th or 20th century the prayer was inserted on other occasions, for example on Friday night and Shabbat afternoon. Dutch Ashkenazim read the prayer on Shabbat and Festivals after the reading of the Torah.

8.6 PARATEXTUAL REMARKS

In the previous chapter, some paratextual elements have been discussed, such as the use of square or round brackets and various font sizes. It was indicated that these elements would continue to be used in later times. Various questions have remained unanswered and may inspire new research.

8.6.1 ALENU, THE ECHO OF CENSORSHIP

A special case is the layout of the Aleinu prayer, which may be the best known example of a prayer text that was censored since medieval times. To prevent displacement of the text, many printers used leading to replace the words that would otherwise be traditionally stricken by Christian censors. The following illustration shows how this strategy was only carelessly followed, because the compositor continued to insert leading as a replacement for the controversial text even when it had been reintroduced, because he had not been instructed to do otherwise.



Het is onze pligt, den Heer van het heelal te prijzen, en den Vormer van het scheppingswerk heerlijkheid toe te kennen; dat Hij ons niet geschapen heeft als de heidenen der onderscheidene landen, en ons niet heeft doen zijn als de geslachten der aarde; dat Hij ons aandeel niet heeft bepaald als het hunne, noch ons lot als dat hunner gansche menigte; daar zij zich nederbuigen voor ijdelheid en nietigheid en eene godheid aanbidden, die niet helpen kan.

Maar wij buigen ons neder voor den Koning aller koningen, den Heilige, geloofd zij Hij! die den hemel uitgespannen en de aarde gegrondvest heeft; de zetel van Wiens heerlijkheid boven in den hemel, en de verblijfplaats van Wiens magt in de verhevene hemelruimten is. Hij is onze God en niemand meer; onze Koning is waarachtig, en er is niemand buiten Hem. Zoo staat in Zijne leer geschreven: »Erken dan heden en neem het wel ter harte, »dat de Eeuwige [alléén] God is, boven in den hemel, en beneden »op de aarde, en er geen meer is."

Als men uit het Bedehuis gaat, zegt men:

Eeuwige! geleid mij in Uwe regtvaardigheid, in spijt mijner benijders; laat Uw weg effen voor mij zijn!

קדיש דרבנן וברכו

עָלֵינוּ לְשַׁבֵּחַ לַאֲדוֹן הַכֹּל · לָתֵת גְּדֻלָּה לְיוֹצֵר בְּרֵאשִׁית ׃
שֶׁלֹּא עָשָׂנוּ כְּגוֹיֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת · וְלֹא שָׂמָנוּ כְּמִשְׁפְּחוֹת
הָאֲדָמָה ׃ שֶׁלֹּא שָׂם חֶלְקֵנוּ כָּהֶם · וְגוֹרָלֵנוּ כְּכָל־הֲמוֹנָם ׃ שֶׁהֵם
מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים לְהֶבֶל וְרִיק · וּמִתְפַּלְלִים אֶל אֵל לֹא יוֹשִׁיעַ ׃

וַאֲנַחְנוּ מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ
הוּא ׃ שֶׁהוּא נוֹטֶה שָׁמַיִם · וְיוֹסֵד אָרֶץ · וּמוֹשַׁב יְקָרוֹ
בַּשָּׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל · וּשְׁכִינַת עֻזּוֹ בְּגַבְהֵי מְרוֹמִים · הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ
וְאֵין עוֹד אַחֵר ׃ אֱמֶת מַלְכֵּנוּ · וְאֶפֶס זוּלָתוֹ ׃ כַּכָּתוּב בְּתוֹרָתוֹ
וְיָדַעְתָּ הַיּוֹם וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ אֶל לְבָבֶךָ · כִּי יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים · בַּשָּׁמַיִם
מִמַּעַל וְעַל הָאָרֶץ מִתָּחַת · אֵין עוֹד ׃

בעצתו מבית הכנסת אומר

נָחֵנִי בְצִדְקָתְךָ לְמַעַן שׁוֹרְרָי · הַיְשֵׁר לְפָנַי דַּרְכֶּךָ ׃

63 Unwarranted interlinear space in alenu

8.6.2 STEREOTYPED EDITIONS

Remarkably, no traces have been found of stereotyped editions[47] of Dutch Jewish prayer books, including Machsorim, which was otherwise a common practice in Central Europe since the 19th century. Even the most popular versions of the daily prayers (*Aresjet Sefatajim*) and of the Polak-van Ameringen Machsor were not reproduced this way but were reset every time. After World War II, the text of the daily prayers would be mostly reproduced photographically, but also in this case subsequent changes introduced as a result of electronic technology would be minor ones. This has contributed to the mistaken, but nevertheless common, opinion that this version of the prayer book represents binding Dutch Ashkenazi tradition.

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[46] Pettegree, 2019 p. 48, 53, 196-216. See also Frijhoff & Spies, 1999, pp. 179 ff.

[47] Glaister, 2001, p. 460 defines stereotype as: 'a printing plate made by taking an impression from set-up type or another plate in a mould of plaster of Paris, papier mâché or flong. Stereotype metal … is then poured into the matrix'. It should be noted that references to the supposed use of stereotype by Josef Athias, Fuks, 1984, pp. 289 ff. are erroneous as Athias used, as stated on p. 137 of my study, standing type, i.e. formes that had not been redistributed.

8.6.3 COLOURED PAPER

Since the second half of the 18th century copies of mostly Sephardi prayer books have been printed on heavy, coloured paper. In the Netherlands such paper was of high quality, while in Germany, Central and Eastern Europe paper was not seldom tinted to conceal its poor quality. This element deserves further research.

8.7 CROSS FERTILISATION OR DEPENDENCE?

In this study I have paid attention to the similarities and differences between Dutch Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer and have provided some examples of the contrast between the two communities that only developed after the 17th century. It is for that reason good to stress that premature conclusions are not to be drawn on any cross fertilisation between the two communities.[48] Some of the words or formulas in the documents that were published by Prins previously mentioned drew my attention The first instance is the way the Ashkenazi Parnassim addressed the city authorities: '[Waiting for the approbation] van de Ed. Gr. Achtb. Heeren Burgemeesteren en Regeerders dezer stad …' The wording is identical to that found in the Sephardi ha-Noten[49] prayer by the Amsterdam Portuguese community: '… aos nobres e veneráveis Senhores Burgamestre e Magistrados desta Cidade de Amsterdam'. This may be a completely accidental correspondence, but such is not the case in the 1748 request by the Ashkenazi Parnassim, where the word 'leesen' (to read) is used for the recitation of the prayer for the secular authorities, a term that is normally exclusively used in Amsterdam Sephardi terminology. These are only two instances of Portuguese idiom in official Ashkenazi letters, and they inevitably raise the question whether the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Parnassim adopted Portuguese terminology. Although it is impossible to disprove such a cross-fertilisation, I would like to propose another possibility, which I deem to be more logical: the Ashkenazi Parnassim employed a Portuguese scribe, perhaps because previously, the Portuguese Parnassim had occasionally acted on behalf of the Ashkenazi community. On the other hand it was also quite common at the time to employ a professional scribe to compose official letters. Again, more specific research is desired.

Three elements still have to be mentioned: a) The Hebrew consonant ע is pronounced both by Dutch Ashkenazim and Sephardim as *ng*. Earlier in this study I have commented on the various ways this consonant has been romanised in early vernacular prayer book headings. The question why both groups use a uniform pronunciation, as there is no evidence to conclude that the Ashkenazim adopted this from the Portuguese, remains a subject for further research. b) A clear example of an Ashkenazi custom that was eventually adapted by the Dutch Sephardim, however, can be noticed in a tradition that lies outside the scope of the present study, namely the Pesach Haggadah. The Sephardi ceremonies end with '*Nirtsah*' (Chasal siddur Pesach), which in Ashkenazi tradition is followed by some songs. The Amsterdam Portuguese Haggadah that was printed in the late 19th century includes these songs, clearly the product of cross-fertilisation. c) Finally, in the Amsterdam 1864 edition of the Sephardi Festival prayers on p. 233 the Priestly blessing is printed with the biblical verses, followed by a 'hatavat chalom' as printed in the Ashkenazi machsorim, however with the heading 'some use to say … but one should be very careful not to say the verses when the Kohanim pronounce their blessing.' Again this seems to be an Ashkenazi influence that found a limited way way into Sephardi practice.

Various aspects of the Jewish prayer books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands have been discussed, as much as possible in their historical and international

[48] The same has to be said regarding a phonetical element, namely the pronunciation by the two communities of the ע as *ng*.

[49] See p. 107, illustration 45. The Ashkenazim did not include a reference to the authorities in the vernacular (Yiddish or Dutch) in the prayer, but the name of the ruling monarch has been included since the 19th century.

context. Many questions remain open and may never be answered conclusively. It is, however, advisable always to begin an examination with what the prayer books themselves tell us that is to say bottom-up. A bottom-down approach, e.g. like the one by Kenneth Berger,[50] starts with an anthology from halakhic sources, which can easily bias some questions and often disregards the taxonomy of editions. Only as a secondary step is it advisable to check halakhic literature, including codices and responsa, to try and trace the origin of unexplained features, remembering always that halakhic sources tend to comment on practice, and only seldom shape practice.[51] On the other hand, unexpected elements can be found in prayer books, like the repetition of the Amidah in the service of Shabbat and Festivals, for which an explanation may be found in halakhic literature.

8.8 DID A 'NATIONAL' LITURGICAL ASHKENAZI AND SEPHARDI TRADITION DEVELOP?

This study would be incomplete without discussing the possible development of special binding Dutch Ashkenazi or Sephardi customs and rites. As has been extensively documented previously (chapters 5-7) Dutch Jewry integrated through the centuries immigrants from all over the world, many of which brought with them their own customs. Such circumstances had previously caused Jews from the same place of origin to organise their own prayer services, as has been stated in chapter 4. When the newly appointed chazzan Joseph Gallego sought to introduce a Salonika custom in the Amsterdam Sephardi community[52], this was forbidden by Chacham Joseph Pardo as described by Gallego in his Imrei Noam. The earliest information on liturgical practice in Amsterdam are the regulation for the 1639 union of the three former independent Sephardi communities and the regulations for the Ashkenazi communities that have been described in chapter 5.[53]

The ever continuing controversies between 'German' and 'Polish' Ashkenazim on ritual matter without doubt prevented reaching a consensus on ritual matters. When in the 19th century it became normal to regulate life by laws and ordinations, the rules and by-laws of religious organisations and their regulations for their liturgical services became matters of State. As illustrated previously in this in chapter, there is evidence that at least during the 18th century the regulations for the Ashkenazi synagogue service needed the approval of the Amsterdam city authorities. In the 19th century Kingdom of the Netherlands such regulations needed State approval, first by the Department of Religious Affairs, later by the Justice Department. The Amsterdam Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities could, of course, turn to their already existing regulations, but in the second half of the 19th century, the situation would change somewhat. In Ashkenazi Amsterdam, the appointment of Rabbi Joseph Hirsch Dünner as Rector of the Ashkenazi rabbinical seminary in 1862 would influence Dutch Jewry in an unprecedented way. In 1874 he was appointed Chief Rabbi of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community and he completely revised the ceremonial order of the community which has been repeatedly been revised and printed. The Ashkenazi communities of The Hague and Utrecht followed suit with closely similar regulations, while Rabbi Bernhard Ritter who became Chief Rabbi of Rotterdam in 1884 introduced in that community some different customs. No information is available on the

[50] E.g. Berger, 2019.

[51] Both Berger, 2019 and Sperber 2010 provide many examples of prayer books where the commentary contradicts the prayer text proper.

[52] Reading dirges in a synagogue between the afternoon and evening services on the three Shabbatot preceding 9 Av.

[53] A later interesting printed document contains the regulations for the ceremonial order of the modernist Ashkenazi Adath Jesurun (1799-1808) which was dissolved by a decree of King Louis Napoleon. Discussions between modernists and conservatives would continue, eventually concentrating on issues like pronunciation which became more heated after the founding of the State of Israel. Recently it can be witnessed that Eastern European Ashkenazi pronunciation gradually replaces its Western Ashkenazi precedent, while the Israeli Sephardi pronunciation has started to replace traditional Amsterdam Sephardi pronunciation.

ceremonial regulations of other medium-sized or smaller Ashkenazi communities in the Netherlands, but as has become clear from the oral information of some Holocaust-survivors who were afterwards active in the religious life of various Dutch Jewish communities, no uniform customs where established throughout the Kingdom. While preparing a new edition with a Dutch translation of the Ashkenazi Machsor it became clear from my inventory of important customs in synagogues in The Hague, Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam that not even two Amsterdam Ashkenazi synagogues followed the same custom.[54] This contradicts the existence of a widely accepted Dutch or even Amsterdam Ashkenazi custom which is represented by the printed prayer books.

What was the situation in the Dutch Sephardi communities? As stated previously, the Sephardi prayer books that have been printed in Amsterdam in the 18th and 19th centuries show significant changes. Also the regulations for the ceremonial order and their (numbered) amendments of the Honen Dal Portuguese community of The Hague[55] and those of the Amsterdam K.K. de T.T. which are kept in the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library –Livraria Montezinos, were repeatedly printed during the 19th and early 20th centuries have not yet been studied. When the chain of tradition was broken by the Holocaust, the community would turn to another kind of document for references on earlier practice: the *Seder Chazzanut*. Chazzan I. Oëb Brandon[56] twice wrote down his notes on the synagogue service as practiced in his day. In fact two such manuscripts by his hands are preserved, written with a 10-year interval. A compilation of both manuscripts was printed by Jacob Meijer in the community's periodical Habinjan and as an appendix to his Encyclopaedia Sefardica Neerlandica, 1949-1950. This document became to be considered to be the definite authority on Amsterdam Sephardi liturgical tradition. To strengthen communal cohesion, the Parnassim decided to adopt a number of activities that were previously restricted to private groups as communal ceremonies, e.g. the *meldadura* or 'lezing' or reading on the 7th night of Pesach, the night of Hoshana Rabba and special anniversaries, but also the Tikun of 15 Shevat (*schoteltjesavond*[57]). These gathering of community members represent an old Amsterdam tradition, but not an official one of the community proper.

The most recent Dutch prayer book editions reflect the influence of practice in other countries, as increasingly instructions are provided for those who lack knowledge of synagogue practice.[58] There exists a growing need for added translations, while greater attention is also given to typography and design. The machsorim by Daniel Goldschmidt (1970, 1981) and Yonah Fraenkel (1983. 2000), followed by Machsor *Rinat Israel*, all published in Israel, have shown the way towards such improvements. The many subsequent editions of prayer books published in the USA by ArtScroll Mesorah Jewish Books and Koren Publishers in Jerusalem have set an example for many editors and publishers, also in the Netherlands, to improve the layout of prayer books.[59]

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[54] An exception, not to be found in the prayer books, is that in Dutch liturgical music every festival has its own melody, both in the Ashkenazi and in the Sephardi communities. In the Ashkenazi liturgy the chazzan starts to use this melody with the words *Blessings and thanksgivings* preceding *Barekhu* in the morning prayers. The Sephardi melodies are often quite intricate and only a few members of the community still master them all.

[55] This community was dissolved around 1990.

[56] See p. 173.

[57] Probably referring to the platters with wheat and barley pancakes that are served.

[58] See the 2018 Ashkenazi Shabbat prayers *Chemdat Hajamiem* (republished in 2020, preceding '*Sjesjet Jamiem: Gebeden - Tefilla voor door de week*. Ordening en tekstontwerp Ruben Vis) and the 2017 edition of the Shabbat prayers of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Community by Koren Publishers.

[59] The Ashkenazi Machsor that was published in Amsterdam in 1981-1998, with the exception of the volumes containing the prayers for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur and Piyyutim that are skipped in various synagogues, are either printed in a smaller font size and placed between double lines or printed at the end of the volumes. The layout of the Piyyutim for Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot reflects their internal structure, providing the user with easier access to these complex poems. Cf. Van Bekkum 2012. In the 2017 Koren edition of the Amsterdam Portuguese

Recapitulating, the popular belief after World War II that the most common prayer books, the Ashkenazi *Aresjet Sefatajim* and the Sephardi *Tefilat kol Peh* represent 'national custom' can be questioned as becomes clear when they are compared with other editions that were published in the 19th century and in the case of the Ashkenazi rite, about 1900 by the Dutch rabbis Lion Wagenaar and Joel Vredenburg. Recently some members of the communities began documenting Dutch and Amsterdam customs,[60] often based on the printed prayer books. Let it suffice here to stress once more that in the past, prayer books were never edited to include exclusively national or local rites and customs.

At the end of my description of the early modern Jewish prayer books and their successors that were published in the Northern Netherlands it is inevitable to reconsider their development following the subjects raised by David Ruderman[61] and in my own historical judgement. In the 19th century, the idea of national identities took root. As the Holocaust created a hiatus in Jewish tradition and as we are studying history from the perspective of what may be called Post Modernity, these subjects may provide the tools for a more objective approach for the study of the prayer book.

1 Jewish mobility. Jewish migration has not diminished since Early Modernity. Leaving aside voluntary movements as a result of international trade, migration was prompted by historical events. First, there was a movement away from Eastern Europe caused by adverse social and political circumstances. Then World War II and subsequent reactions to the founding of the State of Israel caused large-scale Jewish migration. The eastern versions of both Ashkenazi and Sephardi tradition have since gained predominance, and kabbalistic and chassidic tendencies have been strengthened, also in the Netherlands.

2 Communal cohesion. It has been described in the previous chapters how, especially in Amsterdam, Dutch Jewry already at an early stage was divided into two distinct and well-organised groups. The Sephardim retained a strong sense of their Iberian identity since their arrival, a feeling that has long prevailed. The Ashkenazi community embraced its national identity following the administrative measures by Emperor Napoleon and subsequent legal measures implemented by the successive Dutch monarchs and governments, which also impacted on the formal organization of the Jewish communities. Recently the communities have been faced with a reduction in numbers but are also experiencing increased cohesion.

3 Knowledge explosion. Did the ideal of the 'Universal Man' really exist in Early Modernity and did new scientific and geographic discoveries really widen the horizons of many? Education became available to the majority of the population, reducing illiteracy. Digitisation and globalisation have exposed the world to an avalanche of information, and technological developments lead to a highly specialised world. On the one hand, anyone interested in a subject is flooded with unorganized information, while on the other hand it has become more and more difficult for non-specialists to distinguish between reliable and less reliable information.

4 Crisis of rabbinic authority. Up to a certain point, the rabbis in the period under consideration were autonomous in their halakhic rulings. As I have previously shown in my study, in the Northern Netherlands the rabbis of their respective communities were from the outset subordinated to the authority of the lay heads of those communities, although they remained autonomous in their halakhic decisions. This

prayer book, prayers that are said only on special Shabbatot, e.g. Shabbat Rosh Chodesh and Shabbat Chol ha-Mo'ed, are printed in a smaller font size.

[60] www.nik.nl; www.esnoga.com.

[61] Ruderman, 2010.

has changed recently, not because of local practice inhibiting their authority, but as a result of world-wide tendencies.

5 Mixed identities. Due to the mass-information industry, national and regional rabbinates are faced with pressure from outside. At present, all rabbis in the Northern Netherlands have been professionally trained and educated elsewhere and for that reason local customs and traditions have become of minor concern. Editors of new editions of prayer books are sometimes asked to introduce elements that are not part of the tradition represented in the works I have described in my study. Many Jewish immigrants who have recently joined the communities of the various synagogues want to integrate elements of the cherished traditions of their fathers, in which they are sometimes strongly opposed by their brothers of Dutch origin. This seems to be a repetition of the conflicts already described in the 17th century.

8.9 PRINTERS OF JEWISH PRAYER BOOKS IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS 1701-1941

This chapter would be incomplete without mentioning the Amsterdam printers of Jewish prayer books from the beginning of the 18th century through the beginning of World War II, when Jewish printing was temporarily ended. During this period Ashkenazi printers ware the majority and only in the 19th century some Portuguese firms also opened for business. The constant variation of publisher statements in all those works obscures the historical facts, inviting further research. At the beginning of the 18th century two Jewish firms only were responsible for the production of prayer books: Jochanan Levi Rofe (also called Jochanan Levi van Embden) and his son Benjamin and the Proops firm,[62] the latter of which would continue until the middle of the 19th century when its status becomes unclear. Now it is named Proops-Joachimsthal, then I. Levisson. Afterwards three firms evolve: Joachimsthal, I. or S.I. Levisson and van Creveld.

Also in the 19th century some Amsterdam Portuguese printers produce prayer books, in alphabetical order: Belinfante & de Vita (Israel), Mendes Coutinho, S.L. Salzedo & Co., Joseph Bueno de Mesquita, D[avid] L[opes] Cardozo & Co. and D. Miranda & D.L. Cardozo & Co.

8.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the second main question of my research has been answered: how did the books containing obligatory Jewish prayers that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands develop through the years? It has been made clear that these books show constant evolution and the distribution of editions of Jewish prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands in the period 1584-2020 shows the influence of various interesting historical events. However, additional research into the post-17th-century period should provide more data. In the 18th century the local market became a more important factor, but the international position of Dutch book production and trade for many decades remained essential for the Jewish book in general and for prayer books in particular.[63] Jewish communities would flourish also in centres outside Amsterdam, but prayer books would only been edited or translated by Jews from The Hague and Rotterdam. During the 18th century the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books would show less variant readings – the books containing the Avignon, Carpentras, Kochi and Shengali rites have not been studied – without having become completely fixated textually. An exceptional element to change definitely was the vocalisation of the word *tishbechata* in the Dutch Sephardi Kaddish. Portuguese Jewry would be the first to produce their complete prayers in the Dutch language in

[62] See Adri K. Offenberg, lemma Proops in Encyclopaedia Judaica, 2nd edition, vol. 13 col. 562-563.

[63] Cf. the editions of prayer books according to the rites of Carpentras and Kochi in list A pp. 231ff. of this study. On an Amsterdam Portuguese Jew in Kochi see Schorsch, 2008. During the 18th century Central and East European states would give their Jews more freedom of the press creating local competition and diminishing the dependence of regional Jewries from books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands.

1791-1793,[64] a feature that has no Ashkenazi parallel. Amsterdam Ashkenazi bi-lingual editions were published from 1832 onwards. The Ashkenazi Samuel Israel Mulder translated and edited not only Ashkenazi but also Portuguese prayers. Later David Montezinos, Jacob Cardozo and Benjamin Ricardo would take over the translation of the Portuguese prayers.

In the margins of a conflict in the Ashkenazi community, the question was raised if secular authorities intervened in ceremonial matters. To establish this, it was necessary to return to the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer, after it had become clear that the Ashkenazi community needed the consent of the Amsterdam city government to change some of the articles of their rules for the ceremonial order of synagogue service. Both Dutch Ashkenazim and Sephardim pronounced the Hebrew ע as ng, a tradition that is fast becoming obsolete in the younger generations. It has been suggested, though not documented, that the Ashkenazim adapted it from the Sephardim, and the subject deserves further research. Other questions of possible cross-fertilisation or dependence between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities still need to be resolved. Finally, the existence of a generally accepted 'national and binding' Dutch Ashkenazi and Sephardi custom has been proved not to exist.

Samuel Mulder was the main Dutch editor and translator of the Bible and Jewish prayer books, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, in the 19th century. He was chief inspector of Jewish education in the Kingdom, tasked to make the Dutch language accepted by the country's Jews.[65] It was, however, not duty alone that inspired the various Dutch editors and translators to bring the texts and traditions of their forefathers to new life in their communities where many were afflicted by poverty. Even when only those who could afford to pay their yearly duties to the community would get a seat in the various official Amsterdam synagogues, all deserved to have their own prayer book, even if that was not of the highest quality and beauty. At the onset of the 20th century two rabbis would contribute to the Ashkenazi prayer book: R. Joel Vredenburg who published his prayer book and added the Shabbat prayers to the five volumes of his translation of the Pentateuch, and R. Lion Wagenaar who published two versions of his prayer book in 1901. *Imrei Lev* contained the Hebrew text with Dutch translation and *Hegyion Nefesh* combined both with a flowering commentary in Dutch, lavishly referring to the interpretation of the prayers by the Sages, Geonim and later leading commentators. Although even at the time his language was somewhat old-fashioned, his prayer books demonstrate the intention of this head of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi rabbinical seminary to imbibe his modern Jewish contemporaries with the precious treasures of Jewish prayer. The Sephardi rabbi Benjamin Ricardo left his manuscript translation of the Amsterdam Sephardi prayer book that would be printed only in 1950. Those prayer books were not intended to preserve a national custom, especially so as no such custom has developed as was sufficiently illustrated in this chapter, but to assist the members of the community to make their prayers a real 'service of the heart', to 'praise the Almighty and ask compassion', as the essence of Jewish prayer has been defined by the Sages.

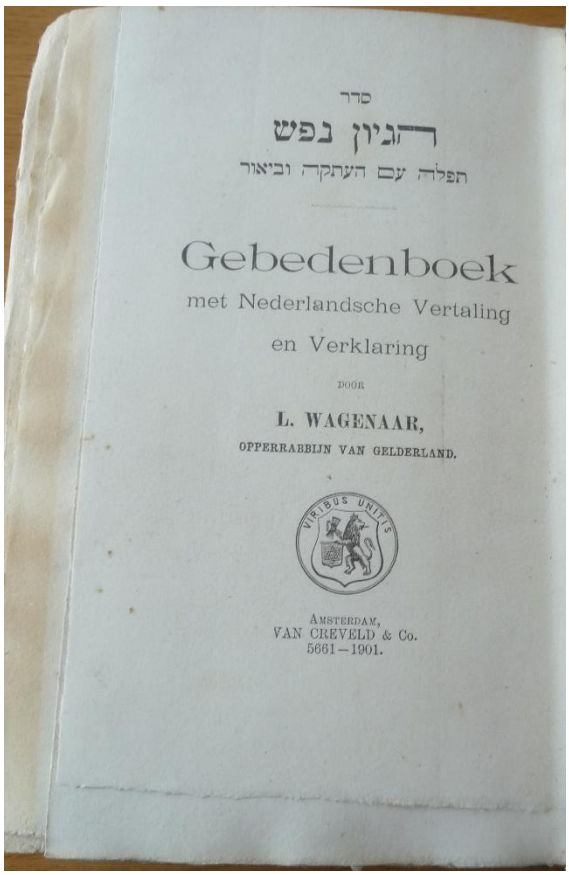
Also after the 17th century the Jewish prayer books remained part of general Dutch book culture and even the simplest editions are made with care and professionalism. In the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos some copies of 19th century prayer book editions are kept that are printed on vellum[66] or special paper. Of the *Hegyion Nefesh* prayer book by Lion Wagenaar three copies are reported to have been printed on heavy paper, their gatherings have been sewn but the copies are

[64] This may be seen as replacing the trend of earlier editions in the Iberian Jewish vernacular, as indicated in my list preceded by two 17th century editions in Dutch, but I do not want to try and answer this question within the context of this study.

[65] Jewish teaching materials in the 19th and early 20th-century Netherlands are the subject of research by Ms. Henny van het Hoofd at Amsterdam University.

[66] The Royal Library in The Hague lists some 18th-century Sephardi prayer books printed on vellum.

in blue wrappers. One of them was given to Wagenaar, another copy was presented to Sigmund Seeligman and the third was the property of the publisher, van Creveld and is now part of a private collection (illustration 64)


סדר
הגיון נפש
תפלה עם התקה וביאור
Gebedenboek
met Nederlandsche Vertaling
en Verklaring
DOOR
L. WAGENAAR,
OPPERRABBIJN VAN GELDERLAND.
VIRIBUS UNITIS
AMSTERDAM,
VAN CREVELD & Co.
5661—1901.

64 Copy on large paper.

The following, final part of my study discusses subjects related to the cataloguing and bibliography of Jewish prayer books in general. During my professional career as a librarian it has become clear to me that the existing rules and practice of the treatment of this class prevent even the location and identification of copies which are often extremely rare. As a help for book professionals and those who are interested in the Jewish prayer book and its components, the various elements of Jewish liturgy will be explained as they are encountered in the books containing obligatory prayer.

PART 3

JEWISH PRAYER AND LITURGY IN BIBLIOGRAPHY, CATALOGUING AND RESEARCH

65 The Ets Haim Library in Amsterdam

דור הלך ודור בא והארץ לעולם עמדת

One generation goes, another comes, but the earth remains the same forever (Eccles. 1: 4).

Chapter 9
CATALOGUING THE JEWISH PRAYER BOOK

The cataloguer and bibliographer of Jewish prayer books, especially those that have been published before the industrial period, encounter various problems that will be discussed in this chapter. These problems are not new, nor are they restricted to the works that were published in the Northern Netherlands, but the recent change from analogue descriptive cataloguing to digital data-storage apparently added to them. The confusing nomenclature and terminology of individual Jewish prayer books and the series that were published have been amply discussed in previous chapters. This chapter intends to serve as an exit point for future international discussion to solve a number of the problems mentioned, exiting from the accepted theories of International Standard Bibliographical Description and Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Materials (Books). This third part of my study discusses practical elements relating to the Jewish prayer book in its bibliographical context.

9.1 THE AIM OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND UNIFORM DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUING

For many centuries a library catalogue intended to provide a survey of the holdings of that library, sometimes – but not always – including an indication of their position on the shelves. As such, they often were not more than simple lists, too succinct to allow a proper identification of the works or, in the case of printed books, even of an individual edition. Only in the 19th century the academic world would start attempting to systematise research, knowledge and all human activity, which caused a fundamental change in the way information is stored and retrieved. Theoreticians like Melvil Dewey and Charles Ammi Cutter have tried to classify all human knowledge and activities into a universal classification system, preferably in a hierarchical order. The system was often adapted and updated, but a few problems have remained: hierarchy could not always be maintained[1] and neither authors nor publishers have ever felt obliged to publish books to fit these classification systems, e.g. by covering more than one subject. For nearly two centuries librarians and bibliographers, keepers of the rules of their profession, have been committed to carrying out these tasks. A derivate of such systematising is library science which was further enhanced in the 20th century through the rules of descriptive and analytical bibliography as formulated by authors like Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, Fredson Bowers and Philip Gaskell. These rules are still indispensable for anyone wanting to present descriptions of early printed books to the public.

The academic education of – at that time analogue - librarians included cataloguing and bibliography and was since 1931 guided by the Five Laws of Librarianship that were formulated by Shiyali Ramamrita Ranganathan (1892-1972):
Books are for use.
Books are for all; or, every reader his/her book.
Every book its reader.
Save the time of the reader.
The library is a growing organism.[2]

[1] Because of the Dewey system's inadequate dealing with Jewish subjects, the Jewish National and University Library (now the National Library of Israel) introduced an adaptation of Dewey's decimal classification system for Jewish subjects in 1927, made by Hugo Bergman and Gershom Scholem. One of its "flaws", as deplored by later teachers of classification at the Jerusalem Graduate Library School, was that the main halakhic sources, vid. Mishnah, JT and BT (296.8) were preceded by Halakhah and codices (296.5). That the library's patrons would not be hindered by this as they would access the information by means of an alphabetic index, was of no comfort for the sake of system.
[2] In the case of classes of early printed books, this rule could be rephrased as follows: The researched corpus is a growing organism as more information will become available as time passes.

When the world entered the 'Age of Information', Walt Crawford and Michael Gorman adapted these rules[3] according to the needs of the new era:
Libraries serve humanity.
Respect **all** forms by which knowledge is communicated.
Use technology intelligently to enhance service.
Protect free access to knowledge.
Honor the past and create the future.

The International Federation of Library Associations since 1969 has been responsible for devising parameters for International Standard Bibliographic Description. In May 2001 they published the latest revision of the ISBD for older monographic publications (antiquarian) or ISBD(A). Library of Congress (LC) implemented these rulings in its Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Material (Books) or DCRM(B), third edition.[4] Although they provide the necessary framework for Jewish prayer books, their rules as such are insufficient to guarantee the researcher an easy access to the available information, both analogue and digital. Additionally, it seems to me that the information professionals have been 'creating the future while negating the past in cataloguing'.[5] In the Netherlands, the professional world has been introduced to the new way of cataloguing in a nice publication by Peter Schouten.[6] In an amalgam of technical, but actually quite meaningless, terms like entity, manifestation and expression, a few truths are conveniently ignored: the new cataloguing system is mainly geared to new publications/productions and is quite unfit for the description of early printed and rare books. Cataloguing and bibliographic descriptions by non-professionals seem to turn gradually into *mindless transcription*,[7] as entries in bibliographies and catalogues like WorldCat tend to lack uniformity and so lead to diminishing service and hinder free access to data and knowledge.[8] Recently Richard Ovenden pointed to the dangers of modern trends in a time when libraries are faced with steeply diminishing funds and the introduction of commercial parties, where different rules apply, in the storage of knowledge.[9]

The complexities of parts of the classical, anonymous Jewish literature and especially the many different prayer books, for reasons that will be discussed in the next chapter were not solved in analogue cataloguing and even less so in online digital databases, missing their first aim: to serve

[3] Crawford and Gorman, 1995, p. 8. See also Schottlaender, 1998.

[4] The aim of DCRM(B) is defined as follows: "… descriptions of older books are usually formulated for a somewhat different purpose from that guiding the professional skills of those recording current information. Here, the structure of the entry is particularly useful in determining for the user the extend of responsibility, the edition number and basic details of originator and extend, especially if the description is in a language with which the cataloguer (if not the user) is unfamiliar. The user seeks a recognizable entry in a predictable form for an item by a sought author or on a sought topic. On the other hand, in most libraries, the older books are considered as artifacts to be described in such a way as they can be clearly distinguished for the purpose of comparison with other copies and other editions of the same work. The aim of the rare book librarian here is not only description of an antique, but, more important, the clarification of the transmission of the text and the 'points' which distinguish editions, Within the bounds of a catalogue, particularly a general catalogue, he cannot, of course, resort to title-page transcription nor to drawing attention to accidentals that is for the literary bibliographers. But within the confines of a catalogue such descriptions should pay close attention to detailed accurate transcription in the two areas of the title and the imprint and give an exact statement of the extent of the work as published."

[5] Gorman, 2007 (www.slc.bc ca/rda1007.pdf.).

[6] Schouten, 2013.

[7] Levy, 1998, p. 98. A nice example of such an uncertainty is "Orden de oraciones de mes *arreo*", as *arreo* means *arranged*. Whether the claim that the user does not have to leaf forward and backward is true has not properly been checked.

[8] The revision stage of the individual records which used to be part of professional library practice is often found to be sorely lacking in WorldCat records. This is, of course due to a lack of professional consciousness in the management of the individual libraries and the increasing lack of funding.

[9] Ovenden, 2020, p. 10-11. He rightly points to the difference between the storage and preservation of information.

"the user [who] seeks a recognizable entry in a predictable form for an item by a sought author or on a sought topic".[10] As such a user, a book professional for half a century, I encountered many problems while trying to find recognisable entries in a predictable form on a sought topic in the course of the present research. Tracing copies of Hebrew editions of Jewish prayer books was less complicated as the chief titles (earlier called main titles) are quite conventional. However, editions in the western alphabet were much more different to trace as one has to know the exact wording of the title-page and digitized subject cataloguing seems to be somewhat restricted to the visitors of the various depositories of such works. Digitisation of information can be a major time-saver for any user of a system, as long as the data are properly stored and can be retrieved in a logical way from the point of the user. For books this means that works of the same class can only be traced as long as they can be identified as such. The following section is intended as my contribution to the solution of the problem of access by creating a predictable form of the chief title.

9.2 THE JEWISH PRAYER BOOK IN EXISTING CATALOGUES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Copies of early printed Jewish books are often extremely rare or even unique, which is certainly true for prayer books. Their rarity is the result of heavy use, but also restrictions on Jewish printing, book burnings and all too many wars. The difficulty of locating a copy in the various reference works is multiplied by such factors as the various systems of Romanisation of Hebrew names and titles, or the lack of generally accepted uniform titles and subtitles. Additional complications arise from the differences in terminology and practice between Ashkenazim and Sephardim as will be explained in the following chapters. External and internal evidence presented by the works that are described is often ignored or is left unmentioned, as has been repeatedly discussed in this study.[11]

Ever since my first professional encounter with the Jewish prayer book it was clear to me that the existing system of cataloguing[12] lacked the necessary instruments for the proper treatment of early printed and rare books. Others as well have been baffled by this class of books which in its traditional treatment was as much a problem for the less specialist subject cataloguer that to her or his descriptive counterpart. The subsequent introduction of digital systems apparently did not improve the problem as information specialists, replacing librarians, seem to be less aware of the primary purpose of their work, viz. to store data in such a way that the users of the system are able to identify a work and to locate one or more copies of a certain edition. While I was still active as the librarian of Ets Haim – Livraria Montezinos, I discussed the problems more than once with fellow Judaica librarians. At the 2008 Annual Convention of the Association of Jewish Librarians and Archivists (AJL), a member of the Library of Congress delegation told me to draw up a proposal for further discussion. This chapter should be seen as a first trial, though cataloguing practice since that moment has irreversibly changed. A preliminary remark: practice has to prevail over theory, meaning that to properly deal with Jewish prayer books, the use of a traditional uniform title has to be restricted to books of the same class.[13]

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[10] DCRM(B).

[11] A nice example is the statement in the British Library catalogue, earlier quoted by me, that its 'unique copy' of a 1555 Ferrara Jewish prayer book has been made up from various editions. Likewise, Fuks, 1984 no. 181, neglected the fact that only the first gathering had been printed by Menasseh, whereas the rest of the book block belongs to a 1617 Venice edition. Of a different order are two 1552 Venice editions of a Hebrew prayer book with Iberian translation; it has not been recognised that one of them contained the prayers for weekdays and Shabbat, whereas the other contains the Shabbat prayers only.

[12] At the time the Anglo American Cataloguing Rules (AACR).

[13] E.g. the uniform title Selichot should only be used for Ashkenazi works with such titles and not for Sephardi works containing the prayers for the fast days.

The Jewish prayer book has intrigued many people and has baffled even more throughout the centuries. The analysis of the prayer book depends on many factors, not all of which are common knowledge, even among researchers with a Jewish education. As the necessary information is not always readily accessible, ample space has been devoted to providing some help and reference to the interested, ranging from basic treatment of the Jewish calendar and special days of the Jewish year to a discussion of a new description standard.

It is a sad truth that many books (and sometimes probably entire editions) that were published during the ages, subsequently have been lost by various causes.[14] Such losses, especially of Jewish books that were looted or destroyed during World War II, [15] impede research, as earlier catalogues and bibliographies often list editions no copy of which seem at the moment to have been preserved. As a result, it may now often prove impossible to distinguish between editions of which no copy is presently known to have survived and ghost editions. Of the important pre-war collections of Jewish books on the European Continent, many were damaged or lost and those which survived did not necessarily so without damage and theft, something that happens to collections in general.[16] The additional lack of uniform cataloguing practice adds to those difficulties which anyone encounters who is in search of a copy of one or another edition that was recorded previously.[17]

9.3 PROPOSITIONS FOR FUTURE PRACTICE

Existing reference works are indispensable to identify a work in hand, or to locate one or more copies of a certain work or edition. The description of one and the same work will, however, differ in various reference works, especially when indicating the format: what one calls 12^0, is listed by others as 16^0 or even 24^0.[18] Additional confusion is caused by the lack of uniformity in collation formulas, the notation of unfoliated or not paginated matter, and blanks. For that reason it is best to treat any early printed Jewish prayer book along the lines of 'forensic bibliography': see it as a contaminated or compromised crime scene. Beware of made-up copies, slipshod descriptions in existing catalogues and bibliographies and prejudice.

Digitisation of information can be a major time-saver for any user of a system, as long as the data are properly stored and can be retrieved in a logical way from the point of the user. For books this means that works of the same class can only be traced as long as they can be identified as such. The classical way to deal with such anonymous works that were published under various titles was the use of uniform (sub)titles and this remains as applicable in digital cataloguing as it

[14] Cf. Pettegree and Der Weduwen, 2019.

[15] Thanks to the work carried out by a number of indefatigable researchers during the last 25 years, many details have been discovered of official programs relating to the looting of collections of Jewish books and their partial restitutions. See: Hoogewoud, 1997; Bertz, 2008; Dehnel, 2006; IDEM, 2008. IDEM, 2012.

[16] This situation affects many printed or online post-World War II catalogues which are based on previous sources, e.g. Vinograd's Thesaurus. An important collection of Jewish books rests in the National Library of Israel (NLI, previously called The Jewish National and University Library) in Jerusalem, which, after the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, wrote in its charter the preservation of the literary material and immaterial heritage of the entire Jewish people. It became also the seat of the Institute of Jewish National Bibliography (IJNB), founded as a separate department to glean information from previous bibliographies, as well as from library and auction catalogues and literature.

[17] That such problems are not restricted to early printed Jewish prayer books is illustrated by the list of 20th century non-traditional prayer books printed in the Netherlands as listed in van Praag, 2008, p. 13-17, lacking the necessary bibliographical data, e.g. the transcriptions of the titles discussed.

[18] Early printed books are often tightly bound, making it almost impossible to decide how the sheets have been folded without causing serious damage. It is therefore preferable for cataloguers to record the collation formulas only, without trying to define the format, unless one is able to check all the relevant information, such as watermarks and chain lines.

was in the analogue era. As starting point for further discussion I propose to establish a system of such uniform chief and subtitles as will adapt to the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi practice as previously signalled. As stated earlier, I am sure that storing terabytes of useful bibliographic data can be a blessing, enabling unrestricted universal access. On the other hand, it is clear that momentarily the retrieval of relevant information does not always meet expectations: a computer query will only yield material corresponding to the search terms or suggestions thrown up by the search engine's built-in algorithms. My proposal could easily repair this problem and no adaptation of software format is necessary. At the same time, the data which are transcribed from the title-page remain an access point, but the use of cross-references remains necessary for books with the same title that do not share a more or less identical content.[19] It is unavoidable to abandon the earlier accepted general application of Ashkenazi terminology on Sephardi works as this makes life difficult for cataloguer and researcher alike.[20]

A first outline of my proposal for uniform titles or subtitles to be used is presented in the next paragraph, but my research confronted me with a special problem. Some prayer books, e.g. the Ferrara 1552 *Oraçiones de todo el año*, contain the prayers for the whole year, whereas others, e.g. the *Oraçiones de Mes* that were published by the same printer in the same year, contain the daily prayers only. For that reason I named the first class *Comprehensive prayers* and the second one *Daily prayers*. As every system has its shortcomings, the works I studied proved that works that contain more than the usual prayers for weekdays, Shabbat and Rosh Chodesh do not exactly comprise all the prayers for the whole year. Recalling the Talmudic admonition 'Only when you try to deal with a small part, you may succeed', it would be wise to reach consensus on restricting the qualification *Comprehensive* for editions that really contain all, or at least most of the prayers for all occasions.[21] An international forum should also decide on a new list of uniform (sub)titles for Jewish prayer books and abandon the traditional Ashkenazi Hebrew terminology on which I will further comment in the next chapter.

As an opening for future discussions I propose the following:
For uniform title use: Prayers. Jewish.
For uniform subtitle choose according to the following list:
Comprehensive prayers[22]
Daily prayers
Festival prayers
High Holidays
    New Year
    Jom Kippur
Fast Days (for the Sephardi works only)
Selichot (only for the days of Penitence)
Kinot (for Ashkenazi books for 9 Av only)
Tikun (even when the term is not mentioned on the title page)[23]

As there are numerous editions of prayer books, it is advisable to supplement the uniform subtitle with the year and place of publication.[24] The uniform subtitle does not need to include

[19] E.g. *Hegyon Nefesh*, which is the title of a German-Ashkenazi prayer book, the daily prayers with a Dutch commentary and translation and a Reform prayer book.
[20] Who, beyond a small circle of experts, would know how to look for books containing the prayers for the four or five communal fast days under the heading *Selichot*?
[21] Relevant additional information on the contents of the prayer book in hand can always be provided in a note.
[22] See my previous remark.
[23] See the list on p. 162.
[24] This order can be inverted without any negative consequences.

the element of the liturgical rite, which belongs to classification and relies on more expert knowledge. Furthermore, when the rite is mentioned in the title statement, it will appear in any full-text search of a database. The rite may alternatively be referred to in a dedicated field of the record or in a separate note.

Judaica cataloguing, especially of prayer books, calls for specialist professionals, contrary to the aims of management in our days. This will help researchers who lack a profound knowledge of the process of pre-industrial book production to avoid unwarranted accusations against publishers, printers and compositors for alleged sloppiness or even corrupting prayer texts.[25] Early Modern Jewish prayer books are rare, but they are also a part of general book production in the area of origin and should be researched as part of that context. Paratextual elements like paper, types and layout ought to be compared with those used at that time, both in Jewish and non-Jewish book production.

9.4 CONCLUSION

'All that is gold does not glitter,
Not all those who wander are lost;
The old that is strong does not wither,
Deep roots are not reached by the frost.'[26]

Classical Jewish religious literature, including prayer books, is complex and so sometimes researchers may unwittingly stumble across an unrecognised treasure, as they may fail to recognise a reference to a certain tradition. Sometimes it is necessary to delve somewhat deeper into the roots of Jewish tradition to reveal the core of a work in hand.[27] Apart from the intricacies which are shared by all rare and early printed books, the early modern Jewish prayer book, especially when containing the Sephardi rite in the vernacular, has its own additional complexity. A revision of cataloguing practice may provide a key to bibliographers and researchers to unlock further treasuries in Jewish and liturgical studies. In my bibliographical lists I have applied my proposals by using the following uniform headings: comprehensive prayers, daily prayers, festival prayers, fasts, High Holidays, Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. I have only used the term machsor for Ashkenazi multi-volume sets that have the term machsor as a serial title. The differentiation between comprehensive prayers and daily prayers is, as I have stated, open to debate, as it may be difficult to demarcate the two classes. A workable practice could be to use the uniform title *comprehensive prayers* only when the title states that the work contains the prayers for the whole year, also when this claim seems to be confirmed at a cursory inspection. In all other cases the heading should then be: *daily prayers*. 'Dreams may be ten a penny and perhaps I

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[25] E.g. Langer, 1998, pp. 51, 108 and 186. Reif, 1995, pp. 235-239. Sperber, 2010, pp. 114-119. **N.B**.: under the illustrations on p. 239 of the latter publication the titles of both editions have been inverted. Sometimes publishers wanted to stick to a previous layout without any obvious reason, as is illustrated in an 1858 Amsterdam edition of the Sephardi prayers for the Fast days by Jacob Lopes Cardozo on p. 63. In the *Aleinu* prayer the sentence: "As they bow for vanity and emptiness and pray to a god who will not save them", had for centuries been censored out and been replaced by an open space in many editions of the printed prayer book. In the 1858 edition, notwithstanding the inclusion of the offending sentence, it is still followed by an interlinear space.

[26] Tolkien, The Lord of the Rings, vol.1 The Fellowship of the Ring, 1979, p. 230.

[27] E.g. Den Boer & Salomon, 1995 who discuss "a three-page bed-time prayer in Portuguese" which was included in a copy of David Abenatar Melo's 1622 Pesach Hagada, discovered by Den Boer in a private collection. The authors failed, however, to recognise the prayer as a הטבת חלומות (an annulment of a bad dream) which is included in early Sephardi editions of the prayer book in a shorter and in a longer version, though both are absent from the 1618 Talmud Torah edition. Rather than trying to attribute the authorship of the version in the 1622 Hagada to Melo, it would be better to try and look for corresponding variants of this class of prayers, e.g. in the 2019 edition of the prayer book according to the Catalonian rite.

should leave them in the lost and found, getting my feet back on the ground,"[28] as I realise that my proposal will be received without much enthusiasm, even if it would profit readers, students and book professionals. At the moment libraries and the humanities have no priority and staff and funds are in short supply, so the idea of revising existing catalogues cannot appeal to any library. Proposals to abandon old and well known headings will certainly be regarded with at least some healthy mistrust, even when the aim is to make improvements. On the other side, projects like the one that has been recently initiated by the University of Amsterdam, to digitise all Jewish prayer books held by European collections, is free to apply an internationally approved version of my proposal to the project's metadata.

[28] Free after the Kincade 1973 pop-song.

Chapter 10
BOOKS CONTAINING JEWISH PRAYERS

In chapters 10-14 bibliographers, cataloguers and researchers are provided with some means to locate and identify a certain edition of a Jewish prayer book. Already in Early Modernity such books contained either obligatory[1] or voluntary prayers, mostly according to the Ashkenazi or Sephardi liturgical rite. These chapters provide introductory information enabling bibliographers and cataloguers to understand the subject in general and to cover the main differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi[2] terminology and practice. The most important of these differences are included in the checklist on p. 363 of this study. Chapter 10 provides a list of books containing the obligatory prayers, preceding a survey of separately published single obligatory prayers, collections of voluntary prayers intended for individuals or groups and works that are related to prayer books. The uniform titles and subtitles that already have been proposed on p. 165 return in this chapter and are used in the bibliographical lists at the end of this study.

Cataloguers and bibliographers have the professional and useful habit of grouping works with the same contents together, regardless of differences in title. In the case of Jewish prayer books, however, this has led to some misunderstanding as in various customs Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books were published not only with different titles, but also with different contents. As prayer book research was for many years the domain of Ashkenazi professionals like Leopold Zunz, Ismar Elbogen and Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt, they tended to unify all material according to Ashkenazi Hebrew terminology. This has led to confusion, as Sephardi prayer books were grouped differently, as will be shown. To devise a solution to this problem in a way that allows for traditional differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books and their terminology, it is helpful to specify the various classes of prayer books according to their contents:

Prayers for the whole year
Daily prayers[3]
Festival prayers
Fast Days
High Holidays (Rosh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur)
Penitential prayers[4]
Lamentations for 9 Av[5]

Books containing the daily prayers in our days are called Siddur, Tefilot, or Tefille (Yiddish).[6] As stated in the first part of this research, in medieval and early modern terminology the term Siddur was preferentially used for prayer books of a smaller format. In the 1612 Amsterdam Sephardi

[1] The terms *obligatory* and *voluntary* are used here in their halakhic context: although some of the voluntary prayers have to be said at a certain time, their exact formulation and number is seldom agreed upon and their obligation differs from that of those that are called in this study obligatory prayers. Such a difference is most clearly explained in the case of the obligatory position of the evening prayer, see p. 197f.

[2] It has to be stressed that only unless stated otherwise, in my study this term indicates the Western Sephardi rite.

[3] Including the prayers for Shabbat and Rosh Chodesh.

[4] Prayers to be said preceding Rosh ha-Shanah and from Rosh ha-Shanah to Yom Kippur. In Imrei Noam by Gallego, Amsterdam 1628 they are called *Mishmarah* and refer to the *Mishmarot* (plural of Mishmarah), groups of laymen who accompanied the serving group of Priests in the Temple service (Ma'amadot). A comprehensive treatment of the origin and development of penitential prayers since the Second Temple period is Boda et al., 2006-2008.

[5] Only according to the Ashkenazi rite, as will be explained.

[6] Since the 19th century, following German precedents like e.g. Baer (Avodat Yisrael) and S.R. Hirsch (Tefilot Jisrael), also Dutch Jewish prayer books got individual titles, e.g. Aresjet Sefatajim, Hegion Nefesj, Hegion Lev and Tefilot Kol pe, where only the subtitles provide some information on their contents.

edition the term Siddur is used for a series of three books, containing the daily prayers (part 1), those for Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot (together in part 2), resp. Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur (part 3).

Festival prayers in the later Ashkenazi tradition are collected in a series called Machsor, a term that in medieval times was mostly used for prayer books having a larger format. A Machsor series contains the prayers for Pesach, Shavuot, Rosh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur and Sukkot. In the Sephardi tradition the term Machsor still in the 17th century was used in volumes containing the prayers for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur (the High Holidays). The festival prayers for Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot in the Western Sephardi tradition are combined in one volume and are titled Mo'adim.

In the Sephardi tradition[7] the community begins saying Selichot on Rosh Chodesh Elul, a month before Rosh ha-Shanah, and continues reciting them until Yom Kippur. They are included in the prayer book for Rosh ha-Shanah.[8] The Ashkenazim begin saying Selichot in the week preceding Rosh ha-Shanah, continuing them also until Yom Kippur. As they have different Piyyutim for each day, the Ashkenazi corpus of penitential prayers is more extensive than the Sephardi one. As a result they were published separately, aptly titled Selichot.[9]

Unlike the Ashkenazim, the Sephardim have special elements for each of the four or five obligatory communal fast days.[10] They are included in a separate volume called Ta'aniot.[11] The special prayers for 9 Av according to the Ashkenazi rite are published in a separate volume as Kinot.[12]

10.1 TITLES OF PRAYER BOOKS AND SERIES

<table>
<tr><th>Ashkenazi rite</th><th></th><th colspan="2">Sephardi rite</th></tr>
<tr><td>Siddur, Tefillah, Tefille</td><td></td><td colspan="2">Tefilot, Monthly prayers or Prayers for the whole year[13]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Machsor (9 vols.)</td><td></td><td colspan="2">No serial title</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pesach 2 vols.</td><td></td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">Mo'adim (including Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot) 1 vol.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Shavuot 1 vol.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Sukkot 2 vols.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Rosh ha-Shanah 2 vols.</td><td></td><td>Rosh ha-Shanah</td><td rowspan="2">Originally together in one volume</td></tr>
<tr><td>Yom Kippur 2 vols.</td><td></td><td>Yom Kippur</td></tr>
<tr><td>Does not exist</td><td></td><td colspan="2">Fast Days (Ta'aniot) 1 vol.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Selichot</td><td></td><td colspan="2">(Included with Rosh ha-Shanah)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kinot</td><td></td><td colspan="2">(Included in Fasts)</td></tr>
</table>

[7] Also in the Eastern Sephardi custom.
[8] With the exception of a 1552 Venice and a 1553 Ferrara separate edition.
[9] Cf. Goldschmidt and Fraenkel, 1993.
[10] 17 Tammuz, 9 Av, 3 Tishrei, 10 Tevet (and 13 Adar). Yom Kippur has its own special prayers.
[11] These books may contain four or five fast days, see the previous note. A number of 17th century Amsterdam editions include the prayers for 3 Tishrei in the High Holiday prayers.
[12] E.g. Goldschmidt, 1968.
[13] Though even at the beginning of the 19th century some titles claim the book to contain 'the prayers for the whole year' the practice gradually ended because of the bulkiness of such volumes.

10.2 SEPARATELY PUBLISHED SINGLE OBLIGATORY PRAYERS

Avodah[14]
Blessings[15]
Blessing of the sun once in 28 years
Blessing of the moon at the beginning of every new month
Blessing after meals[16]
Blessing at the visit of Holy Places
Counting of the Omer[17]
Ceremony of circumcision[18]
Marriage ceremony[19]
Prayer for travellers
The reading of the Shemah[20]
Redeeming of the firstborn[21]
Repetitions in the Selichot[22]
Tashlikh[23]

10.3 VOLUNTARY PRAYERS INTENDED FOR INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS

Throughout the centuries various collections of voluntary prayers have been published that were intended for individuals or groups of people sharing special devotions. It is important to know that the same title can be used for works of a different type.

Additional prayers for Chanukkah or Purim
Azharot[24]
Kabbalistic prayer books
    Or ha-Yashar
    Mesamchei lev
    Prayers for practical Kabbalah[25]

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[14] A part of the Musaph on the Day of Atonement.
[15] The title Mea Berakhot (100 blessings) has been used for booklets containing only berakhot, as well as for books with daily prayers. The various collections of works that only contain berakhot show numerous differences.
[16] See also Finkelstein, 1928-1929; Shmidman, 2009. Relatively recent it has become a custom to present guests at a festive party with a booklet containing the Blessing after meals (Birkat ha-Mazon). The wrapper mentions the occasion and the name of the donors or the presenting body. These are ephemeral publications and as such do not fall within the scope of my research. On the Birkat ha-Mazon see Finkelstein, 1928-1929.
[17] The 49 days between the second day of Passover and the Festival of Weeks
[18] Most of these editions also contain a *Tikun* for the eve of the ceremony, see Horowitz, 1989b.
[19] These publications are relatively recent and are mostly sponsored by the family to celebrate a particular wedding; they therefore belong to the class of ephemera.
[20] The standard Jewish declaration of faith, consisting of Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21 and Num. 15: 37-41; especially said when laying down at night. See also Marx, 2010.
[21] When the mother's firstborn is a son, he has to be redeemed from Temple service after 30 days, even when there is no Temple. This is not an obligation for the firstborn son of a Cohen or Levi or of a mother who is the daughter of a Cohen or Levi, nor when the child is not born in a normal way, e.g. with a caesarean.
[22] As most prayer books only refer to these repetitions, they were often published separately to prevent going forth and back in the prayer book itself.
[23] Ashkenazi personal prayer for New Year, to be said at the waterside.
[24] Poems on the 613 positive and negative Commandments which therefore belong to poetry. There are several of these liturgical compositions in existence. The most popular one, composed by Solomon ibn Gabirol, is included in the Sephardi prayer book for the Festival of Weeks. On the first day the part containing the 248 Positive Commandments is said before the afternoon prayer, on the second day the part containing the 365 Negative Commandments. Azharot with or without a translation have also been published as separate works.
[25] Unlike speculative Kabbalah, practical Kabbalah may be concerned with magic and is than strongly rejected by 'regular' systematic Jewish mystics.

Kinot and Selichot[26]
Ma'amadot[27]
Piyyutim & zemirot
Prayers for the sick and for burial service[28]
Techinot[29]
Tikunim
    Ashmurot laboker (to be said at dawn)
    Liturgy for the circumcision[30]
    Tikun for Friday night
    Tikun for the eve of Rosh Chodesh [31]
    Hakafot & Hoshanot[32]
    Tikun for the night of Shavuot and for Hoshana Rabba
    Tikun Chatsot (to be said at midnight)[33]
    Tikun for 7 Adar[34]
    Tikun for the month of Nissan
    Tikun for the 7th day of Pesach
    Tikun for Lag ba-Omer[35]
    Tikun for the night preceding a circumcision
    Tikun for Shovavim Tat[36]
    Tikun for private fast days
    Tikun for the members of the Burial Society (*Chevra Kadisha*)
Various collections, referred to by their titles, e.g.
        Imrei No'am[37]
        Kehilat Shelomo
        Sha'are Zion
        Tefilot wetodot

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[26] To be said at midnight, not identical with those that are a regular part of the liturgy for 9 Av or the Days of Repentance. The terms are also used as synonyms for Tikun.

[27] "Separate sections of scriptural, mishnaic, and Talmudic selections for each day of the week, recited after the Shacharit service. … Reading portions of the Mishnah and Talmud dealing with the sacrifices was added as well, and each day's recital was followed by different supplications." (Nulman, 1996, p. 286). This should not be confused with the Ma'amadot or groups of Priests in the Temple period, see: Tabory, 1999.

[28] This is a special class of works, not ruled by specific Halakhic regulations, which should be the subject of specialized research. Even in the Netherlands, Kabbalistic elements have entered those texts, unlike in other parts of the communal liturgy. See Reif, 2014.

[29] Techinot are religious poems to be said after the supplications at the end of the Morning Prayer on Monday and Thursday. They are said silently and in Kabbalistic practice relate to oral transgressions. It should be noted that the term is used by Sephardim for the regular supplications to be said on weekdays, which the Ashkenazim call Tachanun. In Ashkenazi Jewry anthologies of Yiddish prayers for women, called 'Techines' were very popular. See: Elbogen, 1931, p. 229; Schirmann, 1979, p. 718. On the role of Women in Antiquity, see Brooten, 1982 who from epigraphic evidence in the Hellenistic environment concludes that especially Babylonian rabbis opted for a more rigid male-oriented standpoint.

[30] Horowitz, 1989b.

[31] This is a voluntary fast, called *Yom Kippur Katan* (minor Day of Atonement) and the prayers are titled Tikun or Selichot, Prayers for the New Moon, etc.

[32] For Shavuot, Sukkot and Hoshana Rabbah, additional to those included in the *Machsor*.

[33] An interesting publication on the influence of coffee and coffeehouses on Jewish nocturnal rites, see Horowitz, 1989a.

[34] The date that Moses supposedly passed away.

[35] In Sephardi terminology: Lag la-Omer.

[36] Said on the night before the synagogue reading of the first six (in leap years eight) pericopes of Deuteronomy: *Sh*emot, *V*a'era, *B*o, *B*eshalach, *Y*itro, *M*ishpatim, *T*erumah and *T*etsaveh. SeeBarOr, 2020.

[37] By Salom Gallego, Amsterdam, 1628.

10.4 RELATED WORKS

Some works may contain prayers but do not belong to the realm of prayer books proper:

Pesach Haggadah[38]
Minhagim[39] books and Takkanot Bet ha-Knesset[40]
Purim Literature
Ephemera[41]

10.4.1 PESACH HAGGADAH

The obligatory Pesach ritual is one of the highlights of Jewish family life and its text is called Haggadah [shel Pesach]. Initially it was included in the common prayer book, but already in the Middle Ages we often find richly illuminated manuscripts of the Haggadah only. The text until today may be included in the printed prayer books for the Festivals. The study and bibliography of the Pesach Haggadah has since become a well-established discipline in Jewish studies,[42] separating the work from the class of prayer books proper.

10.4.2 MINHAGIM BOOKS AND TAKKANOT BET HA-KNESSET

These works are not prayer books but they undoubtedly provide valuable information on Jewish liturgical practice and are the subject of a specific and well-established discipline.[43]

10.4.3 PURIM LITERATURE

This class of literature mostly includes satirical matter, which is a separate literary genre and should not be confused with the additional prayers for Purim that have been mentioned previously. An early representative of this class, Massechet Purim, was already printed in Pesaro, 1513 by Gershom Soncino.[44]

10.4.4 EPHEMERA

Occasional prayers of a diverse nature and communal services for various occasions may contain invaluable historical information. Their ephemeral character, however, sets them apart from the other categories of prayers that were discussed before. These numerous brochures and booklets were published on the occasion of such disasters as epidemics, persecutions or death, but also to mark happier events such as the jubilees of communal dignitaries, royal visits, weddings, jubilees, as well as consecration of synagogues and Torah Scrolls. As with all ephemera, copies of such

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[38] Goldschmidt, 1969; Tabory, 2008.

[39] Books of customs and local rites, see p. 43. See also Baumgarten, 2003; IDEM, 2020.

[40] Local rules for the order of the synagogue service. They are set up by the Board of the community and may be changed at will.

[41] The generic term *ephemera* is used here instead of the often used, but as often confusing terms *occasional prayers* and *special prayers*, while hoping that new international discussion will result in a fitting heading.

[42] Goldschmidt, 1969; Safrai, 2009

[43] The best known example of Ashkenazi minhagim was written by Isaac Tyrna and is repetitiously printed in Hebrew and Yiddish. A Yiddish adaptation by Simon Günzburg became widely disseminated in the Ashkenazi world, see Baumgarten, 2020. The Amsterdam Ashkenazi decrees of ceremonial order (e.g. those that were mentioned on p. 146) were issued by the Parnassim of the community after being accepted by the rabbinate. In the late 19th century it was Chief Rabbi Joseph Dünner who advised the leaders of the community on a new version, which was subsequently repeatedly adapted (see Brilleman, 2002; IDEM, 2007). During the 19th century such rules for the synagogue service were printed for Parnassim of the Amsterdam Portuguese community as well, though the personal annotations of various chazzanim since the 18th century (Seder Chazzanut) are better known as the 1892 version by I. Oëb Brandon who wrote down the "contemporary customs and ceremonies", leaving room for "subsequent changes in the existing customs" has become almost canonical in that community. In the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos two previous examples are kept, as well as the later manuscripts by the chazzanim Quiros, Blanes and Duque.

[44] Many such publications, often in Yiddish and in broadsheet format, were published in Amsterdam c. 1800 and have been made available in the microfiche collection Yiddish Publications of the Netherlands, Leiden, 1999. Some Portuguese counterparts repose in the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos.

editions are often extremely rare, and bibliographies of this type of publications are as a result always incomplete and tentative. They were mostly composed by communal leaders for a specific occasion and although a certain pattern might be detected, the research of this class of works does not really belong to prayer book research proper as they do not follow established liturgical rules. Prayers for academies, societies, prayers to be said preceding and following lessons and other prayers without a formal context also belong to the class of Ephemera. [45]

Until now the distinctive differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books have not yet been discussed as such will become more understandable after an enumeration of the traditional Jewish liturgical rites according to their 'families'. The Jewish calendar will shortly be explained as far as it is relevant for the prayer book. After an outline of the construction of obligatory Jewish prayer, indispensable for the understanding of the various subjects that have been touched upon previously, as well as will be discussed subsequently, some elements will be treated which are different in Ashkenazi and (Western) Sephardi liturgical rites. This is again a relevant tool of reference for those who are confronted with copies of prayer books that lack a title-page or other initial matter enabling the identification of the work in hand.

10.5 CONCLUSION

It regularly happens that bibliographers, cataloguers or researchers who are not specialists in Jewish prayer come across prayer books, in which case they may need a work of reference. As has been shown in the early editions of prayer books published in Venice, Ferrara and the Northern Netherlands (chapters 6-8), such reference works may be needed even to distinguish between editions of different prayer books that were published simultaneously by the same printer. In this chapter a difference has been made between the various categories of books containing Jewish prayers, as well as between those containing obligatory or voluntary prayers. To complete the classification, a number of related works which sometimes contain prayers, or belong to synagogue liturgy, have been discussed. The separate class of prayers for a certain occasion, sometimes called occasional prayers or special prayers in existing library catalogues, has been noted, although these prayers obviously fall outside my proposals for cataloguing books containing Jewish obligatory prayer.

[45] The terms *various prayers* and *occasional prayers* are not always clearly defined in the several bibliographies and catalogues but together they cover a wide range of ephemeral publications.

Chapter 11
TRADITIONAL LITURGICAL RITES ACCORDING TO THEIR 'FAMILIES'

In this chapter the traditional liturgical rites and their 'families', as well as non-traditional rites and prayers are described, as are the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites and their respective terminologies. Some of the rites mentioned were printed in Amsterdam, especially in the 18th century, but others have also been included to provide an easily accessible reference for cataloguers, bibliographers and others who are interested in the subject. Distinctive features, however, are only discussed in this and later chapters for the Ashkenazi and Western Sephardi rites, as the treatment of all the other rites, e.g. Romaniot and the various Yemenite rites, would require extensive digressions into religious poetry and variants that have to be left to the specialist liturgists.

The prayer books that have been printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands contain various rites, especially such as were in use elsewhere, e.g. Italy, Southern France, Kochi and Sri Lanka.[1] The various rites of Jewish obligatory prayers and synagogue rites originate in the period following the destruction of the First Temple and the Babylonian exile, the beginning of the Jewish diaspora. Their divergence in focus, language and culture occurred simultaneously in the two centres of Jewish life and culture, Palestine (Israel) in the West and Babylonia in the East and for that reason those rites can be divided into various 'families'. These families developed in parallel, after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and even more so after the disappearance of the Sanhedrin, the central Jewish authority, when the rites rapidly increased in number as is illustrated in Talmudic literature, which is full of references to variant readings and customs.[2]

The various rites attracted the attention of liturgical researchers like Leopold Zunz and his (Ashkenazi) successors from the Wissenschaft des Judentums. Most of that attention, however, was given to the treasure grove of piyyut where the differences were evident and this element was often not relevant for cataloguers who mostly had to deal with books containing either Ashkenazi or Sephardi rites. When dealing with the prayer books from the Northern Netherlands, cataloguers mostly have to rely on the information which is presented on the title-page. As most editions represent Ashkenazi and (Western) Sephardi rites, the main differences between both will be discussed in later chapters, but as a reference here follows a more detailed survey of Jewish liturgical rites and their origin. This survey deserves to be followed by a more detailed exposition of distinctive differences between the various rites, but this often has to deal with piyyutim and minor textual variants and should for that reason be dealt with outside the present study which is restricted to the Western Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites to answer the question whether a 'Dutch' liturgical tradition has developed.

Differences between the rites can be distinguished on the basis of changes in the order of prayers and the distinctive wording of the main parts of obligatory individual or communal daily prayers, as will be explained later. At first sight the differences between the two traditions may appear fundamental, but further analysis has shown that it is really the same prescribed contents that is formulated and arranged differently.[3] The following survey of both families is not an exhaustive

[1] The Dutch East India Company had a printing press in Colombo where a Protestant work (STCN rec. 2721418) was printed in 1744, but for Hebrew printing Amsterdam was the natural place, while the costs of transport must have been low.

[2] Wieder, 1998. Hoffman, 2005. Reif, 1995. See also: Hallamish, 2017.

[3] See also Lewin, 1942; Margaliot, 1937. Some important liturgical compendia are Abraham of Lunel, 1978 (Provence); Abudraham, 1963 (Spain); Machsor Vitry, 1923.

enumeration but only shows the main branches within each of the families and mostly ignores Piyyutim.[4]

Recently[5] 9 rites have been described after the prayer books that were composed by R. Amram Gaon, R. Saadia Gaon, R. Solomon ben Nathan, and Maimonides: Ashkenaz, Sefarad (Castile and Portugal), Rome (Northern Italy), Catalonia, Provence, Romania (Byzantium= Greece and Turkey), Persia (including Bukhara and early China), Aleppo, and North Africa before 1492. To this list 8 'composite rites' can be added: France (including England, Asti, Fano and Moncalvo), Aragon (related to Sefarad, remained unprinted until 2019), Kandia (Greece, elements from Romanian, French and Ashkenazi rites), Korfu (combination of Romania and southern Italy which has been lost), Algeria (combination of Catalonia and Sefarad), Kaffa (Feodosia, Ukraina on the Black Sea Coast, the rite is mainly Romania with Persian additions), Yemen Shami, and the various chassidic rites (Ashkenazi with Sephardi elements and some Lurianic adaptations). The following list shows a more systematic list according to their relation with their Palestinian, Babylonian or Maimonides origin.

11.1 LITURGICAL RITES BASED ON THE PALESTINE TRADITION

11.1.1 ROMA, ITALIA

This is a very old rite, probably going back to the arrival of Jews in Rome at the beginning of the Common Era. It is still observed in Rome and Northern Italy.[6] In the past a number of communities in Constantinople and Salonika also followed this custom. It is the rite represented in the first Jewish prayer book ever printed (Casal Maggiore/Soncino, 1485-86, 2 vols). The colophon of this *editio princeps* published by the Soncino brothers claims it contains 'the rite of Rome with some additions from the use of some communities in the vicinity.'[7] Its main distinctive characteristics are the use of *Le'eila Le'eila* in the Kaddish (see hereafter, p. 188f.) and *Keter* in every Kedushah (see p. 193). The rite of Ashkenazi immigrants in Italy since the 15th century, called Minhag ha-Lo'azim, has not been described sufficiently in its relation to the Roma rite.

11.1.2 ROMANIA OR ROMANIOT RITE

This was originally the leading rite in the Byzantine Empire, which was mostly superseded by the Sephardi Rite at a later date but is still in use in some communities.[8] The first printed prayer book according to this rite was published in Constantinople in 1515. Another edition was published by Gershom Soncino in the same city in 1530, following his immigration from Italy. In 1533 an Ashkenazi prayer book was also published in Constantinople.[9] Some distinctive features are: Hodu is said preceding *Barukh she-amar* (see p. 183f.), in the Amidah the third Berakha is always

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[4] The obligatory prayers are essential when establishing the liturgical rite of a prayer book. Liturgists often focus on differences in Piyyutim to distinguish local rites, cf. Goldschmidt, 1996. However, they also have asked whether Piyyutim are distinctive of liturgical rite rather than local or regional *nusach* (formula). Apparently this was the view of R. Isaac ben Solomon Luria as quoted by Chaim Vital in his Sha'ar ha-Kavanot: ואמנם בעיקרי המנהגים עצמם שיש הפרשים רבים ושנויים רבים בענין נוסח התפלות בעצמם חוץ מענין הפזמונים והפיוטים הנוספים בתוך התפלות אלא בנוסח הברכות והתפלות עצמם יש שנויים רבים בין סדורי התפלות ...

[5] Perez, 2019 pp. 4 ff.

[6] Fleischer, 1988 contains an important assessment of the Palestine customs in and after the period of the Crusades, as well as their further reception. On the Italian rite see Goldschmidt, 1996 p. 220-221.

[7] Machsor Roma, 2012. See also Goldschmidt, 1996 p. 153-186.

[8] Many emigrants to Israel and the USA after the Holocaust have tried to continue the old customs and rites in their new residences to honour the generations that had done their best to preserve traditions. For a description see Zunz, 1859 p. 79 ff.; Goldschmidt, 1996, p. 122-152; IDEM, p. 218-219.

[9] The existence of a substantial Ashkenazi community in the region cannot be established on the strength of this edition alone but requires further external proof.

le-dor wador instead of *Ata Kadosh* (see p. 193), *Keter* in Musaf (see p. 193), and in Kaddish *Weyatsmach purkanei wikarev Meshichei ufarek ameh berachmateh* (see p. 189).

11.1.3 ASHKENAZI RITE[10]

This rite developed various regional variants that are mainly divided in Western and Eastern Ashkenaz. The former was common in Germany west of the Elbe River, in Northern France,[11] Elzas, Loraine, Switzerland, England and some communities in Northern Italy and in the Northern Netherlands after 1600.[12] Elements of the original rite of Northern France were until recently preserved in the Piedmont communities of Asti, Fossano and Moncalvo.[13]

The Eastern (or Polish) Ashkenazi Rite was leading in Germany East of the Elbe, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, the Baltic States, Russia, Romania (alongside the Romania rite) and some Balkan Jewish communities. Differences between Eastern and Western Ashkenazi rites are mainly restricted to the Piyyutim, the regular prescribed prayer texts are almost completely identical.

11.2 LITURGICAL RITES BASED ON THE BABYLONIAN TRADITION

11.2.1 SEPHARDI OR IBERIAN RITE

Any regional variants that may have existed between Castile, Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia and Portugal were not included in the prayer books that were printed according to the Sephardi Rite. Manuscript material suggesting that such differences were restricted to Piyyutim for special Shabbatot and the High Holidays has been preserved fragmentarily only.[14] After the Spanish Exile (1492) the rite was established in Northern Italy and in settlements of Spanish-Portuguese refugees in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Northern Netherlands where prayer books according to the Sephardi Rite have been published since 1584, continuing to today. Some distinctive features are: *Hodu* precedes *Barukh she-Amar* like in the Romaniot rite, *Keter* in the Kedushah of Musaph (see p. 193), and different Berakhot for the season in summer and winter (see p. 193f.).

11.2.2 PROVENCE

The Provençal communities of Avignon,[15] Carpentras,[16] Cavaillon and l'Isle sur la Sorge[17] had a special rite that mostly followed the Iberian tradition. Its main distinctive feature is that *Shalom Rav* instead of *Sim Shalom* is used in every Amidah (see p. 195).

11.2.3 NORTH AFRICAN RITE

The Iberian Rite had some minor North African variants in the communities of Algeria, especially Oran-Tlemcen, and Tunisia. Morocco had various rites through the ages, ranging from Iberian to Eastern Sephardi. None of these rites has been printed in the Northern Netherlands.

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[10] Traditionally, Ashkenazi rite has been attributed to have originated in the Palestinian tradition, but recent researchers have questioned this. As more definite research has not yet come available, I decided it too early to deviate from the earlier position. The distinctive features of the Western Ashkenazi rite are extensively described in the following chapters of this study.

[11] In the rite of Northern France the penultimate sentence *Goalenu* is not said, see p. 108.

[12] Since the 19th century and especially after World War II a major Eastern European, mostly Hassidic Jewish community developed in Antwerp which uses either the Eastern Ashkenazi or the Chasidic Rite. See Goldschmidt, 1996 p. 315-321.

[13] Known as *minhag APaM*, see Goldschmidt, 1996 p. 80-121.

[14] See: Goldschmidt, 1996, pp. 265-288. A reconstruction of the Catalonian prayer book was published in 2019, Perez, 2019.

[15] Printed in Amsterdam, 1765 ff., 4 vols.

[16] Printed in Amsterdam, 1739-1762, 4 vols.

[17] Remained in manuscript only.

11.2.4 EDOT HA-MIZRACH OR EASTERN SEPHARDI RITE

After the rise of Kabbalah, Levantine and Oriental Jewish communities often added extensive Kabbalistic elements to their prayers, which, however, essentially followed the same pattern as the Western Sephardi Rite.

11.3 LITURGICAL RITES BASED ON MAIMONIDES

Moses Maimonides (1135-1204) was a representative of the Sephardi tradition but he was familiar with the many local and regional variants that were cherished in various communities. He often referred to such variants and called them worthy to be honoured.[18] When the Yemenite Jews were persecuted and were also confounded by the actions of a pseudo-Messiah, they turned to Maimonides to help them in their need. Maimonides was the leader of Egyptian Jewry at the time. The pastoral warmth and consolation he offered them[19] caused Yemenite Jewry to award him final halakhic authority. For centuries the Yemenite liturgical rite strictly observed the rules in Maimonides' codex, without accepting any later developments in the Sephardi rite.[20]

11.3.1 THE YEMENITE RITE

This rite was printed for the first time in Jerusalem not earlier than 1894. At present three variants are in use:

11.3.1.1 Baladi

The oldest traditional Yemenite Rite, first printed in 1894.

11.3.1.2 Shami

An adaptation of the Baladi rite with additions from the Livorno-Sephardi Rite. It became popular in the 18th and 19th centuries after the introduction of low-priced printed prayer books from Syria and Iraq.

11.3.1.3 Dor Daim

The rite of the strict followers of Maimonides who removed all 'later' additions from the Baladi prayer book, especially Kabbalistic elements.

11.4 CHASSIDIC RITES

This rite is also called *Sfarad*, *Sfard* or *Nusach ha-Ari of blessed memory* (after R. Isaac ben Solomon Luria Ashkenazi, 1534-1572). The Ari himself wrote only a few poems, but his extensive Kabbalistic teachings were written down by his pupils. Elements of Lurianic mysticism soon entered prayer, both in Sephardi and in Ashkenazi Rites, becoming the leading trend in Chassidism and its various denominational rites. Lubavitch Chassidism (*Chabad*) claims to follow the purest form of the Lurianic Rite, which is mainly a variant of the Ashkenazi Rite with some elements from the Sephardi Rite.[21]

11.5 NON-TRADITIONAL JEWISH PRAYER BOOKS

A number of non-traditional Jewish prayer books were published in the Netherlands in the 20th century.[22]

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[18] E.g. when he mentions various minhagim in repeating verses of Hallel (Ps. 113-118). See also Blidstein, 1994.

[19] Maimonides, Iggeret Teiman (Essay to the Jews of Yemen).

[20] The differences between those rites have to remain outside the present research.

[21] The details will be described in the section that specifies the differences between the rites.

[22] They were thoroughly analysed in van Praag, 2008; Waterman, 2017.

11.5.1 KARAITE PRAYER BOOKS

In the 7th century the Karaite movement emerged from rabbinic Judaism. It became leading from Babylonia to Egypt, where, however, Maimonides put a stop to its popularity. Crimean Karaites remained the largest group to continue this tradition until the early 20th century. As the Karaite movement accepted only biblical literature as authoritative, its prayer books exclusively contain biblical texts. The study of their prayer books has turned into a special field of research that does not lie within the scope of this study.[23]

11.5.2 REFORM, LIBERAL, RECONSTRUCTIONIST AND OTHER NON-TRADITIONAL PRAYER BOOKS[24]

A few editions that were published in Hamburg and Berlin in the years 1816-1819 marked a completely new type of Jewish prayer books. This so-called prayer book reform,[25] combined with the intellectual mission to integrate Jews in enlightened European society, gave an important impetus to Progressive, Reform or Liberal Judaism, which has gained a central position in today's Jewry in Europe, Canada and the United States of America. This category does not follow fixed rules that run parallel to the development of the traditional rabbinic prayer books, but often represent personal editorial choices from German, British or American sources rather than an authorized corpus following the rules of 'Rabbinic Judaism'. The non-traditional works that have been published in the Northern Netherlands since the 20th century are included in list A of this study (pp. 231ff.), but I have not dealt with them as with the other prayer books. [26]

11.6 CONCLUSION

A rudimentary awareness of the various rites and the families to which they belong is necessary to identify a prayer book in hand and prevent incorrect cataloguing. The position of the prayer book rite in its bibliographical record remains a point of further consideration. One is to create a dedicated field in the record, so that it can be searched. Making the statement of the rite part of the chief heading may be the choice of a collection that includes many Jewish prayer books, as it further distinguishes between books that have been printed in the same place and in the same year. Such practice, however, may have been standard in the days of analogue cataloguing, but when digital union catalogues like WorldCat are badly in need of more uniformity, my choice would be to create a dedicated field rather than making the statement of liturgical rite part of the uniform title. The commonly accepted, though sometimes doubted, derivation of the Ashkenazi rite from the Palestinian rite deserves additional research.

[23] See Frank, 2001.

[24] See e.g. Friedland, 1997; Meyer, 1988; Petuchowski, 1968; Raphael, 1984.

[25] See: Petuchowski, 1968.

[26] For their treatment cf. van Praag, 2008; Waterman, 2017.

Chapter 12
AN OUTLINE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF OBLIGATORY JEWISH PRAYER

My analysis of the Jewish prayer books that are the subject of this research deals with various elements of obligatory prayer as encountered in the printed works, both in the Northern Netherlands and elsewhere. These elements have to be given their proper place within the prayer book, and a description of the different positions and terminology between Ashkenazi and Sephardi practice must also be provided. As Jewish prayer is regularly influenced by differences between days and seasons, between weekdays, Shabbat and festivals, summer and winter, this chapter opens with a brief explanation of the Jewish calendar, Shabbat, Festivals, Fasts and other special days. The main part of the chapter is dedicated to an outline of the construction of obligatory Jewish prayer, to enable the understanding of the various elements which will be discussed later. To assist book professionals in understanding prayer book terminology, an initial exposition is provided of the different terminology encountered in Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books and of some elements that are significantly different in both traditions.

12.1 THE JEWISH CALENDAR: WEEKDAYS, SHABBAT, FESTIVALS, FASTS AND SPECIAL DAYS

Jewish life is determined by the difference between weekdays and special days as is also reflected in the prayers. Understanding the Jewish prayer book requires some knowledge of such special days, including Shabbat, festivals, fasts, other special days and 'seasons', as part of the Jewish calendar.[1] The week is the basic unit in Jewish life, consisting of six weekdays followed by Shabbat. The Jewish year is a combination of a lunar year and a solar year. The moon revolves around the earth in 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes and 2.8016 seconds so that a Jewish month has 29 or 30 days. The Jewish liturgical year consists of 12 or 13 months, starting in springtime according to the traditional explanation of Ex. 12: 2: 'This month shall mark for you the beginning of the months; it shall be the first of the months of the year for you.' It is the Jewish month of Nissan, the month when the first barley can be reaped and the festival of Pesach is celebrated. To ensure that Pesach always falls in the spring, the calendar involves a number of complexities to compensate for the differences between the length of the cycles of the moon and the sun, the most important of which is the insertion of leap days or a leap month. The early Sages distinguished between Palestine and other countries by adding a second day to the Pilgrimage Festivals Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot ('the second day of the diaspora'), while in the final period of the Second Temple Rosh ha-Shanah was extended to two days and all this is reflected in the Jewish prayer books.

The names of the months and their special days[2]:
Nissan
Iyar
Sivan
Tammuz
Av
Elul (the month of Repentance)
Tishrei
Cheshvan or Marcheshvan
Kislew
Tevet
Shevat
Adar[3]

[1] See Tabory, 1993; IDEM, 2001a. For Shabbat prayer in Antiquity, see McKay, 1994.
[2] The traditional prayer books that are discussed in this study all follow the practice of 'the second holiday of the diaspora'.
[3] In a leap year, another month Adar is inserted, which is called Adar 1. The "real" month Adar is called Adar 2, a possible source of confusion.

The first day of a new month (and sometimes the last day of one month and the first day of the next) is called Rosh Chodesh and has a somewhat festive character. This day, on which it is forbidden to fast, has a number of special prayers. The Jewish Festivals (Regalim or Mo'adim) are Pesach (15-21 Nissan), Shavuot (6 Sivan) and Sukkot (15-22 Tishrei). The first and last days of Pesach and Sukkot are full festivals, the intermediate days are called Chol ha-Mo'ed or Medianos and have a less festive character. For historical reasons the first days of Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot outside of Israel are followed by a second day with the same status, as is the case with the last day of Pesach and Sukkot. The eighth day of Sukkot is called Shemini Atseret (the concluding 8th day) which in Israel concludes the Festival. As this is also when the yearly cycle of reading the Torah is concluded and the new cycle starts, it is also called Simchat Torah (Rejoicing of the Torah). Outside Israel Simchat Torah is celebrated on the 9th day of Sukkot. Rosh ha-Shanah (always two days, 1-2 Tishrei) and Yom Kippur (10 Tishrei) do not mark the first, but the seventh month of the Jewish liturgical year.

The 'minor festivals' are Chanukkah (25 Kislew – 2 Tevet) and Purim (14/15 Adar). The obligatory fast days are 17 Tammuz, 9 Av, 3 Tishrei, 10 Tishrei (Yom Kippur), 10 Tevet and the Fast of Esther, 13 Adar.[4] 15 Shevat (Tu bi-Shevat) has a somewhat festive character: fasting ans eulogies are forbidden but no special prayers are obligatory. For daily prayers a distinction is made between summer and winter.[5]

Under special circumstances, e.g. extreme drought or rain, pests or epidemics, a community can call for a special local communal fast day with its own ceremonies. Any individual may take upon himself a special private fast day provided they are not days when fasting is explicitly forbidden.[6] Some generally accepted traditional prayers for both kinds of fasts may be included in books with the daily prayers. In the mystical tradition groups of individuals fast on the eve of Rosh Chodesh. The prayers for these fasts are included in the class of voluntary prayers as *Tikun*.

12.2 THE CONSTRUCTION OF OBLIGATORY JEWISH PRAYER

The Torah obliges all Jews, male and female alike, to say the *Shemah*[7] every evening and morning.[8] As explained on p. 28, male Jews from the age of 13 are also obliged by the Sages to pray three times a day. These obligatory prayers in the morning and in the evening are recited after the *Shemah* and its preceding and following berakhot as prescribed by the Sages. The prayer that was instituted by the Sages is a collection of berakhot and has to be said while standing and is therefore called *Amidah*.[9]

The initial and final three berakhot of the *Amidah* are always the same. On weekdays 13 other berakhot are inserted between them, bringing the count to 19 berakhot[10] which are known by the following names:

[4] In a leap year 13 Adar 2.

[5] The subject will be dealt with in more depth in chapter 13.

[6] E.g. Shabbat (except when Yom Kippur happens to fall on Shabbat), a Festival or Rosh Chodesh.

[7] Deut, 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Numeri 15: 37-41. Kimelman, 2001.

[8] The Jewish day starts at night.

[9] Meaning *what is said standing*. See on the Amidah Ehrlich, 2013; Finkelstein, 1925; Luger, 2001. Ehrlich, 2005 argues for the existence of an early standard text. For the non-verbal aspects of Jewish prayer see Ehrlich, 2004.

[10] Originally the number was 12, bringing the total to 18 (in Hebrew *Shemona esrei*), but later the rabbis added another blessing against heretics and sectarians. Cf. Marmorstein, 1943-1944, discussing an early version which is represented in Greek manuscript fragments; Van der Horst and Newman, 2008.

1 *Avot* (Patriarchs). Being their descendants, the Jews pray in their tradition.
2 *Gevurot ha-Shem*. Singing the wonders performed by the Creator, the addressee of prayer.[11]
3 *Kedushat ha-Shem*. The Holiness of the Creator.
4 *Da'at* (Understanding). Man has been given the capacity to distinguish and understand.
5 *Teshuvah* (Repentance). Man is able to repent after acknowledging his sins.
6 *Selichah* (Forgiveness). Whoever repents will be forgiven.
7 *Geulah* (Redemption). The Jewish people will eventually be delivered from oppression.
8 *Refuah* (Healing). Asking to be healed from all diseases.
9 *Birkat ha-shanim* (berakhah of the seasons). Asking for the appropriate seasonal climate.
10 *Kibbutz galuyyot* (Gathering of the dispersed). Asking for the end of the Jewish diaspora.
11 *Hashavat ha-Mishpat* (Restitution of Torah Law). Asking for the legal system of the Torah.
12 *Birkat ha-minim* (Cursing the heretics and sectarians). As they disrupt unity among the Jewish people.[12]
13 *Al ha Tsaddikim* (berakhah for the righteous). The righteous through their merits are beneficial to Jewry.
14 *Binyan Jerusalem* (Rebuilding Jerusalem). Asking for the return of the Divine Presence to Jerusalem.
15 *Messiah ben David*. Asking to reinstate a descendant of David as the Jewish King according to the stipulations of the Torah.
16 *Shome'a tefillah* (Hearing our prayers). Asking for Divine attention to our prayers.
17 *Avodah* (Acceptance of Jewish prayer). Asking that all Jewish prayers may be accepted.
18 *Hoda'ah* (Thanksgiving). We thank our Creator for giving us life and for preserving the Jewish people through the ages, hardship and persecution notwithstanding.
19 *Birkat Shalom* (Request for peace). After the preceding berakhot we dare to ask for peace.

On Shabbat and Festivals only one additional berakhah (called Kedushat ha-yom, expressing the special holiness of the day) is inserted,[13] bringing the total to seven berakhot. On Rosh Ha-Shanah[14] the Musaph service contains three specific additions, the first of which, Malkhuyot (Kingship),[15] is inserted in the Kedushat ha-yom. This is followed by two additional berakhot, Zikhronot[16] and Shofarot,[17] bringing the total to nine.

The Sages deemed it improper to appear before the throne of the Almighty and immediately ask for any necessities. They devised introductions to prayer, as well as final elements so that anyone who prays only 'leaves' the Divine Presence after having taken leave in a respectful way. As the recitation of the Shemah in the morning and evening is prescribed by the Torah and prayer is only a rabbinical obligation, the Shemah, including the initial and final berakhot, is given priority and so precedes the Amidah.

It is necessary to prepare oneself in order to say Shemah and Amidah not only to fulfil the obligations, but also to recite them with the right and full intention. As a result, they are preceded in the Morning Prayer by morning berakhot, a number of biblical texts and parts from early

[11] On this and the following two blessings, see Ehrlich, 2005.
[12] See: Langer, 2012; Teppler, 2007. This blessing has been often changed as a result of censorship.
[13] In *Musaph* it includes the description of the additional offering that had to be brought in the Temple on that day.
[14] Originally this was also the case on Yom Kippur, but this practice was already abandoned in early times.
[15] A portion is added to this blessing on Rosh ha-Shanah in the *Musaph* prayer called *Malkhuyot* or *Malkhiyot*, singing the praise of the King of Kings.
[16] Meaning *remembrance*, containing biblical verses that show how the Creator always remembers the merits of earlier generations which intercede to give forgiveness to anyone repenting.
[17] Tones of the shofar or ram's horn, as the biblical verses preceding this blessing mention the tones of the *shofar*, calling upon us to repent our sins.

rabbinic literature,[18] followed by Psalms and other biblical texts that will be described later in this chapter. It is advised, but not obligatory, to pray in a community, whereas the morning berakhot are a private obligation, intended to be said in private. As a result, not all prayer books include them in the synagogue service.

The Amidah in all daily prayers is followed by other prayers and texts depending amongst others on the specific day, e.g. weekdays, Shabbat, Festivals or Penitential Days. On Mondays and Thursdays special penitential prayers[19] are inserted and a portion of the Torah is read in synagogue service. The penitential prayers are omitted under special circumstances, e.g. in the presence of a bridegroom or in the presence of a father or his representative on the day his new-born son is circumcised, but also in the house of a mourner. These penitential prayers are also said (or omitted) after the Amidah of the afternoon prayer on weekdays.[20]

Every service is concluded by the Aleinu prayer[21] consisting of two parts, the second of which is said by the Western Sephardim only in the Musaph prayer on Rosh Ha-Shanah.[22] On days that the Morning Prayer is followed by Musaph, Aleinu is said only at the end of Musaph.

Many minor variants are to be found at the beginning and end of various prayers and liturgical poems or on special days. These should be researched separately, however, as they represent local and regional custom only.

12.3 TERMINOLOGY AND OTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ASHKENAZIM AND SEPHARDIM

Any differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi terminology that surpass the titles of individual as well as of sets of prayer books never fail to muddle the minds of researchers, bibliographers, descriptive and subject cataloguers. The following table is intended as a non-exhaustive reference tool to unravel the terminology in prayer books and synagogue liturgy. The parts of prayers as mentioned in the table will be explained in the next section of this research.

12.3.1 NAMES OF PARTS OF PRAYER

Ashkenazi rite	**Sephardi rite**
Does not exist	Bakashot
Birkot ha-Shachar	Birkot ha-Shachar
Pesukei dezimra	Zemirot[23]
Shemah	Shemah
Amidah	Amidah
Kaddish	Kaddish
Half Kaddish	Kaddish le'eilah
Kaddish Titkabal	Kaddish Titkabal
Whole Kaddish	Kaddish yehei shemei[24]

[18] One of these is the so-called Baraita of Rabbi Ishmael, to be found at the beginning of the halakhic midrash Sifra on Leviticus, containing 13 hermeneutical rules, see Cohen, 2008.

[19] This part is called Tachanun by the Ashkenazim and Techinot by the Sephardim. They technically belong to the class of *Selichot* but are never printed separately or included in the collections for the Days of Repentance. The same is the case with the many *Selichot* that are part of the Yom Kippur services (see chapter 14).

[20] They are also omitted in the afternoon before Shabbat, festivals and other special days.

[21] Langer, 2011.

[22] Originally this prayer was intended especially for Rosh ha-Shanah and was later also included in the Yom Kippur prayer. Afterwards it became part of the daily prayers, its contents varying due to censorship, sometimes even self-censorship to avoid anti-Jewish sentiment. On censorship of Aleinu see Langer, 2011.

[23] Ashkenazi term for songs after meals on Shabbat and Holidays, mostly called Pizmonim by Sephardim.

[24] In the Rite of Rome it is called Kaddish *gamur* (*complete* Kaddish).

Kaddish Yatom	Kaddish le Abelim
Kaddish de-Rabbanan	Kaddish de-Rabbanan
'The Great Kaddish' (*de-hu atid*)	Kaddish de-hu atid lechadata

12.3.2 TAKING OUT, READING AND RETURNING THE SEFER TORAH LITURGY[25]

Ashkenazi rite	**Amsterdam Sephardi rite**
Hotsa'ah we hachnasah (*Opening and closing the Ark, Taking out and replacing the Sefer*)	Abrira (*Opening and closing the Ark*)
No separate function	Levarare (*Taking out and replacing the Sefer*)
Does not exist	Accompañare (*Accompanying the Sefer*)
Hagba'ah	Levantare
Ets Haim, Gelilah	(Des)faixerare
Sidrah, Parashah	Parashah
Haftarah	Haftarah
Does not exist	Samuch (*called up penultimate*)[26]
Does not exist	Mashlim (*called last for the obligatory reading*)
Acharon (*additional to the obligatory 7)*	*Does not exist*
Minchah	Minchah
Ma'ariv	Arbit

12.3.3 SYNAGOGUE TERMINOLOGY

Ashkenazi rite	**Amsterdam Sephardi rite**
Synagogue, Shul	Synagoga, Esnoga, Snoge
Aron (ha-Kodesh)	Hechal
Amud[27]	*Does not exist*
Bimah, Almemmor	Tebah[28]
Duchan[29]	Duchan

[25] See Langer, 2005b. The blessings for those who are called for the Torah are not printed in the early prayer books. For that subject and various blessings before returning the Scrolls, see Yaari, 1957-1958.

[26] To be distinguished from the two important members of the community who flank the chazzan during the High Holidays services and are called semuchim. Ashkenazim call the person who stands to correct mistakes rhat may be made by the reader of the Torah '*standing samuch*'.

[27] A pulpit for the chazzan who is leading communal prayer facing the Aron, like the community. In Western Sephardi liturgy the chazzan stands on the Tebah.

[28] In the Talmud the term Tebah refers to a chest in which a Torah Scroll was placed; this scroll could be read in the synagogue but was also taken out to the public domain, especially on public fasts. During the Middle Ages a special, elevated space was reserved at the Eastern wall of the synagogue where all the scrolls of the community were kept. Ashkenazim call this fixed repository Aron (ha-Kodesh), Sephardim refer to it as Heikhal. In Ashkenazi and Eastern Sephardi synagogues it is closed with doors which have an often elaborately embellished curtain in front, which is called *Parochet*. In Western Sephardi synagogues there is no parochet but the doors of the Heikhal are made of precious wood or embellished by wooden ornaments; they may also be coloured or gilt.

[29] The elevated space before the Aron/Heikhal where the Priests bless the community on prescribed occasions. In Western Sephardi terminology the term Duchan is also used for the Priestly Benediction itself. The Dutch Ashkenazi Jews use the verb duchenen.

12.3.4 NAMES OF TORAH ORNAMENTS

Ashkenazi rite	**Amsterdam Sephardi rite**
Yad[30]	Ponteiro
Mappah[31]	Feixa
Matlit or Matles[32]	Sandal
Rimonim[33]	Rimonim

12.4 CONCLUSION

A closer examination shows that the main differences between western Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites are incidental as they are chiefly restricted to details. The order of elements may be different, e.g. in the morning blessings and the place of Baruch she-Amar, but there are no really substantial differences between these elements themselves. All those rooted in one tradition and afterwards encountering another one, will be easily baffled by such details. An insight into the structure of the prayers and parts of the liturgy will help to discern the common pattern and may also provide cataloguers with some information in case a book in hand lacks a title page.

Two liturgical elements of Dutch Jewish traditions deserve further research:

1. When and why was the 'fifth blessing' excluded from the Portuguese[34] evening prayer on weekdays;
2. What caused the change in the verses that were said by Ashkenazim and Sephardim when the Sefer Torah is taken out of the Ark on weekdays, Shabbat and Festivals and is it possible to discern a pattern in the process.

Both changes are witnessed by the prayer books that were printed in Amsterdam sometime after the 17th century.

Finally, as I have mentioned earlier (p. 101 ff.), the *ha-Noten Teshu'ah* prayer as is found in the Sephardi prayer books that were printed after 1663 raises the question if and in how far Dutch secular authorities enforced on the Jewish community their proclamation of 1663 concerning the order in which the official authorities had to be mentioned in the churches.

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[30] Pointer, mostly ending in the form of a hand with a pointing index finger. The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam use a ponteiro without a chain to attach the ponteiro to the Scroll, as they put it between the windings of the feixa. Therefore they either order the pointer without a chain or remove it when one with a chain is donated.

[31] A strip of fabric, often embroidered and used to fixate the Scroll.

[32] A piece of silk or other delicate fabric to cover the back of the parchment of the Tora Scroll as it is read.

[33] Finials, sometimes one crown. In Western Sephardi practice, two pairs are used, one adorning the Scroll as it stands in the Heikhal and is taken to or returned from the Tebah, and the other as it is elevated and shown to the community before the reading starts. The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam do not use silver shields to adorn the Scrolls, with the exception of Rosh Chodesh, New Moon's Day when a shield is used that was donated by Jacob Tirado and his wife Rachel to the community Bet Jacob in 1606 (illustration 6).

[34] It was also part of Sephardi rite that was printed in Venice and Ferrara in the 16th century but is excluded from the Eastern Sephardi rite.

Chapter 13
SOME ELEMENTS THAT ARE DIFFERENT IN ASHKENAZI AND SEPHARDI LITURGICAL RITES

The purpose of this chapter is to assist non-specialist users and book professionals, who are often baffled by differences in terminology, synonyms and ceremonies which they encounter in the early printed Jewish prayer books, including the early modern Amsterdam editions. It is necessary to be aware of the use of homonyms, terms that mean one thing in Ashkenazi but something different in Sephardi terminology. The differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew[1] are mostly disregarded, as are some textual variants that are not considered to be distinctive, including those in Romanised headings, rubrics and translations. The most important distinctive differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands will be discussed in the following paragraphs in the order in which they generally appear in the prayer books, beginning with the Morning Prayer.

Previous authors sometimes attributed unexpected prayer components in a printed work to a 'printer's error', as happened with the repetition of the Amidah on Friday night in the 1552 Ferrara Oraçiones de Mes.[2] Because this repetition is also a feature of the 1612 Amsterdam edition of the Festival Prayers, it will be discussed again here, illustrating the need to take into account relevant halakhic literature to explain precedent, especially when, as in this case, the practice may later have been discontinued. A caveat: throughout the centuries, commentators as well as halakhic authorities have expressed their opinions on certain elements of prayer and their wording, which may have been passed down by later authors. Nevertheless they have often been disregarded by later editors and publishers. It must in this respect be borne in mind that it has always been the publishers' aim to serve a market as large as possible. In general, the question to ask is whether it is possible, as far as the elements discussed here are concerned, to establish a taxonomy of the early modern editions that were published in the Northern Netherlands and whether the reception of Kabbalah has left its traces in the books containing obligatory prayers. The following subjects will be discussed in this chapter:

Bakashot
Kaddish
Verses said when entering the synagogue
Morning benedictions
Initial Psalms
Or Chadash
Kedushah in the Morning and Musaph prayers
Amidah prayer and the seasons in the Jewish calendar
Weekday evening prayer
Friday night prayer
Shabbat afternoon
Prayer for King and Government

13.1 BAKASHOT, BAKASOT OR BAQASHOT

A collection of supplications, songs, and prayers recited from midnight until dawn on Shabbat, exclusively included in Sephardi prayer books, mostly at the beginning.[3] The tradition of the Bakashot originated in Spain and later spread throughout the Middle East where they were usually recited during the weeks of winter, when the nights are long. This tradition is kept alive in a slightly different way in Jerusalem and in some New York communities where they are said either on Shabbat morning or in the afternoon. The main themes are: the love of God, the

[1] E.g *the gefen – gafen* controversy that has been mentioned on p. 10 note 87.
[2] See the example from the Friday night service p. 195f.
[3] They may also occur in the Shabbat prayers, either after the Friday night service or following the Shabbat afternoon prayer.

holiness and importance of Shabbat, and the love of the Jewish people for Israel.[4] Bakashah (plural Bakashot) literally means request or prayer, although neither meaning is really covered by the texts, so that it is understandable that in more recent editions, a.o. in Amsterdam, they are titled Shirim (Songs).

The number of Bakashot in various editions of the early printed Sephardi prayer book differs, as was mentioned already in my evaluation of the 1519-1555 editions in Italy, and it is impossible to explain these differences without extensive additional research.[5] They are not part of the regular synagogue services and the contents are as yet not indicative of a certain *minhag*. To assist future research, however, it is important to list the Bakashot as they appear in the various editions of the prayer book which is done in my digital analytic lists but are excluded from my records in this study.[6] An indication that the Bakashot were said outside the context of the regular synagogue service and so constituted a separate service is presented in those editions that close this section with a Kaddish, which is a normal closure of a certain part of prayer as will be explained.

13.2 KADDISH

A very old prayer in Aramaic, already indicated in the Talmud.[7] It is only said in a quorum of at least 10 adult males and often marks the end of a portion of prayers or the reading of the Torah.[8] Sometimes the early editions of prayer books indicate when and which form of Kaddish[9] is said, but in other editions no indication is given.[10]

Half Kaddish (A) or Kaddish le'eilah (S) is said at the end of a part of the synagogue liturgy and after the reading of the Torah.[11] Whole Kaddish (A) or Kaddish yehei shemei (S) is said by the chazzan at the end of a service or by mourners[12] after certain parts of the prayer, according to

[4] Information from the Sephardi Hazzanut Project: http://www.Sephardihazzanut.com.

[5] This disproves Goldschmidt's statement: "A number of Bakashot found at the beginning of the Sephardi prayer books from the 17th century onward …" (Goldschmidt, 1972, vol. 4, col. 116).

[6] Leoni, 2003, pp. 102-103 erroneously states that the Hebrew source of the Bakasha חשתי ולא התמהמהתי, which is titled Pizmon is unknown, apparently basing himself on the term used in the table of contents on fol. 252 where it is called Pizmon Nuevo. In fact it is already included in the Hebrew prayer book, printed by Cornelio Adelkind on the press of Daniel Bomberg, Venice 1524(=1544). I want to thank Mrs. Marguerite Samama for her help in clarifying the Italian of Leoni's article.

[7] E.g. BT Shabbat 3a. See also the comment of Tosafot on this Talmud text.

[8] De Sola Pool, 1964; Lehnardt, 2002; Reif, 1993 pp. 207-255.

[9] See the table with liturgical terms (p. 184f.). Generally the full text is said at the end of one of the main prayers. After the recitation of the Amidah by the chazzan, a special line is added in the middle. After the reading of a section from Mishnah or Talmud a special paragraph is inserted. The first part of the prayer is used to distinguish between other parts of the prayer service. A special, extended text is used in the burial ceremonies and after finishing the study of a tractate of the Mishnah or Talmud.

[10] When a term is specific for Ashkenazim or Sephardim this is indicated by (A) and (S) and reflects the terminology in the editions that are included in this study.

[11] When Ashkenazim read from more than one Scroll, Half Kaddish is said only after the reading from the last Scroll. The Sephardim say Kaddish le'eilah preceding and following the reading from the second Scroll. In case one has to read from three Scrolls, this Kaddish is said preceding and following the reading from the third Scroll.

[12] Kaddish Yatom or Kaddish le Abelim. On death, burial and mourning, see Reif, 2014.

local custom or the rules for the order of synagogue service. The Sephardi version of Kaddish is easily recognised by the additions in the first[13] and penultimate[14] paragraphs.[15]

After every Amidah the chazzan says Kaddish Titkabal, which has the same text as Whole Kaddish but includes the request, before the two final paragraphs, that the community's prayer may be accepted. After reading a portion from Mishnah or Talmud, that request is changed for a request to bless the study of rabbinical tradition and this version is called Kaddish de-Rabbanan. The so-called Great Kaddish or Kaddish de-hu atid lechadata[16] is said after burials, after completing the study of a tractate of Mishnah or Talmud and in the Sephardi liturgy on 9 Av concluding the evening prayer and after the Amidah in the Morning Prayer. Also in this Kaddish Ashkenazim and Sephardim use somewhat variant Aramaic texts.

13.3 VERSES SAID WHEN ENTERING THE SYNAGOGUE

Upon entering the synagogue people recite Numeri 24: 5 and Psalm 5: 8 but as the first verse is a quote from Balaam's blessing, a man with a bad reputation in Jewish tradition, that verse is often omitted as is the case in the early printed Sephardi prayer books but during the 17th century it gradually becomes common in the Amsterdam Sephardi editions. The absence or presence of this verse is, however, no criterion for a certain rite or binding custom.[17]

The Sephardim say Psalm 5: 9 on leaving the synagogue. Although these verses may be printed at the beginning and the end of the morning prayers, they can be found in other editions at the end of the prayer book with the benedictions or at the beginning and end of all the daily prayers. This, too, is not indicative of a specific liturgical rite.

13.4 BIRKOT HA-SHACHAR, MORNING BENEDICTIONS

A number of berakhot and prayers is to be said at awakening, rising from the bed and dressing. Halakhic literature shows interesting differences of opinion regarding the classification of these benedictions which, according to the Talmud, lack a prescribed number and order. Mostly they are considered to be benedictions of thanksgiving to the Creator who preserved us during the night. Maimonides, however, clearly interprets them as benedictions preceding an act as opening our eyes, putting on clothes, covering our head, etc. His opinion, however, is not followed by the authors of later main codices.[18] The exact order and number of these benedictions is still not clearly fixed in the Sephardi prayer books of the 16th and 17th centuries. The subject has been widely covered by a number of recent authors on Jewish liturgy.[19]

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[13] "Weyatsmach purkanei wikarev Meshichei" (Who lets flower His salvation and brings near His anointed). See for the difference with the addition in the Romaniot rite my remark on p. 178.

[14] "Wesava wishua …" (abundance, salvation and solace …), this is added in the Sephardi rite only, not in Nusach Sfard.

[15] Chasidic rite (nusach Sfard or Sefarad [sic!]), also known as nusach ha-Ari z.l., introduced some Sephardi elements in the mainly Ashkenazi rite, e.g. in the first paragraph of the Kaddish and the order of the Pesukei de Zimra. One should therefore carefully examine other variants in the prayers that distinguish between Sephardi and Chasidic Rites.

[16] See Danzig, 2002.

[17] It is quite clear why the lintel over the entrance to the great Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam is adorned with the first half of Ps. 5: 8 in Hebrew. The characters of the penultimate word and the initial of the last word form the name of the synagogue's initiator, Chacham Isaac Aboab.

[18] R. Asher (*The Rosh*), Arba'ah Turim, Beit Joseph and Shulchan Arukh.

[19] E.g. Hoffman, 2005, pp. 127-134; Langer, 1998, pp. 47, 94-96, 103-104. Sperber, 2010, passim.

Three of the morning berakhot start with the words 'Who has not created me.'[20] In Ashkenazi practice they are said at the beginning of the morning berakhot, whereas the Sephardim say them at the end of these berakhot. Still, no uniformity appears to exist within any liturgical rite.[21] In Sephardi practice the berakhah 'Who clothes the naked' is often absent, as is very rarely the case with the berakhah 'Who gives strength to the weary'. The morning berakhot are primarily obligatory for the individual, and so are technically not part of the synagogue liturgy proper. However, it became a custom in many communities to repeat them or even only say them as the opening of the communal Morning Prayer, whereas many others refrain from saying them in the synagogue. This explains the lack of uniformity in the positioning of these berakhot in the various editions of the prayer book. The Morning Prayer on weekdays is always said wearing tallit[22] (a prayer shawl) and tefillin (phylacteries). In the synagogue, local custom dictates the moment this is done, either when entering the synagogue, after the morning berakhot or before the morning Psalms are said. These differences explain why these ceremonies and the accompanying berakhot are not always included in the prayer books or why they are positioned in different places.

These berakhot are followed in both rites by texts relating to the Patriarchs and the offerings in the Temple. A number of these texts was gradually added later as can be seen in subsequent editions. This part is closed by reciting Kaddish.

13.5 PESUKEI DE ZIMRA[23] OR ZEMIROT[24]

A collection of Psalms and other biblical verses precede the Morning Prayer proper and are 'crowned' by the berakhah of the Song, Yishtabach. The following table shows the differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions.[25]

Ashkenazim	**Sephardim**
Barukh she-amar	
Biblical verses:	Biblical verses:
I Chronicles 16: 8-36	I Chronicles 16: 8-36
Ps. 99: 5	Ps. 99: 5
Ps. 99: 9	Ps. 99: 9
Ps. 78: 38	Ps. 78: 38
Ps. 40: 12	Ps. 40: 12
Ps. 25: 6	Ps. 25: 6
Ps. 68: 35-36	Ps. 68: 35-36
Ps. 94: 11	Ps. 94: 11
Ps. 94: 2	Ps. 94: 2
Ps. 3: 9	Ps. 3: 9
Ps. 46: 8	Ps. 46: 8
Ps. 84: 13	Ps. 84: 13
Ps. 20: 10	Ps. 20: 10

[20] A slave, Gentile or woman. In a bid to be rid of an allegedly anti-feminine blessing, some rabbis want to reserve all these morning berakhot for the private prayers that are said at home. Cf. Sperber, 2010, with the literature and sources mentioned. Sperber's position has been heavily criticised.

[21] None of the early printed prayer books contain the *Modeh ani* formula which has become generally accepted since the rising influence of Chassidism and precedes the first washing of the hands.

[22] Not so in certain Ashkenazi circles, especially the Chasidic communities, where only married men wear a tallit.

[23] Weinfeld, 1975-1976. Ashkenazi term. The Ashkenazim use the term Zemirot to indicate a collection of songs to be used after the Shabbat meals.

[24] Sephardi term.

[25] The table is established from the editions that have been studied and analysed in my research.

Ps. 28: 9
Ps. 33: 20-22
Ps. 85: 8
Ps. 44: 27
Ps. 123: 11
Ps. 144: 15
Ps. 13: 6

Psalm 100 (*not on special days*)

Ps. 19 *on Shabbat and festivals*

Ps. 34 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 90 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 91 *on Shabbat and festivals*

Ps. 135 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 136 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 33 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 92 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 93 *on Shabbat and festivals*

Biblical verses:
Ps. 104: 31
Ps. 113: 2-4
Ps. 135: 13
Ps. 103: 19
I Chronicles 16: 31
Ps. 10: 16
Ps. 33: 1
Eccl. 19: 21
Ps. 33: 11
Ps. 33: 9
Ps. 132: 13
Ps. 135: 4
Ps. 94: 14
Ps. 78: 38
Ps. 20: 10
Ps. 84: 5
Ps. 144: 15
Ps. 145-150
Ps. 89: 53
Ps. 135: 21
Ps. 72: 18-19
I Chronicles 29: 10-13

Ps. 28: 9
Ps. 33: 20-22
Ps. 85: 8
Ps. 44: 27
Ps. 81: 11
Ps. 144: 15
Ps. 13: 6
Ps. 30
Ps. 103[26]
Hashem Melech
Ps. 19 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 33 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 34 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 90 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 91 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 98 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 121 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 122 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 123 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 124 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 135 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 136 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Barukh she-amar
Ps. 92 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 93 *on Shabbat and festivals*
Ps. 100 (*not on special days*)
Biblical verses:
Ps. 104: 31
Ps. 113: 2-4
Ps. 135: 13
Ps. 103: 19
I Chronicles 16: 31
Ps. 10: 16
Ps. 33: 1
Eccl. 19: 21
Ps. 33: 11
Ps. 33: 9
Ps. 132: 13
Ps. 135: 4
Ps. 94: 14
Ps. 78: 38
Ps. 20: 10
Ps. 84: 5
Ps. 144: 15
Ps. 145-150
Ps. 89: 53
Ps. 135: 21
Ps. 72: 18-19
I Chronicles 29: 10-13

[26] Not included in the early editions.

Nehemiah 9: 6-11	Nehemiah 9: 5b-11
Ex. 14: 30-15: 18[27]	Ex. 14: 30-15: 18
Ps. 22: 29	Ps. 22: 29
Obadiah 1: 21	Obadiah 1: 21
Zech. 14: 9	Zech. 14: 9
Deut. 6: 4	Deut. 6: 4
Yishtabach	Yishtabach

Both in Barukh she-Amar and in Yishtabach the same term חיי העולמים is included. Ashkenazim pronounce this *Chei ha-Olamim* (You Sole Living One of all times),[28] whereas the Sephardim pronounce *Chai ha-Olamim* (The Living One for always). This difference is not purely of a grammatical nature: the Ashkenazi pronunciation follows the usual status constructus, whereas the Sephardi pronunciation[29] represents the status absolutus. Sephardi sources traditionally explain that the Ashkenazi pronunciation in this case is fitting where human life is concerned, but in this case the prayer refers to the Life of the Eternal One, which is incomparable to human finite life, a fact which is fundamentally expressed by the Sephardi pronunciation.[30] As proof for this view authors like to refer to a statement by Maimonides[31] which, to be honest, is purely theological and does not pronounce on this specific formula in daily prayer.

13.6 OR CHADASH

The first benediction preceding the Shemah in the morning in the Ashkenazi rite and Nusach Sfard before the final eulogy ends with the words 'Or chadash', asking that a new light may soon shine over Zion and that we may soon enjoy it. It was strongly opposed by R. Saadiah Gaon as he interpreted it as a new, and therefore forbidden addition to the berakhah. It is excluded from Sephardi prayer.[32]

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[27] The "Song at the Red Sea".

[28] Translation: The Hirsch Siddur, Jerusalem & New York, 1978, new, thoroughly corrected edition, p. 47. On p. 103 the translation of the same expression changes to: the Life of all times. On Samson Raphael Hirsch, see Rosenbloom, 1976.

[29] Also in the East Sephardi communities.

[30] One should not underestimate the emotional importance of these differences in the traditional pronunciations; the printed editions of the Sephardi prayer book show no uniformity. However, some conceive this type of variants as deviations of generally accepted and so holy tradition, and the reactions can be correspondingly fierce. A recent example is the publication of a number of editions by the Rav Matzliach Mazuz Institute, Bene Berak, 1986 for which the editors tried to present a carefully revised text, in accordance with both grammatical rules and the Tunisian tradition. Although the works were published with the approbations of some outstanding Sephardi and Ashkenazi Rabbis, it was vehemently attacked in a rare, anonymous pamphlet *Le-Choshvei Shemo*, republished in 2004 with many additions as *Kovets li-Gedor Perets* which is equally rare (a copy is available in the NLI, S 2008A6898). The last page contains a "partial list of changes in the *Siddur hameduyak* (meaning the precise prayer book!) which clearly contradict what is accepted in all Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities" [sic!]; example 17 refers to the reading *chei* instead of *chai*. See also Sperber, 2010, pp. 168-173. Comparable is the difference between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in the case of *melekh* versus *molekh* in the High Holidays prayers, as is indicated by Berger, 2019 pp. 207-209.

[31] Mishneh Tora, Mada, Yesodei ha-Torah 1: 11. In the sublinear vocalisation system of Hebrew the vowel in *chei* is represented by two dots, in *chai* by a horizontal narrow line. It may be argued that the variant is caused by a mistake in reading or writing, but in this case the research of vocalised prayer manuscripts from before the invention of printing is the only way of identifying its earliest occurrence. This case clearly differs from other variants in pronunciation between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, e.g. gefen – gafen, geshem - gashem as these go back to different theories on the occurrence or absence of *pausa* vocalisation in post-biblical Hebrew, already mentioned on p. 10, note 87 and p. 187, note 1.

[32] See Hoffman, 2005, pp. 25-30 and passim.

13.7 KEDUSHAH IN THE MORNING, MUSAPH AND AFTERNOON PRAYERS

The chazzan repeats the Amidah of the morning, Musaph, afternoon and Ne'ilah prayers when they are said in a quorum of at least 10 males of 13 or older after the participants said them silently. In the repetition the third berakhah (Kedushat ha-Shem) is extended and said alternately by chazzan and community. [33] The Ashkenazim open on weekdays in the morning and in the afternoon with the Hebrew words Nekadesh et Shimkha, whereas Sephardim and Nusach Sfard recite the Aramaic text Nakdishakh we na'aritsakh. In the morning prayer of Shabbat, the Sephardim have the same text as on weekdays, but the Ashkenazim have an extended text. Nusach Sfard starts like the Sephardim, but after the threefold Holy (Isaiah 6: 3) their Kedushah follows the Ashkenazi text. The Musaph Kedushah in the Sephardi rite and Nusach Sfard always start with the word Keter (crown).[34] Ashkenazim say at the end of the Kedushah *ledor wador*, the Sephardim *Ata Kadosh*.

13.8 AMIDAH PRAYER AND THE SEASONS IN THE JEWISH CALENDAR

The Jewish calendar has four seasons called tekufot. The term more precisely denotes a certain 'position of the sun': tekufat Nissan (spring) denotes the vernal equinoctial point, tekufat Tammuz coincides with the summer solstice, tekufat Tishrei with the autumnal equinox and tekufat Tevet with the winter solstice. The intricacies of tekufot and intercalation have to remain outside this research, with the exception of an indication of the differences they create in the prayer book.

Tekufat Nissan falls on the first day of Pesach, so that the reference to rain from the Musaph Prayer onwards during the winter in the second berakhah (Gevurot ha-Shem) of the Amidah is omitted. In the summer the Sephardim[35] (in Israel also the Ashkenazim) here refer to the dew instead. This can be indicated by the words 'in summer' and 'in winter', but many Ashkenazi prayer books read 'between Pesach and Shemini Atseret' respectively 'between Shemini Atseret and Pesach'.

The difference between Ashkenazim and Sephardim becomes substantial in the ninth benediction (Birkat ha-shanim) where the former, as well as Nusach Sfard only feature a small change in the standard text: in the summer 'and bless the soil' is inserted, whereas in winter this is replaced by 'give dew and rain as a blessing.' The Sephardim on the other hand use a short berakhah in the summer but a much longer one in winter. Preceding these berakhot in the Sephardi editions that were published until the end of the 17th century we may find one of the following indications:
1 'in summer' and 'in winter'
2 'from Pesach till Chanukkah' and 'from Chanukkah till Pesach'
3 'from Pesach till 22 November' and 'from 22 November till Pesach.
The explanation for this difference is offered in Talmudic discussion[36] which proposes various dates to start asking for rain. As rain is a necessary condition for life, one should ask for it in the period it is needed, meaning at the beginning of the autumn in the Near East. The Mishnah designates the third day of Marcheshvan as the date to start, but the opinion of Rabban Gamliel according to whom the Jews living in Israel should wait until the seventh day of Marcheshvan, 15 days after the end of Sukkot, became generally accepted. This is seen as a token of consideration for the pilgrims from abroad who visited the Jerusalem Temple for 'the festival of Tishrei', after the harvest and the collecting of agricultural products. The onset of winter rains might flood parts of their itinerary, blocking their well-deserved safe return. Passing the border of Israel

[33] E.g. BT Berakhot 21b.
[34] Romaniot rite in this respect seems to be closer to Sephardi (Babylonian?) than to Ashkenazi practice.
[35] Also in nusach Sfard.
[36] BT Ta'anit 10a.

brought them to higher grounds, out of danger. However, the Jews who lived abroad themselves would refrain from asking for rain until they reached their homes, which would be at the latest 59 days after tekufat Tishrei. This was not contrary to local conditions, as Mesopotamia consisted of lowlands and had a good water supply throughout the winter. This provision became customary for all Jews living outside of Israel, who therefore began asking for rain from the sixtieth day after tekufat Tishrei[37]. In our time this is on December 4, 5 or 6, as indicated in the official Jewish calendar of a given year. As the current practice of leap years does not completely cover the difference between the solar year and the calendar, the sixtieth day after tekufat Tishrei may even occur on December 7.

The source for the opinion that the winter formula should be said from Chanukkah onwards remains an unanswered question, as no halakhic source has yet been identified. It may represent a minority opinion and might go back to an early tradition, even preceding the Geonic period.[38] The date of November 22, however, refers to the old, Julian calendar and without expert knowledge cannot be exactly reduced to its origin.

When Pope Gregory decided to reform the Julian calendar he ruled that 4 October 1582 would be followed by 15 October to remedy the Julian calendar which by 1582 was ten days behind the solar calendar. It was a long time before most of the Western world fully embraced the Gregorian calendar.[39] Even today Eastern European states that follow Eastern Orthodox Christianity do not accept the Gregorian calendar. The date of 22 November in the Sephardi prayer books printed in the northern Netherlands is an indication of the long-standing rejection of the Gregorian calendar reform by at least part of Western Sephardi Jewry. Although it is common to convert dates from the Julian (Old style) to the Gregorian (New style) calendar by adding 10 days, this apparently cannot be done automatically with dates of the Jewish calendar because of the various ways of intercalation.[40]

13.9 EVENING PRAYER ON WEEKDAYS

In the evening prayer the Shemah is preceded and followed by two berakhot. An old discussion in BT Berakhot 4b was revived by the occurrence in the early editions of the West-Sephardi prayer book of the so-called fifth berakhah of the Shemah in the evening prayers on weekdays. The Talmud here states: 'R. Jochanan said: who will have a part in the hereafter? He who says the Amidah in the evening prayer immediately following the berakhah for redemption. R. Joshua ben Levi objected: but they [i.e. the Sages] instituted additional prayers between both.[41] Why did the Sages ordain the fourth berakhah[42] after the third one ends with the redemption?' The question is finally solved by stating that: 'Hashkiveinu (the fourth berakhah) contains an extension of the description of redemption.' By the time of the Geonim a fifth berakhah had already been introduced that remains a source of fierce debate among the Halakhists.[43] It consists of a long and a short eulogy, the latter starting with a prayer that our eyes may witness and our hearts may enjoy the return of the Heavenly Kingship to Jerusalem for ever. Early modern Western Sephardi

[37] The autumn solstice.

[38] It is excluded from the editions that were printed in the Northern Netherlands and have been seen by me.

[39] In the Northern Netherlands it would take until 1701, when Drenthe was the last province to rule that 30 April would be followed by 12 May.

[40] In the Dutch Republic for a long time documents were dated 'old style' until the last resistance disappeared and 'new style' i.e. Gregorian dates became generally accepted.

[41] The discussion in this case first centres on the exact moment of redemption from Egypt, and only later turns to the situation in the evening prayer.

[42] I.e. Hashkiveinu.

[43] See Sperber, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 26-28. Hoffman, 2005, pp. 72-79.

prayer books contain these eulogies[44] through the 17th century. Since it disappeared from all Sephardi prayer, but in a 1760 Amsterdam edition it is still printed under the caption: 'There are some who say'. To establish the reason of its exclusion from later editions in the Netherlands would require extensive communal archival[45] research. The final Berakhah of the Amidah in the Sephardi rite always starts Sim Shalom, while Ashkenazim replace it in the evening prayer by Shalom Rav.[46]

13.10 FRIDAY NIGHT

Only a few printed Western Sephardi prayer books mention the repetition of the Amidah by the chazzan on Friday night. As this is contrary to general practice, the phenomenon caused some authors to ascribe it to a mistake by the compositor of the 1552 Ferrara vernacular edition.[47] As such a repetition is also included in the 1544 Venice Hebrew prayer book, but also in the 1612 Amsterdam Festival prayers,[48] it is clear that the subject deserves more study, especially in halakhic sources and early manuscripts.[49] As previously explained on the subject of the Kedushah, the Sages ruled that the obligatory prayer by a quorum of at least 10 male adults (13 and older) should first be said by every individual present. Then the chazzan has to repeat it, including the Kedushah, an extension of the third berakhah, expressing the Holiness of the Almighty.

In a discussion in BT Shabbat 24b it is stated that only four prayer services are obligatory: the morning, Musaph, afternoon and Ne'ilah prayers. It is incidentally also mentioned here that on weekdays, even when a minyan is present, the chazzan does not lead the congregation in prayer even on a Holiday. For Friday night the Sages even established the practice that the chazzan could lead the community in prayer and [as is implied] had to add after the Amidah the berakhah me'ein sheva, the berakhah in which the seven berakhot of the Shabbat Amidah are combined in a concise formula, 'to avoid unnecessary danger'. Rashi and other commentators explain that the synagogues of old were situated outside the settlements. During the week people might pray the Morning Prayer in the synagogue, but would return late from work to their homes and therefore evening prayer was not said in the synagogue. On Friday afternoon people returned home in time and came to the synagogue to pray the evening prayer at leisure and therefore did not finish their prayer at the same time. To prevent latecomers from putting themselves at risk by returning home separately, the Sages decided that after the silent individual Amidah the chazzan would

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[44] See the difference between Siddur Koren Avoteinu, p. 313 and Siddur Koren Spanish, pp. 157, 895 and 1021, halakhah 255.

[45] Both from the rabbinates and from the Parnassim. This feature was previously discussed on p. 108.

[46] Also in Minchah when the Torah is not read.

[47] Leoni, 2003, p. 103 remarks: Non sono in grado di stabilire se questo fosse un *minhag* (usanza liturgica) particolare ed a me sconosciuto, o se invece dobbiamo ritenere che si tratti di un errore di stampa. È possibile che il tipografo-compositore abbia copiato le tre prime benedizioni dalla 'Amidah del mattino dimenticandosi di togliere i brani relative alla Kedušah?' He may be somewhat rash in his opinion that this could be due to a compositorial error.

[48] The repetition of the Amidah on Friday night has been recorded by medieval Catalan halakhist Menachem Meiri, (Beit ha-Becdhirah on BT Berakhot 21a) while the repetition on the evening of the Pilgrims' Festivals is now known to be part of the early Palestinian Jewish rite.

[49] The last couple of decades saw an increasing amount of research on liturgical texts from the Cairo Genizah, resulting in a continuous stream of information on early Palestinian and Babylonian Jewish liturgy. Much of this information is published in Hebrew in serial publications and can therefore easily be overlooked by such researchers of the printed prayer book who are not specialized in Genizah studies, as happened with an article by Ezra Fleischer (Fleischer, 1993) on a Genizah fragment of Seder Fustat B, the prayer book of the Palestinian synagogue of Old Cairo, written in the early 13th century, which contains "a paytanic repetition of the Amidah" of the congregational evening prayer on festivals and certain Shabbats. The subject has further been studied in Friedman, 2018a and b.

recite Genesis 2: 1-3 aloud to refer to the Shabbat originating from the Creation, followed by the 'berakhah me'ein sheva'.[50]

It is clearly stated in BT Berakhot 27b that the evening prayer is voluntary, although some Sages ruled the opposite. From this position it is plain that even on Friday night there is no repetition of the Amidah and no saying the Kedushah, as those are restricted to obligatory prayers. Post-Talmudic decisors do not agree on the halakhic status of the evening prayer in our times: even when it was voluntary according to Talmudic authorities, it was generally accepted by the Jewish people in later times and for that reason became obligatory for all, as is also the opinion of Maimonides.[51] However, this obligation does not carry the same force as the one that was ordained by the Sages.[52] The occurrence of the repetition in a few early Italian editions that have been mentioned in chapter 6 may be based on halakhic precedence, which indeed is claimed by Menachem Meiri (1249–c. 1310), a famous Spanish Talmudist and follower of Maimonides.[53] Meiri was at his time a leading decisor, but many parts of his major work, Beit ha-Bechirah*,* were published only relatively recently and his work currently gains a new appreciation after a period of neglect. In his comments on BT Berakhot 21a he writes:[54] 'So the greatest of authors taught that it is forbidden to say a voluntary prayer on Shabbat and Festivals because voluntary offerings could not be slaughtered [in the Temple]. … and the berakhot of the evening prayer … belong to the category of thanksgiving berakhot [and may not be said on behalf of somebody else]. Our custom that somebody who already said his prayer afterwards stands as a chazzan [and repeats the Amidah], although the community is not allowed to pray a voluntary prayer, should be explained from the fact that in this case there is no question of saying a voluntary prayer which is intended to absolve from their obligation those who are insufficiently versed or unable to sufficiently concentrate themselves, like we do on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur even for those who know what to pray. However, as the evening prayer in itself is voluntary, there are some who refuse to accept that somebody who prayed privately [i.e. in silence] can pray again as a chazzan but there are others who give it the same position as the other prayers as in our time it is accepted as obligatory. According to this opinion they also want to say that he only says it loud as, should he say it silently, he would be unable to absolve another one from his obligation [as only he who is under the same obligation can absolve others from that obligation]. From this reasoning can be derived that one says the evening prayers, he says the Shemah with its berakhot as usual, until 'and over all His creatures'.[55] Then he keeps silent until the community finishes the Amidah, [now he says the Amidah loud] and says Kaddish. This practice we witnessed from some experienced chazzanim.'[56] This statement provides a completely acceptable precedent and cannot be seen as the opinion of a single individual decisor.[57] The absence of this practice from later editions of the Jewish prayer book most probably points to the immediate acceptance of the decisions of Joseph ben Ephraim Caro whose Beit Yoseph was printed in 1555, followed by his codex Shulchan Arukh in 1565. The evidence provided by Fleischer and Friedman[58] now clearly shows that this repetition of the Amidah goes back to a Palestinian custom that was not only

[50] For a comprehensive treatment of the subject see Talmudic Encyclopedia (Hebrew), vol. XIV, col. 423 ff. and vol. IV, col. 266-269 quoting the relevant sources.

[51] Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Tefillah, 1: 6. See also Tur OH 235.

[52] Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Tefilah 9: 9: He [.i.e. the chazzan] does not repeat [the Amidah] in the Evening Prayer.

[53] Beit Ha-Bechirah on BT Berakhot 21a.

[54] Translation AWR.

[55] The end of the fifth berakhah as explained in the section on weekday evening prayer.

[56] For a comprehensive treatment of the subject see Talmudic Encyclopedia (Hebrew), vol. XIV, col. 423 ff. and vol. IV, col. 266-269 quoting the relevant sources.

[57] דעת יחיד

[58] See note 48.

mentioned by Meiri, but is also to be found in the writings of Abraham, the son of Moses Maimonides.

13.11 SHABBAT AFTERNOON

There is a tradition in Sephardi communities to say Psalms and biblical verses between the afternoon and evening services at the end of Shabbat. The beginning words of each of these Psalms show an alphabetic order but the early printed Sephardi prayer books show a wide variation in the Psalms that are included. The prayers for the Day of Atonement may contain additional material of this type between the afternoon prayer and *Ne'ilah*. As the time that remains between both prayers differs according to the length of a specific day and the pace set by chazzan and community, it must be assumed that not all that is printed was always said in every community. The differences between the printed versions are insufficient to point to distinctly different customs.[59]

13.12 PRAYER FOR THE KING AND GOVERNMENT

The prayer 'Hanoten Teshu'ah'[60] has been handed down in many variants, starting as a prayer for the Sultan and eventually followed by a long version for the Pope[61]. Already the Mishnaic Sages recommended praying for the authorities: 'Rabbi Chanina, the Assistant of the High Priests, said: Pray for the welfare of the government, for were it not for the fear of it, men would swallow each other alive.'[62] However, on the other hand they warned to be wary of authorities as well: 'Shemaiah says: Love work, hate the holding of high office and do not seek to become intimate with the authorities.'[63] And: '[Rabban Gamliel, the son of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, said:] be cautious with the ruling authorities, for they befriend a man only for their interests; they appear as friends when it is to their advantage but they do not stand by a man in times of distress.'[64]

Early Sephardi editions show the caption Prayer for the King (or: for the Pope). Sometimes the words 'our King' are included in the text, followed by a space, in other cases the text with or without the word 'our' is only followed by a space. Neither Italy in the 16th century, nor the Netherlands in the 17th century had ruling monarchs, an avenue for further research.[65] Israel, 1998, p. 761 mentions a curious discussion on the order of prayers for the government. In March 1663 the States of Holland decided that henceforth the prayer for the States of Holland, 'our lawful, supreme government' must always be recited first among prayers for the public authorities. Next was to come that for the well-being of the States of the other provinces and only third that for the States General.' In the Western Sephardi prayer books the prayer is printed or indicated preceding taking out the Sefer Torah, in Ashkenazi books it follows the Torah reading but no indication is giving in early modern editions on the opening of the Ark for the prayer.

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[59] A strong indication of the freedom of the chazzan to add Psalms, Techinot and Selichot ad libitum is provided by a number of instructions in the Casal Maggiore/Soncino prayer book of 1485-86.

[60] See: Schwartz, 1968; Sarna, 2005; Wallet, 2015. In most communities, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, the prayer is said on Shabbat and Festivals only, but early editions show that there exists a long tradition of reciting the *Hanoten Teshu'ah* on weekdays as well, as is the practice in the Amsterdam Portuguese community where it has eventually become disconnected from the Torah reading as is shown e.g. in Mienchat Dotar. 2015 and Rosenberg, 2017. This, however seems to be a late development which deserves further research.

[61] Cf. the 1739 Amsterdam edition of the Carpentras rite (perhaps a remnant of the papal residence in nearby Avignon?).

[62] Pirkei Avot 3: 2.

[63] Pirkei Avot: 1:10

[64] Pirkei Avot 2: 3 (English translations: Feldheim Publishers, 1978)

[65] No conclusions can be drawn from the occurrence of the prayer or its reference to specific authorities, even with the names added, and the relations these authorities had with their Jewish subjects. For the way Portuguese Jews looked upon their King Manuel, even after the Lisbon massacres, see Yerushalmi, 1976.

In chapter 7 it has been stated that the early modern editions of the Jewish prayer book followed their Ashkenazi and (Western) Sephardi predecessors that had been published elsewhere. The question if a taxonomy of these editions can be established, could not be answered from the elements that have been discussed in this chapter. The special Portuguese terminology which is in use in the Amsterdam Sephardi community is not represented in the early modern printed prayer books and it remains the question if there are parallels of this practice to be found elsewhere, e.g. in Venice or Livorno. Apparently no specific 'national Dutch' prayer customs have been developed in all the elements that have been discussed, with the exception of the names of the authorities that are mentioned in the ha-Noten Teshu'ah prayer, both in Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books. Also the reception of Kabbalah, earlier discussed in chapter 7, did not leave traces in the prayer books containing obligatory prayers, with the exception of Kabalat Shabbat which was accepted in its early rudimentary redaction in the Sephardi prayer book, while it gained its full extend in the Ashkenazi books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands.

13.13 CONCLUSION

Both Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions, as has been extensively illustrated earlier, have a long history and have developed in different cultural contexts, which explains many of the differences found. The different terminology adds to the problems faced by the book professional, and should be taken into account when discussing liturgical issues to prevent any confusion arising from the different languages used. At first sight, most of the issues raised in this chapter may seem to be irrelevant for cataloguing purposes, but when a title page is missing, they may provide clues towards the better identification of a work. They are certainly something to be aware of when describing liturgical issues.

Chapter 14
PIYYUTIM IN BOOKS CONTAINING OBLIGATORY JEWISH PRAYERS

The vast collection of religious Jewish poetry, Piyyutim, has only been incorporated partly and in various combinations in prayer books and had to be excluded from this research as they are originally voluntary. A professional who has to deal with Jewish prayer books often has to deal with fragmentary material which needs to be identified. Such material may contain one or more headings that can provide essential information on the context of the prayer material. Many such titles and headings of Piyyutim may be well-known, but other are often obscure. As reference material is not easily accessible to anyone not well acquainted with the literary genre, which includes many cataloguers and bibliographers, this chapter presents a survey, without claiming to be exhaustive, of the headings that are encountered in the early modern prayer books that are the subject of this study. Ashkenazim and Sephardim may use the same title for Piyyutim that occur in different places in the prayer book. For that reason not only their nomenclature is provided, but also their proper place in Ashkenazi and/or Sephardi liturgy is indicated to enable identification of incomplete 'matter'.

Some prayer books, especially the comprehensive ones, contain Piyyutim which are often headed by traditional titles.[1] Also their traditional nomenclature lacks uniformity and sometimes their place in prayer differs between Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions. This poses a challenge to the uninitiated into the world of the Piyyut, as both book professionals and those who study or research Jewish prayer and liturgy without a proper introduction to the literary class of the Piyyut may encounter the names of some Piyyutim on the titles of some Jewish prayer books. For that reason their nomenclature and specific place in the obligatory prayer of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim of Western Europe are included here as a reference tool. As the complex structure of the Jewish High Holiday prayers and their differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites deserves clarification, this also is provided for reference.

The Jewish prayer book contains poetic elements in which two distinctive classes have to be distinguished: early Piyyut[2] which during the formation of obligatory Jewish prayer became a generally accepted part of certain berakhot, and later liturgical poetry[3] that was intended for special days and often became a distinctive element for certain rites.

The first category originates often in the earliest period of the formulation of obligatory Jewish prayer in Tannaitic times which was rife with esotericism and mysticism, providing a fertile environment for the inclusion of such elements in prayer. Apocalyptic literature became very popular, as well as Heikhalot[4] and Merkavah literature[5] in which the heavenly spheres, the Chariot and the Throne of the Divine Majesty as described in the first chapter of Ezekiel were explored. To ascend to such spheres, the individual had to prepare himself by certain ascetic exercises to become spiritually fit to enter and participate in what Scholem calls 'a celestial liturgy', i.e. the praise of the Almighty by the 'heavenly armies.' Such a preparation seems to be paralleled by a statement in Mishnah Berakhot 5, 1: 'One only stands to pray (i.e. to say the Amidah) in earnest' which is interpreted by the classical commentators as the clearing of one's mind from joy and sorrow and fully concentrate on the praise of the Almighty and asking His assistance in one's needs. The Mishnah continues to tell that earlier pietists used to sit and concentrate for an hour, preceding Morning Prayer. When such concentration is necessary for the Amidah, which was

[1] For a comprehensive guide to the history of Hebrew liturgical poetry, see Fleischer, 2007. See also Van Bekkum, 2001; IDEM, 2008; Van Bekkum and Katsumata, 2011; Fleischer, 2007; Habermann, 1970-1972; Mirsky, 1990; Rand, 2014; Schmelzer, 2006 pp.188-200; Weinberger, 1998; Yahalom, 1999; Zulay, 1995. On Ashkenazi Piyyut, see Meiseles, 1993; Habermann, 1938; IDEM, 1949; Hollender, 2008; Spiegel; 1993.

[2] Spiegel, 1996; Yahalom, 1999.

[3] Cf. Goldschmidt, 1996.

[4] Cf. Münz-Manor, 2013; Rabinowitz, 1967; Schäfer et al., 2013.

[5] See for these classes the works of Gershom Scholem and his school.

instituted by the Sages, how much more should one concentrate before saying the Shemah, ordained by the Torah, in which one accepts Divine sovereignty and commandments?

These ideas and exhortations explain that poetical references to Heikhalot and Merkavah themes became integrated in some early parts of obligatory Jewish prayer and were followed by the Kedushah, the trifold Sanctification in Isaiah 6: 3. Such poetical texts, in fact the earliest Piyyutim, became especially included in the first berakhah of the morning Keriat Shemah and in the Kedushat Hashem, the third berakhah of the Amidah when it is repeated by the chazzan. In this way they became part of obligatory prayer and were not generally recognised as Piyyutim.

In ancient times, before the crystallisation of obligatory prayer the Piyyut may, as Ezra Fleischer stated,[6] have had the intention to replace some of the set versions of prayer, but it gradually became an embellishment of various parts of obligatory prayer, apparently more profusely in Palestine than in Babylonian tradition. As the former is widely considered to be the source of Ashkenazi liturgy, it is understandable that the genre widely flourished in Medieval Ashkenaz. While early Jewish authorities, e.g. Saadiah Gaon and Moses Maimonides, often forbade the insertion of Piyyutim in obligatory berakhot as it is forbidden to change their prescribed ('minted') formulation. Notwithstanding such prohibitions, Piyyutim gradually were welcomed in official liturgy and are considered to be distinctive for certain local or regional liturgical custom. Reciting or singing Piyyutim was originally restricted to the chazzan[7] while the community listened and maybe occasionally answered at the end. After the invention of printing and the resulting introduction of prayer books to the masses, the community was able to participate, e.g. by some form of litany or responsorial. This class of Piyyutim with their special headings became a main field of research from the beginning of Jewish liturgical research in the 19th century.[8]

The headings to the Piyyutim in the printed prayer book mostly refer to their place in obligatory prayer[9] but one should beware of the occasional use of homonyms. The following survey lists the Piyyutim according to the prayers in which they are said, starting with the evening prayer as the Jewish day starts at nightfall.

14.1 MA'ARAVIM, PIYYUTIM INSERTED IN THE EVENING PRAYER.

Ma'ariv mainly consists of the Keriat Shemah,[10] beginning with Barekhu, and the Amidah. Sephardi liturgy always excludes piyyutim from the Keriat Shemah and from the Amidah.[11] When on special days Western Sephardim say a piyyut in the evening, this precedes Barekhu. Ashkenazim say Ma'aravim[12] in the Keriat Shemah on the three Festivals of Pilgrimage, Pesach,[13] Shavuot and Succoth.[14]

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[6] EJ (1971), vol. 1, col. 573.

[7] In halakhic literature the name is Shliach Tsibur, the representative of the community. During the early Middle Ages the distinction between both terms gradually was forgotten, see: Van Bekkum, 1988, p. 17.

[8] Until World War II most literature on the subject was written in German, whereas much of the more recent research has been published in Hebrew.

[9] Headings for prayers and Piyyutim like Pizmon, Peticha, or Mishtageab in the Sephardi prayer books are restricted to the Selichot on the Fast days and on Yom Kippur.

[10] This is the name of the Shemah proper together with its preceding and following berakhot.

[11] With the exception of Tikun ha-Tal and Tikun ha-Geshem as will be explained later.

[12] Sometimes they are erroneously called Ma'arivot.

[13] On the influence of Song of Songs on the Pesach Piyyutim, see Lieber, 2014.

[14] In Western Ashkenaz the insertion of Ma'arivim in the evening services of Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur was discontinued before the period of printing, but the Romanian rite of Balkan Jewry includes Ma'arivim for the evening of Yom Kippur.

The Ma'aravim consist of two poems, the first one consisting of 12 lines, which are inserted two by two into six parts. The second poem is somewhat lengthier.

Preceded by	**Ma'ariv piyyut**	**Followed by**
Asher bidevaro ma'ariv aravim	2 lines	Hama'ariv aravim
Ahavat olam	2 lines	Ohev amo Yisrael
Emet ve Emunah	multiple lines	Beyom teruat keren
	2 lines	Begilah berinah
Mi chamocha	2 lines	Ze Tsur Yish'einu
	2 lines	Hashkiveinu
	2 lines	(Ha)Pores sukkat shalom

14.2 MORNING PRAYER

Part of the piyyutim that are said in Shacharit are named after the berakhot in which they are said. As the Western Sephardim exclude piyyutim from the berakhot, they are only included in the Ashkenazi rite

As most of the prayers preceding the morning Keriat Shema are technically not berakhot, they provide an unopposed opportunity to insert piyyutim. They find their place mainly in the Western Sephardi rite where a piyyut is said on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur preceding Nishmat kol chai and another one, called Ofan[15], preceding Kaddish and Barekhu. On the Shabbat before Purim the Sephardim insert Mi Kamokha (Who is like You), a long piyyut, containing a poetic allegorical condensation of the Esther scroll towards the end of Nishmat, after the quote from Psalm 35: 10 that ends with the same words 'Who is like You?'[16]

14.2.1 PRECEDING BAREKHU

Some early printed Ashkenazi prayer books contain one or two piyyutim preceding Nishmat kol chai or Barekhu on a certain festival.[17]

Piyyutim in the Western Sephardi Morning Prayer		
Preceding	**piyyut**	**Followed by**
The song of the Red See	piyyut	Nishmat kol chai
Melekh Chei/Chai haolamim	Ofan	Kaddish and Barekhu

14.2.2 JOTSEROT, PIYYUTIM INSERTED IN THE ASHKENAZI MORNING KERIAT SHEMAH.

Jotserot[18] are restricted to the Ashkenazi rite and are subdivided into the Jotser proper, Ofan[19] and Zulat. The term Jotser relates to the beginning of the first berakhah of the Shemah: Jotser or … (Who creates light as well as darkness …). This berakhah contains an ancient part, describing in mystical song the praise of all creations, heavenly and on earth, of the Almighty culminating in the quote from Isaiah 6: 3: 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Eternal and His Glory fills all the world.' It is

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[15] The name Ofan is in Ashkenazi rite more fittingly used for the piyyut in the so-called Kedushah of the Keriat Shemah or Kedushah de-Yotser, on the place where normally is spoken of the Ofanim, a class of angels (cf. 14.2.2).

[16] On 'Shabbat Beshallach' the Sephardim add directly at the end of the Song of the Red See (Ex. 15: 1-18) the verses 19-26.

[17] See: Goldschmidt, 1970.

[18] Fleisher, 1984. For Jotserot by R. Saadiah Gaon, see Tobi, 1982; IDEM, 2000; Zulay, 1964. For the Jotserot by Samuel ben Hoshanah, see Yahalom and Katsumata, 2014.

[19] Called so because normally here in the description of the Merkava, the divine throne, is spoken about the praise by Ofanim and 'holy beasts'. The term 'ofan' therefore as used in early Sephardi prayer books for a piyyut preceding Barekhu, without any connection with Ofanim, is in fact incorrect. This is even more so in the case of a dirge on 9 Av, cf. the 1858 edition of the prayers for the Fast Days, p. 92.

known in halakhic literature as 'the Kedushah of the Shemah' or 'Kedushah de-Yotser',[20] as one of three liturgical texts that are called Kedushah. The Kedushah of the Shemah, as said, may contain Jotserot. The term Kedushah is more commonly known in its second, but central position: the extension of the third berakhah in the repetition of the Amidah by the chazzan. Piyyutim to be inserted into this Kedushah proper, will be discussed in the Amidah section. A third kind of Kedushah is called Kedushah de-Sidra[21] and starts with the words 'A Saviour will come for Zion and for the offspring of Jacob who returns from sin.' This Kedushah is always followed by Kaddish and occurs not only at the end of the Morning Prayer, but also elsewhere in synagogue liturgy when a minyan is present. No piyyutim are inserted into the Kedushah de-Sidra.

The Jotser proper follows the first sentence of this berakhah and is preceded by the sentence 'A perpetual light existed in the treasury of life, lights will shine from the dark, He said, and so it happened.'[22] Sometimes a piyyut called Ahavah is inserted into the second berakhah preceding the Shemah. The position of the Ofan, Zulat and Ahavah is indicated in the following table.

Berakhah	**piyyut**	**Followed by**
Jotser or	Jotser (proper)	Hakol joducha
	Ofan	We hachaiot jeshoreru
	Meorah: the continuation of the Ofan	Or chadash
Ahavah rabbah	Ahavah	
Emet weyatsiv	Zulat[23]	Ezrat avoteinu

14.2.3 KEROVOT, PIYYUTIM INSERTED IN THE REPETITION OF THE AMIDAH IN ASHKENAZI RITE

Sephardi liturgy excludes piyyutim not only from the berakhot of the Shemah but also from the Amidah in Shacharit. The collective term for the piyyutim in the repetition of the Amidah by the chazzan is Kerovot. They have been inserted in Shacharit on Festivals and the High Holidays, in Musaph[24] on the High Holidays and in Minchah and Ne'ilah on Yom Kippur. As Ashkenazi authorities were well aware of the opposition to changes in the formula of the Amidah berakhot, they accepted the standing tradition of inserting Kerovot, but made a concession by preceding the first Kerova by a 'Reshut', beginning with the words 'Misod Chakhamim': 'From the tradition that was instituted by illuminated Sages with deep insight, I will open my mouth in song and praise to thank and glorify Him who lives in high heaven.'

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[20] Weinfeld, 1975-1976. As a rule, the Kedushah is only said in the presence of a minyan and this urges Maimonides to stipulate that in the absence of a minyan the chazzan may not lead the community in the Keriat Shemah. It should be remarked that originally the chazzan only went to his place before starting the Amidah, after the Keriat Shemah.

[21] Sidra meaning order. The use of the word in this expression is unclear but stems from BT Sotah 49a.

[22] This is a kind of 'reshut', an a posteriori acceptation of the acceptance of the custom to insert a piyyut in this berakhah which starts and ends with the creation of light. The text clearly refers to the vitriolic polemic on the inclusion of "May a new light shine upon Zion" at the end of this blessing and its vindication by R. Judah he-Chasid on the ground that creation included an eternal light ad that for that reason no new element was entered into the blessing. See: Hoffman, 2005, pp. 25-30 and passim. Sperber, 1993, vol. 2 p. 96. See on this 'original light': BT Chagigah 12a.

[23] The *Mi Khamokha* (not to be confused with the Sephardi piyyut beginning with the same words following the Song of the Red Sea) and *Geulah* piyyutim described by Fleischer, 1984, pp. 308-335, are not present in the early printed Ashkenazi prayer books.

[24] Kerovot in Musaph will be discussed later.

In publications of piyyut research after Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt (1895-1972) the term Kerovot is often replaced by 'Kedushta'ot" [25] which refers to the Kedushah. The piyyutim that are inserted into the Kedushah proper are called Meshallesh, referring to their place in the third (*shelishi*) berakhah of the Amidah. Mostly the Kedushah is only preceded by piyyutim and in Western Ashkenazi rite piyyutim are inserted into the Kedushah in the Morning Prayer itself on Yom Kippur only.

Kerovot in the morning Amidah in the Western Ashkenazi rite

Avot	Misod, Magen[26]	… Magen Avraham
Gevurot	Mechayyeh	Mechayyeh hametim
Kedushat ha-Shem	Meshallesh[27]	Kedushah

The fourth berakhah, on Shabbat and festivals the middle one, deals with the specifics of ancient Temple service on that day and is called Kedushat ha-Yom or Guf (i.e. essence, substance). It is extended on the High Holidays, but no Guf piyyutim are included in western printed prayer books for the Pilgrimage Festivals.

14.2.4 AKDAMUT AND AZHAROT

On Shavuot the Ashkenazim read an Aramaic Piyyut, Akdamut,[28] when the Kohen is called for the Torah.[29] The Sefardim read at Minchah the long poem Azharot by Solomon ibn Gabirol which describes the 248 positive and the 365 negative commandments of the Torah. The first day the positive commandments are read, the second day the negative commandments.

14.3 KEROVOT IN MUSAPH ON SHABBAT AND SPECIAL DAYS

In Western Ashkenazi rite on certain special days[30] a short piyyut is inserted in the Kedushah of Musaph between 'Eloheikhem' and 'uvedivrei kodshecha'. On other Shabbatot, Pesach (except on the first day), Shavuot and Sukkot (except for the eighth day) no kerovot are inserted in Musaph. Both Ashkenazim and Sephardim say Kerovot in the first two berakhot of Musaph of the first day of Pesach and the eight day of Sukkot which are named Tefilat Tal (dew), respectively Geshem (rain).[31] The change of seasons, marked by the beginning of spring when dew replaces the winter rains, essential for crops, and the beginning of the winter season are recognised as essential in creation and this deserves a special mentioning of these Gevurot (special deeds) of the Creator Who deserves special attention from His subjects. The Sages decreed therefore that this should be done in the Musaph prayer on the first day of Pesach and the last day of Sukkot at the end of the second berakhah of the Amidah in its repetition by the chazzan.[32]

14.4 THE HIGH HOLYDAYS

The High Holidays, Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, each have their own special character, although a common theme connects them: on Rosh ha-Shanah every individual is judged by the

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[25] Or in another transliteration 'Quedushta'ot'.

[26] The final strophe of the Magen piyyut was called *Kerug* (כרוג) by Sephardi paytanim.

[27] The last piyyut of the Meshallesh is called *Siluq*.

[28] Hoffman, 2009.

[29] Traditionally Akdamut is said after the reading of the first verse of the pericope, although Halakhah forbids stopping before at least 3 verses have been read. In some communities Akdamut is said before the reading starts, in other after the first 3 verses.

[30] Shabbat Rosh Chodesh, Bereshit, Chanukkah, Nachamu, Chol ha-Mo'ed Sukkot and a Shabbat on which a circumcision takes place in the community.

[31] *Tikun ha-Tal* and *Tikun ha-Geshem* in Sephardi terminology.

[32] On asking for rain in the Birkat ha-shanim see p. 193f.

Master of the Universe, the King of Kings, according to her or his deeds during the past year. The 'ten days of repentance', crowned by the day of fast and prayer Yom Kippur give man the opportunity to repent and return from one's wrong ways and so, when the gates of acceptance close at the end of the Day of Atonement, final judgement will be signed by the Almighty. The theme of judgement is commonly found in both rites, but is accented differently: where the Ashkenazim stress the faulty ways of man, giving all the reasons to repent and so avert the bitterness of the judgement, the Sephardim appeal to divine grace as the Torah repeatedly states that the repentant sinner will be lovingly be accepted. Also the merits of the Patriarchs will be remembered and the promises made to them that their descendants will always be guided and protected by the Almighty, as long as they keep to His 'treaty'. The Piyyutim clearly reflect these different accents. As nobody is perfect, repentance will show the way to atonement, but the way to repentance starts with the (oral) confession of one's sins. This is the background of the Selichot, penitential prayers which are incomplete without 'viddui', confession of sins.

The differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi liturgical concepts are again clearly illustrated in the repetition of the Musaph prayer of the High Holidays. The Sephardim do generally not insert Piyyutim in the Amidah and therefore the Sephardi chazzan precedes his repetition by one short Piyyut on Rosh ha-Shanah, and two on Yom Kippur. Musaph is since ancient times extended on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur in both rites by obligatory additions to the regular formula. These extensions were originally instituted for the repetition of the Musaph Amidah by the chazzan but later became obligatory for the individual Amidah of Rosh ha-Shanah as well. The additions on Rosh ha-Shanah are called Malkhuyyot, Zikhronot and Shofarot, on Yom Kippur their name is Avodah.[33]

Whereas the Ashkenazim insert Kedushta'ot, the Sephardim, who do not normally insert any Piyyut in the Amidah, are confronted with the fact that on the High Holidays some insertions are proscribed: Malkhuyyot, Zikhronot and Shofarot on Rosh ha-Shanah and the Avodah[34] on Yom Kippur. Sometimes a historical development becomes visible of which one example is mentioned here. The chazzan is the ambassador of the community which has to listen to his recitations and answer with *Amen*. In the Ferrara 1552 comprehensive prayers is stated explicitly before the Piyyut *Ochilah*: 'Esto solo dixe el Hazan' (This is said by the chazzan only).[35] The Ferrara 1553 edition of the High Holiday prayers and its successors Dordrecht 1584, Amsterdam 1604 and 1617, however, state: 'Esto pueden dezir con el Hazan' (If one wishes so, one may say this together with the chazzan).[36] As stated earlier, the Ferrara 1553 edition of the High Holiday prayers apparently became the paradigm for the subsequent editions in the Iberian Jewish vernacular. The Talmud Torah 1617 edition, however, includes various new elements, e.g. in the Selichot in the Morning Prayer of Yom Kippur where a few earlier components have been replaced by others.[37] In the Yom Kippur Musaph some Selichot elements that were present in the previous editions have been left out in the 1617 edition and my initial analysis has shown some other minor differences, indicating the need for a more extensive research into the contents of the latter and its possible origins.

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[33] Cf. Swartz and Yahalom, 2005

[34] The atonement service in the Temple, not to be confused with the post penultimate blessing of the Amidah which is also called Avodah.

[35] The Ochilah Piyyut will be discussed later in this chapter.

[36] A similar difference of opinion, though not indicated in the prayer books that are the subject of this study, is the Kedushah. Some authorities state that the community has to listen carefully to the chazzan, whereas others, e.g. the Arba'ah Turim, stipulate that the community has to sa
y every word of the Kedushah with the chazzan.

[37] Additional research may provide information on the origin of these elements, perhaps Eastern Sephardi tradition as was the case with some new Bakashot as mentioned on p. 106.

14.4.1 ROSH HA-SHANAH

The Kedushah on Rosh ha-Shanah in the Ashkenazi rite is 'welcomed' in a touching poem which describes the way the Heavenly Court is judging every Jew on this day. Authorship is attributed to the legendary medieval R. Amnon of Mainz. In Eastern Ashkenazi rite it is also said in the same place on Yom Kippur. The Sephardim precede the Yom Kippur Musaph Kedushah with some Piyyutim, in the Dutch tradition two, composed by Judah ha-Levi.

Although the Zikhronot and Shofarot are independent berakhot, the Malkhuyyot are inserted into the fourth Berakhah, Kedushat ha-yom and open in both rites with the *Aleinu* prayer, a recognition of Divine Supremacy which ends with the words 'no more'. As this prayer of which the origins are lost in the early history of Jewish prayer deals with the theme of the day, it does not introduce a new theme in the berakhah. As in the obligatory Malkhuyot, Zikhronot and Shofarot the shofar is sounded, the Jerusalem Talmud calls them 'Tekiata de-vei Rav', the prayers when the shofar is blown as composed in the school of Rav. Misinterpretation of this statement caused the attribution of the authorship of Aleinu to the school (or even to the person) of the third century Babylonian Amora Rav, the founder of the Surah academy.

In Ashkenazi rite the chazzan now recites a prayer (Heyeh 'im pifiot) in which he asks that his prayer on behalf of the community will be accepted together with the prayers of the other chazzanim who lead their communities in the special praises and requests of this day.[38] Now the Ashkenazim say Ochilah and a second prayer, starting with the words 'Al ken', which later was united with the Aleinu prayer and in this formation became integrated into daily Ashkenazi prayers.[39] In the Western Sephardi rite the slightly different 'Al ken' section is only said in the Rosh ha-Shanah Musaph, immediately after Aleinu. The berakhah continues with the Malkhuyyot and with the independent berakhot Zikhronot and Shofarot which are assemblies of Biblical verses rather than Piyyutim, they need not to be discussed here. Both Western rites have an insertion in the final berakhah (asking for peace) which does not have a special name or heading.

14.4.1.1 MUSAPH ROSH HA-SHANAH

Ashkenazim first day	**Ashkenazim second day**	**Sephardim both days**
(Silent) prayer by the chazzan	(Silent) prayer by the chazzan	
Kaddish	Kaddish	Kaddish
Silent individual Amidah	Silent individual Amidah	Silent individual Amidah
	Repetition of the Amidah by the chazzan	
		Ochilah
Avot, mi-sod, Magen	Avot	Avot
Gevurot, Mechayeh	Gevurot	Gevurot
Unetanne Tokef	Unetanne Tokef	
Kedushah with Kedushta'ot	Kedushah with Kedushta'ot	Kedushah
Kedushat ha-Yom	Kedushat ha-Yom	Kedushat ha-Yom
Aleinu	Aleinu	Aleinu
Heyeh 'im pifiot	Heyeh 'im pifiot	
Ochilah	Ochilah	
Al ken	Al ken	Al ken
Malkhuyyot	Malkhuyyot	Malkhuyyot

[38] This prayer is said in the Sephardi rite on Yom Kippur only, at this same place.

[39] Western Sephardi rite kept to the original tradition of saying Al ken in the repetition of Musaph on Rosh ha-Shanah only. Western Ashkenazim likewise do not say Al ken in the repetition of Musaph on Yom Kippur.

Zikhronot	Zikhronot	Zikhronot, Ya'aleh we-yavo[40]
Shofarot	Shofarot	Shofarot
Avodah	Avodah	Avodah
Hoda'ah	Hoda'ah	Hoda'ah
Shalom with insertion	Shalom with insertion	Shalom with insertion
Kaddish	Kaddish	Kaddish

14.4.2 YOM KIPPUR[41]

The Sages clearly stated that he who on Yom Kippur asks forgiveness for one's own transgressions only, will not be heard. For that reason even biblical quotations in the prayers show changes from singular to plural. In the individual, silent Avodah[42] the Sephardim insert 'Aleinu. The Sephardi chazzan precedes the repetition of the Amidah with a short Piyyut, Atanu lechalot panekha,[43] stressing the chazzan's position as ambassador of the community, and thereafter 'Ochilah', like on Rosh ha-Shanah.

The first two berakhot, as usual without Piyyutim, in the repetition of Musaph according to the Sephardi rite are followed by two introductions to the Kedushah by Judah ha-Levi and the Kedushat ha-Shem itself. In the Kedushat ha-Yom 'Aleinu' is said, followed by 'Heyeh 'im pifiot' and a 'reshut' for the Avodah by Solomon ibn Gabirol, preceding the Avodah, the poetical description of the Atonement Service in the Temple. As the Tannaim and Amoraim instituted the special prayers, the inclusion of Aleinu which apparently was known in Talmudic times and clearly is in tune with the character of the day and its special prayers, has been undisputed. Sephardi tradition on Yom Kippur in medieval time already accepted two 'reshuyot', the Heyeh 'im pifiot and a reshut by R. Solomon ibn Gabirol, and this practice is continued in the later printed prayer books.

The Ashkenazim insert Kerovot and Kedushta'ot as on other holidays, in de Kedushat ha-yom 'Aleinu'[44] is said, followed by 'Heyeh 'im pifiot', and 'Ochilah' and the Avodah, consisting of Piyyutim and biblical verses, describing the service of atonement at this day when the Temple was existing. This special section is part of the Kedushat ha-Yom, but is quite different in both rites. In Ashkenazi rite Selichot[45] and viddui are said by the individual after the silent Amidah in all Yom Kippur prayers, but the chazzan says them in the Kedushat ha-Yom. In Musaph their place is between the end of the Avodah and the following fifth berakhah of the Amidah. Sephardi rite on this place includes only some versions of the viddui, the confession of sins which is easily explained as atonement needs confession of sins and repentance. In both rites this section ends with a number of Bible verses, expressing the atonement which is given on this day and the preparedness of the Master of the universe to accept the sinner who repents.

The repetition of the Amidah is continued in both rites beginning with the post-penultimate berakhah of the acceptance of the community's prayers, closed by Kaddish[46] and in Ashkenazi rite Musaph ends here. In Sephardi rite this Kaddish is immediately followed by the Selichot, which again, as is usual, include the viddui. The closing Kaddish Titkabal has a special insertion and the end of Musaph is like on other days.

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[40] Ashkenazim and Sephardim say this in Shacharit, but Sephardim say it on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur also in Musaph.

[41] Cf. Schwartz and Yahalom, 2005.

[42] Katsumata, 2009; Rand, 2005.

[43] Meaning: we have come before You to implore …

[44] Without the addition of 'Al ken".

[45] As mentioned earlier, Selichot are said from a certain day before Rosh ha-Shanah (Ashkenazim and Sephardim differ) until Yom Kippur when they are not part of the regular service as is the case on Yom Kippur.

[46] In Ashkenazi rite this is Kaddish Titkabal, in Sephardi rite Kaddish yehei Shemei.

14.4.2.1 MUSAPH YOM KIPPUR

Ashkenazim	**Western Sephardim**
(Silent) prayer by the chazzan	
Kaddish	Kaddish
Silent individual Amidah followed by	Silent individual Amidah followed by
Selichot	Selichot
Repetition of the Amidah by the chazzan	
	Atanu lechalot panekha
	Ochilah
Avot, Magen	Avot
Gevurot, Mechayeh	Gevurot
Kedushta'ot	Kedushtah by R. Judah ha-Levi
	Another Kedushtah by R. Judah ha-Levi[47]
Kedushah followed by Kedushta'ot	Kedushah
Kedushat ha-Yom	Kedushat ha-Yom
Aleinu	Aleinu
Heyeh 'im pifiot	Heyeh 'im pifiot
	Reshut by R. Solomon ibn Gabirol
Ochilah	
Avodat Yom Kippur	Avodat Yom Kippur
Selichot	
Viddui	Viddui
	Ya'aleh weyavo
Mechal	Meloch[48]
Avodah	Avodah
Hoda'ah	Hoda'ah
Birkat Cohanim	Birkat Cohanim
Shalom with insertion	Shalom with insertion
Kaddish	Kaddish
	Selichot
Kaddish Titkabal	Kaddish Titkabal with special insertion
Normal end of Musaph	

14.5 TISH'AH BE-AV

On the 9th of Av Kinot, lamentations, are said outside the Amidah, making them a class of Piyyutim beyond the range of the present research.[49]

[47] Early editions also contain Kedushta'ot by R. Solomon ibn Gabirol

[48] This is mostly the same as the berakhah at the end of Malkhuyot on Rosh ha-Shanah, but for the end which is on Yom Kippur adapted to ask for atonement.

[49] In the Sephardi prayers for the Fast Days sometimes a dirge has as heading פתיחה (Opening), cf. the Amsterdam 1858 edition on p. 95.

14.6 KEROVOT WHICH ARE EXCLUDED FROM PRINTED PRAYER BOOKS

Apart from those mentioned, Kerovot were composed which are recorded in manuscripts as 'Shemoneh Esreh'[50] or 'Shiv'ata'[51], but were not included in printed western Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books.[52]

14.7 KROVETS

A final remark on the Yiddish word *Krovets*[53] which is used in two meanings:
a) The Piyyutim that are inserted in the Amidah of the Ashkenazi morning prayer of weekdays
b) The title of a number of Ashkenazi prayer books in Yiddish or with Yiddish translation, referring to the initials of the words *K*ol *R*inah *V*'yeshuah *B*eaholei *Ts*addikim (Ps. 118: 5).

14.8 CONCLUSION

The occasionally obscure headings to be encountered in books containing obligatory Jewish prayer mean that the Piyyutim in those books must be acknowledged, even though an intrinsic study of this class of poetry need not be provided. The exposition of the various titles and headings, as well as of the place of these Piyyutim within obligatory prayers is not only useful for the non-specialists who have or want to deal with Jewish prayer, as they can now be found in one place, but also for those who have to identify fragmentary material.

Copies of early modern Jewish prayer books are often rare or even unique and, as has been illustrated in earlier chapters, may have been preserved incomplete or may even be made-up copies. Tracing and locating copies of a certain edition is difficult because of a lack of uniformity in cataloguing and bibliography. These specific problems have been discussed in chapter 9, along with a proposal to correct them against the background of classical library science. The relatively frequent occurrence of incomplete, sometimes even fragmentary, material called for tools which the non-specialist can turn to for identification.[54] Various such tools have been provided in chapters 10-14.

The final chapter of this study deals with the question of Hebrew as the supposedly prescribed language for obligatory prayer in the light of the early modern Sephardi books containing the obligatory prayers in the Iberian Jewish vernacular only. It has always been my intention to shed light on this subject from the start of my research.

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[50] A series of eighteen poems, of even length, to adorn the 18 berakhot of the Amidah of a weekday.
[51] A series of seven poems, of even length, to adorn each of the seven berakhot of the Amidah of a Sabbath or festival. Elizur, 1993.
[52] Fleischer, 2007, pp. 182-198.
[53] Also written as Krovetz.
[54] Texts like a 'Hatavat chalomot' as discussed on p. 106 can only be properly identified by those who are in possession of more advanced liturgical knowledge.

Chapter 15
THE POSITION OF THE VERNACULAR IN ASHKENAZI AND SEPHARDI SOCIETIES

Already in chapter 1 of this study it has been stated that the development of Jewish obligatory prayer was largely influenced by the expansion of a Jewish diaspora where at one stage or another Hebrew as the 'unique' Jewish language became replaced by the local or regional lingua franca. The Old Hebrew alphabet was replaced by the Aramaic which has since become universally known as the square Hebrew script.[1] In the medieval period Jewish versions of such vernaculars, e.g. Arabic, Italian and Persian, were written in Hebrew characters, as was Judeo-German, which would develop into Yiddish. This was, as far as can be documented now, the way in which the vernacular entered the printed Jewish prayer books. Yiddish came into use in the rubrics, while Judeo-Italian was the language of the Sidorello, a booklet containing 'private prayers', and as it explicitly states, intended for women.[2] In the Institute for microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the National Library of Israel reposes a copy of a prayer book in Judeo-Arabic, dated 1475. The early Hebrew Sephardi prayer books which I have previously discussed contained rubrics and instructions in a vernacular,[3] which seems to have escaped earlier researchers. It is, however, the use of Iberian-Jewish written in Latin characters which suggests that these prayer books were exclusively intended to be used by former Conversos. So far, no internal or external evidence for this has been found so that the fundamental question needs to be asked: what is the halakhic position of vernacular and Hebrew for Jewish prayer? Has there ever been a difference between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in this respect? To answer these questions, this chapter discusses an anthology of halakhic sources on the subject, culled from early rabbinic literature, the codices and important more recent decisors.[4]

The discussion whether certain blessings, prayers and formulas must be said in Hebrew or in any language of one's choice, has an early start: the Mishna and both Talmudim deal with the subject in various places. The oldest halakhic sources for the position of Hebrew in Jewish practice are preserved in the Mishnah, the Jerusalem or Palestinian Talmud (JT) and the Babylonian (BT) Talmud. They deal with the question which formulae should be exclusively said in Hebrew and which can freely be said in any language. They prescribe which berakhot, prayers and formulas may validly be uttered in any vernacular. Later commentators also contributed their views on the subject and codifiers and their commentators gradually enlarged the corpus of sources that are important for the development of the Halakhah.[5]

The oldest source, Mishnah Sotah 7: 1-2, explicitly states that the (obligatory) prayer may be said in any language: These texts may be said in any language: the chapter on the woman suspected of adultery,[6] the tithe declaration,[7] the Shemah[8] and the Tefillah [i.e. Amidah],[9] the Blessing after the

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1 In Talmudic literature it is called Assyrian. See also: Klein, 2014; Sirat, 1976.

2 Soncino, 1486. It follows the rite of Rome. Early modern prayer and biblical material in Yiddish is also often stated to be intended for the use of women. See for the position of early modern Yiddish literature Baumgarten, 2010.

3 It is beyond my competence to identify the nature of these elements, whether Italian or Iberian.

4 The full texts (with additions that are excluded from this chapter) in the original Hebrew and my English translation are provided in appendix 4.

5 It is the style of Halakhic literature to extensively quote earlier sources, so it may benefit the unacquainted reader to remember that when an author quotes an earlier source without further discussion, it shows that the author does not deviate from the quoted position.

6 Num. 5: 19-22, the formula which the priest has to read to her before she takes the oath on being innocent.

7 Num. 26: 12-19
In the third and sixth year of every seven-year cycle the second tithe is not for the poor. One has to bring the produce or the currency received after it has been sold to Jerusalem. There, before eating the product or such he has bought on the spot for the money, he has to declare that he has fulfilled all the obligations concerning his tithes.

8 Num. 6: 4 says: Hear, Israel, interpreted as hear in a language you understand.

9 As the tefillah (=Amidah) is in fact asking for mercy it can be done in any language.

Meal,[10] the oath of the witness [in the cases that are stated in the Torah][11] and the oath of somebody who received a collateral [but states he no longer has it].[12] And these texts may only be said in the Holy Language [i.e. Hebrew]: the declaration of the firstlings,[13] the chalitsa,[14] the Blessings and Curses,[15] the Blessing of the Priests,[16] the Blessing of the High Priest [on the Day of Atonement],[17] the declaration of the calf with the broken neck[18] and the call of the Anointed Priest mobilising the people for an obligatory war.[19]

On the Shemah we read in BT Berakhot 13a: The fulfilment of the commandments require the intention [of complying with the law, and must be repeated if performed without such intention].[20] … The Sages of the Mishnah [also][21] teach: the Shemah should be said as it is written [i.e. in Hebrew] according to the opinion of Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi] but [the majority of] the Sages decided that it may be said in any language. …[22]

BT Sotah 33a discusses the use of the vernacular in the Tefillah[23]: Why [is it allowed to say] the Tefillah [in any language]? It is asking for mercy and as a consequence it may be said in any language. But Rav Yehuda said: no man should ever ask for his needs in Aramaic, as R. Jochanan said: Everyone who asks for his own needs in Aramaic will not be assisted by the 'ministering angels' because they do not understand Aramaic. This does not pose a problem, as it only concerns an individual, not the community. How can you say that the ministering angels do not understand Aramaic when we learn (JT Sotah 9: 13; cf. Flavius Josephus, Antiquities XIII, 5): The High Priest Jochanan heard a heavenly voice from the Holy of Holiest: The children, the youngsters who fought Antiochus gained the victory [this quote is in Aramaic]. Another baraita (JT Sotah 9: 13; Megilat Ta'anit Ch. 11) tells of Shimon the Just who heard a heavenly voice from the Holy of Holiest: The decree of Caligula [to place his statue in the Temple] was undone through his demise and his decrees became void and it happened the same moment the voice was

[10] According to the obligation of Deut. 8: 10.
[11] When witnesses promise under oath to appear before the Court (see Lev. 5: 1; 5-13) and fail to do so, the language of their oath is irrelevant for their transgression.
[12] He who accepts a collateral from a relation and afterwards denies having received it, has to confirm his declaration with an oath, see Lev. 5: 21-25.
[13] Deut. 26: 5-11.
[14] The ceremony of removing the shoe of a widow's brother-in-law to avoid levirate marriage, Deut. 25: 7-9.
[15] Said by the Levites when the Jewish People entered the Holy Land after spending 40 years in the desert, Deut. 27: 12-26.
[16] Num. 6: 23-26.
[17] After the service of atonement, the High Priest would sit in the Temple court, read various periscopes from the Torah and say eight blessings. This is not a Torah commandment but is explained in this chapter, Mishnah 7 and in Mishnah Yoma 7.
[18] When a murder had been committed in between two towns and the identity of the murderer was unknown, according to Deut. 21: 1-9 representatives of both towns had to convene to break the neck of a heifer. On that occasion the eldest of the town that was nearest to the crime site had to declare: 'Our hands did not shed this blood …'
[19] See Deut. 20: 2-3.
[20] Translation: Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. New York, 1950, 622.
[21] Sotah 7, 1 as quoted and discussed in BT Sotah 32b.
[22] The opinion of the Sages became Halakhah, and as a consequence the Shemah can be said in any language that one understands, but the order of the paragraphs may not be changed.
[23] Here meaning the Amidah or Shemoneh esrei, the main obligatory prayer.

heard. And it spoke in Aramaic! You could argue that in both cases it was the Angel Gabriel because one [Sage] said: The Angel Gabriel came and taught him seventy languages.[24]

Rashi's[25] comment on this statement is as follows: **Prayer**, as we learn in the Mishnah: in any language. For this we do not need the evidence of a biblical verse as it [i.e. prayer] is asking for mercy and the only requisite for that purpose is the use of a language which enables a person to concentrate on his intention to pray. **The individual**, [this is a restriction to ensure] that the ministering angels may help, but the community does not need their assistance as it is written: See, God is mighty, He is not contemptuous[26] meaning that He is not contemptuous of the prayer of the masses.

Tosafot[27] remark with their usual acumen: **Because** they do not understand Aramaic. Except for Gabriel as is said at the beginning of the chapter These texts are said … (Sotah 33a) where one of the Sages says that Gabriel came and taught Josef seventy languages. This is strange, as they even know every man's deepest thought, and then they should not understand Aramaic? This remark is taken to mean that Tosafot explain R. Yehuda considered Aramaic to be unsuitable for private prayer.[28]

This position of R. Jochanan concerning the position of Aramaic in prayer caused a long discussion on his reasons but later sources cannot reach consensus on the subject and centre on three questions:

- Do the ministering angels understand Aramaic or do they consider it inappropriate for prayer?
- How can one disqualify prayer in Aramaic as long as we have a tradition of well-esteemed prayers in that language, like Kaddish, and why do we not find any second thoughts in the Talmud except for R. Judah's opinion?
- How should private prayer be defined? Does it mean anyone praying in private, or also anyone who is standing with a quorum but whose prayer is not synchronised with that of the community. In such cases Aramaic is not inappropriate.

Although the later commentators and decisors discuss the reasons of R. Judah for rejecting the use of Aramaic in prayer, until the end of the 18th century they take the wide-spread use of Aramaic in various commonly accepted prayers for granted.[29] Leaving the subject of Aramaic, what is the position of the most important codices?

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[24] Refers to a Midrash on Joseph in Egypt which is quoted in Sotah 36b; the seventy languages refer also to the translation of the Bible (Septuagint) in Alexandria into seventy languages (i.a. Greek), the first of which was Aramaic, known as the Targum.

[25] Acronym for **Ra**bbi **Sh**elomo ben **I**saac, Northern France, 1040–1105. His comments on the Bible and Talmud concern the most difficult passages and remains normative in Jewish studies until today on account of its didactic strength.

[26] Job 36, 5.

[27] The Sages of the School of Rashi (12th-14th centuries) in Northern France.

[28] The agadic position of R. Jochanan that the Angels do not know Aramaic may at first sight not seem to affect the halakhic decision that the prayer may be said in any language, as long as it helps us to give our prayer the right intention. As the earlier halakhic authorities stress the importance of understanding the meaning of our prayers, it gave rise to many discussions, especially in later times. The need for angels to bring the prayers of an individual before the Almighty is discussed in Tractate Chagigah and is of no further relevance to our discussion of the vernacular. The idea that Aramaic is considered inappropriate is explained on the basis of its strong resemblance to Hebrew. In modern times some reason in analogy to this rejection of Aramaic for prayer that Yiddish, which is descended from an old German dialect mixed with elements of other languages, should for that reason be banned from use in our time now that Hebrew has been restored as the national Jewish language.

[29] As is shown in the later sources in Appendix 3, pp. 337ff.

Maimonides (Spain/Egypt, 1135-1204) deals with the subject at the beginning of the Laws of Blessings (Hilchot Berakhot, 1: 6) as the Tefillah[30] consists of blessings: All blessings are said in any language, as long as one says what the Sages prescribed. In case one changes the [original] formulation, one nevertheless fulfils one's obligation on the condition that the Divine Name and His Kingship is mentioned as well as the core of the Blessing, even if it is said in a profane language.

Jacob ben Asher (Cologne 1270–Toledo, Spain, c. 1340) states in his codex Tur Orach Haim 101, 4 on the Tefillah: One can say the prescribed prayer in any language of his choice and Rav Alfas [Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi ha-Cohen (Algeria/Morocco 1013-1103), commonly known under his acronym Rif] says: Especially in communal prayer, but in private one is allowed to say it only in Hebrew. But there are authorities who explain that the dictum 'the individual should only pray in Hebrew' only relates to asking for one's own needs but when praying the communal prayer, even the individual is allowed to say it in any language.[31] My revered father [R. Asher ben Jehiel Ashkenazi (1250 or 1259–1327, known under his acronym Rosh] the Rosh of blessed memory wrote that even an individual who is asking for his own needs is allowed to say it in any language of choice, except for Aramaic. On this remark Isaac Aboab II (1433–1493) comments: One may say his prayers in any language of his choice etc. As is explained in the Gemara where it says: 'These may be said in any language: prayer etc.', but the decisors were surprised by this because we learned that one should not ask for his needs oneself in Aramaic, which seems to contradict the former.

R. Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (1488-1575) wrote in his monumental commentary Beit Joseph on this paragraph of the Tur: One is allowed to pray in any language of his choice: In Tractate Sotah at the beginning of chapter 7 (BT Sotah 32a) we learn that those texts that may be said in any language are the chapter of the woman that is suspected of adultery, the tithe declaration, the Shemah and the Tefillah [i.e. Amidah]; the Rif wrote at the beginning of the chapter 'He who is reading' (BT Berakhot 7a) that when we learn one can say the Tefillah in any language, this only pertains to the communal prayer, but not to the individual prayer. R. Yehuda quoted Rav (Shabbat 12b): Never should one ask for one's own needs in Aramaic and R. Jochanan said: Anyone who asks on his own behalf in Aramaic, the angels will not attend to his prayers because they do not know Aramaic. And R. Jonah [ben Abraham Gerondi, c. 1200–1263] commented on this passage: This is because we are dealing with individual prayer which should be said in Hebrew only, but it is an astonishing custom all over the world that women pray in other languages. As they are obliged to pray, it would be impossible for them [i.e. the women] to pray in another language than in Hebrew. But the rabbis of France try to explain this custom by saying that in this case individuals pray the Tefillah proper [i.e. the Amidah] when the community says it and on this condition even the individual can say it in any language.

Caro summarizes this in Shulchan Arukh 101, 4 (editio princeps 1565): One may say his prayers in any language of choice when in public, but when in private one may do so only in Hebrew, however, there are authorities who decide that this restriction only relates to praying for one's own needs, e.g. for a sick person or for any problem suffered in one's house, but the prayer that is prescribed for the community, even the individual is allowed to pray in any language of choice, except in Aramaic. The Ashkenazi decisor Moses Isserles (1520-1572) adds to this in his Darkhei Moshe on Tur Orach Chaim 101: 4: So it is written in the Zohar, chapter Lekh lekha. Isserles in

[30] The prescribed prayer.

[31] Generally these terms relate to the silent prayer by the individual and the loud repetition by the precentor, but grammatically one could also understand the terms to relate to prayer in private as opposed to prayer in a quorum of at least ten adult males, even including the silent individual prayer in such situations, as is the interpretation of some of the more recent decisors.

his additions to the Shulchan Arukh marks the parting of the ways in Ashkenazi and Sephardi codification, when we have to turn to the most important decisors of both traditions, starting with the Ashkenazi side.

David ha-Levi Segal (c. 1586–1667), in his commentary Turei Zahav (also known under its subtitle Magen David) on this paragraph of the Shulchan Arukh[32] only refers to the discussion on Aramaic, stressing the position of Tosafot that only Aramaic is unfit for prayer. R. Abraham Gombiner (1635-1682) writes here in Magen Avraham, his commentary on the Shulchan Arukh: **In any language**. In paragraph 40 [of the Shulchan Arukh] he wrote that it is preferable to pray in a language one understands in case one does not understand Hebrew as it is also stated in Sefer Hassidim paragraphs 585 and 788. **Individual**. As the angels assist him in other languages, but within a community the Almighty Himself accepts man's prayer. **But even an individual**. As he reasons that the angels understand all languages but do not assist him when praying in Aramaic because they consider that language to be unfitting. R. Zechariah Mendel ben Aryeh Leib (Poland c. 1650- c. 1707) in his commentary Ba'er Heitev only states here that Aramaic is unfit for prayer. The 18th-century German brothers Joseph and Michael May state on the same paragraph in the Tur in their commentary Chidushei Hagahot: Why does the author here quote the Rif instead of the Gemara Sotah (33a)? Because one might infer from the difference between the formulation of the Gemara and the preceding Mishnah that R. Yehuda always forbids praying in another language for one's own needs, and that the use of Aramaic is always forbidden, but here it becomes clear that he differentiates between private and public prayer and that in the last case only the use of Aramaic is forbidden, but the Rif explains that any other language than Hebrew is forbidden in private prayer and that is the reason the author (Jacob ben Asher) quotes him [i.e. R. Levi ibn Habib (c. 1483-1545)].[33]

The influential Ashkenazi scholar and kabbalist R. Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (the Gaon) of Vilnius (1720-1797) asks[34] from where Tosafot derive the idea that the angels understand the thoughts of man and refers to the Zohar for the answer. Joseph ben Meir Teomim (1727–1792) in Peri Megadim (Mishbetsot Zahav) ad loc. also discusses the [problem of Aramaic and concludes: … And according to the second opinion, that one need not distinguish between individuals and the community and between Aramaic and other languages, one has to decide that such a distinction certainly has to be made in the case of someone who is praying on his own [i.e. not in the presence of a quorum] and Aramaic proper [i.e. excluding other languages], as we witness that women pray in other languages, and one also says e.g. Yekum Purkan[35] and Berikh Shemei[36] in public. Before introducing new elements in the Ashkenazi position, it is proper to turn to a few early modern Sephardi authorities.

Earlier[37] R. Isaac Aboab has been quoted who asked why women, though not being obliged to pray [three times a day by rabbinic law] are nevertheless allowed to pray in the vernacular. R. Samuel Aboab (Venice, 1610-1694) writes an interesting responsum [Responsa Devar Shmuel 302] to Solomon Ayllon who was born in Salonika and at that time was rabbi in Livorno but later would become Chacham in Amsterdam: … The second **question** of this Rabbi concerns the case when ten foreign Jews [i.e. Conversos] who do not know Hebrew and stand [for prayer] in a place where nobody knows Hebrew to relieve them of their obligation [of prayer], if in such a

[32] Orach Chaim 101: 4.

[33] He was born in Zamorra, Spain, forcibly baptized and later became a rabbi in Jerusalem.

[34] On Shulchan Arukh, OH 101.

[35] An Aramaic prayer for the welfare of the leaders of the Babylonian Academies, said exclusively by Ashkenazim on Shabbat.

[36] A chapter from the Zohar that is said before the Torah Scroll is taken from the Ark for reading, see p. 103.

[37] P. 212. For the complete quote see p. 341.

case they are allowed to pray as a community in the vernacular, as well as to say Kaddish and Kedusha in the vernacular.

Answer: It seems that, although the case may be considered improbable and astonishing in the eyes of the people, as most authorities argue who allow an individual to say his prayer in a quorum in any language, and we did not find anybody who makes a distinction between an individual who fulfils his duty [and therefore is only allowed to pray in Hebrew, or when he prays] to absolve from its obligation[38] a community that does not master Hebrew' as is the case with the blessings after the meal where one can absolve another from his obligation in the vernacular. A reference to the case follows from the language of the Kaddish which is written in Aramaic although most decisors consider it worse than all other vernaculars as Maharik of blessed memory wrote on Tur Orach Chaim 101[39] and this Law concerning Kaddish was hinted at by Tosafot at the beginning of Berakhot 3a. Your question, whether one may say Kaddish [in the vernacular] can also be answered likewise and even there is a kind of proof based on the terse formulation in the Torah on the Blessing of the Priests 'So you must bless', meaning that one must say the blessing in Hebrew exactly as it is formulated there and without this specification the verse would have implied that [this blessing] may be said in any language as is allowed for the Shemah, the prayer and the blessing after the meal. The reason is that nothing is holier than this [i.e. the Priestly Blessing] as it may only be said in the community, i.e. with a quorum of at least 10 [males over 13 years]. However, it was reported to us that in the large town of Salonika there is an official chazzan for the women who do not know Hebrew, to not only absolve them but also himself from the obligation [of daily prayer].[40]

Another Sephardi authority of fame, Hezekiah da Silva (1659–1698), in his Peri Chadash on Shulchan Arukh Orach Chaim 101, 4 writes: … And the world is wondering why the women who have been used to praying in any vernacular and as they are obliged[41] to pray they ought to have prayed exclusively in Hebrew. And the Rosh of blessed memory commented on this but to me it does not seem difficult as this was answered by R. Yehuda … In the Zohar and Sitrei Torah,[42] chapter Lekh lekha the explanation follows the Rosh but it does not follow from the Talmud … but the principle is like the Rosh, that one may pray in any language one chooses except for Aramaic … but know that when we say one can pray in any language only on the condition that one understands it a little, even in Hebrew as we write further on in paragraph 193, as Tosafot stated and as I wrote in paragraph 62, 1, see there.

Until now, no differences of opinions appear to exist between Ashkenazi and Sephardi halakhic authorities on the view that the vernacular is admissible for (communal) prayer and when the practice of women is discussed. This, however, quickly changes in Ashkenaz towards the end of the 18th century as is shown by R. Ephraim Zalman Margolioth (also Margolis, 1762 – 1828) who

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[38] The term refers to the chazzan who through his repetition of the prayer absolves from their obligation all those present who do not know how to pray.

[39] The printed collections of the decisions of R. Joseph Colon ben Salomon Trabotto (c. 1420-1480, also known as Maharik) do not contain this decision. In his time Maharik was the foremost rabbinic authority of Italy.

[40] This is an important precedent as at the beginning of the 17th century the first Sephardic Chacham (Chief Rabbi) Joseph Pardo originally came to Amsterdam from Salonika, from where chazzan Joseph Gallego also directly arrived.

[41] This passage is unclear: either the author accepts women's prayer (once a day) as obligatory and is referring here to women praying in private, or the text is corrupted here and the word *not* is lacking. Although the first option seems preferable, such a corruption is not without precedent as is shown in a responsum of R. Tsevi Hirsh Ashkenazi after a notorious discussion on a sermon on Divine Providence by David Nieto in London. The responsum, which was repeatedly reprinted in Hebrew with a Spanish translation, exonerated Nieto by stating that his opinion was *not heretical*. In the collection of responsa Shut Chacham Tsevi, Warsaw 1861, responsum 18, the word *not* is lacking.

[42] Sitrei Torah is an anonymous collection of remarks on some portions of Genesis that were printed parallel to the Zohar texts.

introduces a new view in his commentary Yad Ephraim[43] on Shulchan Arukh 101: 4 commenting on Magen Avraham: **Magen Avraham par. 5**. … From his statement that it is preferable to pray [in a language that one understands] it is clear that one fulfils one's obligation when one prays in Hebrew, even when one does not understand it as is explained in Magen Avraham par. 51 and 62, 1 where it is explained on the basis of Maimonides and Shulchan Arukh that one should beware of corrupting the language and should be as careful as in Hebrew etc. As a consequence in our time when nobody even properly understands Hebrew, any man who makes it easier for himself by saying that one fulfils his obligation even in the vernacular needs to be severely censured to prevent him from distancing himself from the community as throughout the generations the Jews have always said the prayers in Hebrew and that one fulfils his obligation even without understanding. He who starts to search for the meaning of what is written in Sefer Hassidim will easily find the solution as in any case the supplicant knows what he is asking for in his prayer. Even if it is difficult for him to understand every word, that is not hindering his prayer. Therefore one should not leave the source of living water to try to drink from a broken well and even when one does not want to exhaust oneself by trying to study the meaning, one gets the satisfaction of praying with the community … and who will prevent him afterwards to repeat his prayer in the vernacular as was the practice to pray with the community and afterwards to read the printed explanation in the vernacular. On this with the help of the Almighty I have written extensively in a responsum. And the reference to Sefer Hassidim is to paragraphs 581 and 785.

The Chatam Sofer (Moses Sofer or Schreiber, 1762–1839) rose to become the most important leader of European Ashkenazi orthodoxy in his time. In his commentary on Shulchan Arukh OH 85, dealing with places that are not clean and for that reason are unfit for prayer, he comments, negating the fact that Aramaic also outside Babylonia had become the Jewish lingua franca during the Babylonian Exile without rabbinical opposition: It seems to me that for this reason our forefathers accustomed their sons not to speak in Hebrew – and so we completely forgot Hebrew because of our many sins – because the Babylonian diaspora was full of graves.

Abraham David Bodenschatz (1771-1840) in his supercommentary **Eshel Avraham** on R. Abraham Gombiner's Magen Avraham on Shulchan Arukh OH 101, 4 does not go so far when saying: **In any language.** On [the statement of] Magen Avraham that it is preferable to pray in a language that one understands [should be said that this is the case] especially when praying with the community, but cf. what Magen Avraham wrote in his commentary on the Shulchan Arukh OH 62, 1-2[44] that it is preferable to use Hebrew, even though one does not understand it, one nevertheless fulfils one's obligation when praying in private. The provision that one may pray in other languages when one does not understand [Hebrew] is restricted to the reading of the Shemah, prayer and the blessing after meals. And when he says 'it is preferable' he wants to stress that one fulfils one's obligation when using Hebrew even without understanding and God willing this will be further explained in par. 93 and 199. **In private.** When Magen Avraham mentions 'community' he means ten people as the Almighty does not reject the prayer of many. Although normally 'many' means [at least] two, in this case it means ten. Cf. par. 90, 9.

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[43] First edition: Dubno, 1820.

[44] בכל לשון. דוקא כשמבין הלשון וה״ה בתפלה וב״ה אבל קידוש וברכת הפירות וברכת המצות והלל יוצא אפילו אינו מבין הלשון [תו׳ רפ״ז דסוטה] ועי׳ מ״ש ר״ס קצ״ג.

In any language. Especially when one understands the language and that is the rule for the prayer and the Blessing after Meals but regarding the Kiddush [i.e. the blessing of Shabbat and Festivals], the blessings over fruits and before the fulfilling of a precept and Hallel [i.e. Ps. 113-118 to be said at prescribed occasions] one even fulfils one's obligation without understanding the language [by saying them in Hebrew].

Solomon ben Judah Aaron Kluger (1783–1869) (Hebrew: שלמה קלוגר) in his commentary Chochmat Shelomo is clear when he writes on Shulchan Arukh OH 101, 4: **Paragraph 4, one may pray in any language etc**. In addition [I say that] the reason given in the Talmud is that the angels do not respond to the Aramaic language and Tosafot object to this etc. According to my humble opinion one should explain their intention which is also understood from the saying: 'You answer to every prayer one utters' and what would be more for Him, praised be He? There are differences between all humans, but the intention is that the Almighty divided the peoples of the world in 70 groups with, accordingly, 70 languages; hence when a people speak in the language that it is given by Him, praised be He, in that case the most important angel that is appointed to them will further their prayer in their language and as the angel approaches Him asks for mercy. When the foremost angel comes to ask the Almighty to have mercy on His own people he too speaks before the Almighty in their national language. That is the reason it is stated 'He answers everyone's prayer', referring to every leading angel who speaks the language that is appointed to him and is answered by the Almighty. The Jewish people received Hebrew as their national language, so our special angel, i.e. Michael, the greatest of those angels only speaks Hebrew and so it is obvious that he only understands Hebrew. Hence an individual is not allowed to pray in another language but only in the language spoken by our appointed angel and so the individual is exclusively allowed to pray in Hebrew. And especially when we pray in another language than is appointed to us it will work adversely as each of the heavenly princes [i.e. the angels] speaks the language appointed to him by the Almighty and so if it happens we should pray in another language than is appointed to us, only for the communal prayer it will not turn into an reproach. There is a difference as the angel only serves the individual but when there are many of us it does not turn completely into an accusation, but the individual is not allowed to pray in another language as it would result in an accusation on the part of the heavenly princes when we pray in a language that is not given to us. Hence may the breath shrivel and be cursed of those who arranged the prayers in another language, may their names and remembrances be extinguished and let the inspiration of the Creator soon enlighten us. …[45]

This line of the most important Ashkenazi halakhic decisors will be closed quoting R. Yisrael Meir Kagan (1838-1933) who writes in Mishnah Berurah, Orach Haim 101: 4: **In every language**. But its ultimate fulfilment is especially in Hebrew, see paragraph 2, 2 and in Mishnah Berurah ad loc. what I wrote in the name of the Acharonim and see also the Responsa of the Chatam Sofer Orach Haim 84[46] and 86 who extensively discusses some arguments to allow prayer in any language, especially in isolated cases but not standard ones and to decree as an unbreakable rule to appoint a chazzan to prevent in any way possible the complete forgetting of Hebrew and because of some other reasons, all the leading authorities of our time extensively argued in the work Divrei ha-Brit[47] and agreed that it is absolutely forbidden to do so, to counteract the modern heretics who in this way breach the national borders and change all prayers into foreign languages and that transgression caused another one, vid. that they omitted the blessings of the Return of the Exiles and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem; whoever wants to forget Jerusalem also wants to make the Jewish People forget the Holy Name and prevent them from being redeemed in reward of their not changing their language. May the Holy One preserve us from such heretical opinions and see also in [my] Biur Halakha. **Of his choice**. As long as one completely understands that language but in Hebrew he always fulfils his obligation, even when one does not understand that language. **Only in Hebrew**. As the angels do not assist when using Aramaic and the same is the case for other languages, except for Hebrew but as the community does not need an advocate because the Holy One, blessed be He, personally accepts their prayer. … **Aramaic**. In community prayer even Aramaic is allowed, meaning that [Aramaic] prayers like

[45] A clear reference to the prayer book reform.

[46] This paragraph of the Shulchan Arukh deals with places that are not clean and are as a result unfit for prayer.

[47] This was the first Orthodox response to the publication of the first complete Reform prayer book in 1819.

Yekum Purkan[48] and Berikh Shemei[49] are said by the community. So when one prays at home one is not allowed to say Yekum Purkan as is argued by the great Or Zarua[50] in the Laws of Shabbat, par. 50.[51]

In Biur Halakha ibid. the same author explicates: **One can pray in any …** see Mishnah Berurah and Magen Avraham quoted Sefer Hassidim that it is preferable to pray in a language that one understands when one does not understand Hebrew but in Sefer Hassidim paragraph 588 it is proven that it is preferable only when one is pious and one wants only to pray with the right intention, otherwise one should pray in Hebrew because Hebrew has segulot[52] which other languages lack, as it is the language spoken by the Almighty with His prophets, like Nachmanides wrote on chapter Ki tissa (Exodus 30-34) and the Sages said that the world was created in Hebrew as is written: 'This one shall be called *ishah* (woman), for from *ish* (man) was she taken' (Gen. 2: 23) and when the Men of the Great Assembly decided on the wording of the prayer, there were 120 Elders, some of them prophets; they counted syllables and characters[53] according to now lost but important hidden[54] reasons. When we now utter these words as ordained by the Men of the Great Assembly, even without being able to give them the right intention, nevertheless our prayers will stand for us as intended as the syllables themselves transfer their holiness to heaven which is not the case when praying in another language.

The sources quoted show that Ashkenazi as well as Sephardi halakhic authorities accepted the fact that women have prayed for a very long time, especially in the vernacular. Although originally women were exempt from the obligation of praying three times a day (as this is a rabbinical decree, prescribed for fixed times while the biblical precept for women's prayer is restricted to once a day), some authorities hold the opinion that when most Jewish women voluntarily accept to pray three times a day, it becomes a binding obligation for all. It is, however,

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[48] Two prayers for the leaders of the ancient Babylonian Academies which are said by Ashkenazim but not by Sephardim.

[49] A chapter from the Zohar, which was introduced in Sephardi and Ashkenazi prayer preceding the reading of the Torah. It was not accepted in Amsterdam practice, see pp. 103.

[50] The author of that halakhic work is the German scholar R. Isaac ben Moses of Vienna (c. 1180 - c. 1250).

[51] In Mishnah Berurah Orach Haim 46 the author even states that the two opening words of the Kaddish are in Hebrew and not in Aramaic and so have to be pronounced yitgaddel weyitkadesh instead of yitgadal weyitkadash, referring to Beit Yoseph ad loc., where however it is clearly stated that kaddish is in Aramaic. About 1970 this pronunciation became accepted in Zionist Yeshivot in Israel, but it was rejected by Solomon Tal in his Siddur Rinat Yisrael that becamefully accepted in those Yeshivot. See Tal, 1985b, p. 44.

[52] In Biblical Hebrew this term means treasure, whereas in the Talmud it means medicine. In later times it mostly came to denote special positive properties, especially in texts with a mystical or even folkloristic background. Sefer Chassidim was written by R. Judah ben Samuel of Regensburg (1150-1217), a seminal text for the development of German Chassidism, the ethical and mystical stream of medieval Ashkenazi Jewry in the Rhineland. The main exponents of this current were R. Judah the Chassid of Regensburg, his father Samuel the Chassid of Speyer and R. Elazar ben Judah of Worms (ha-Rokeach).

[53] One could, for example, classify prayers according to the number of words they contain. In fact, it is a very similar numerological standpoint that characterized the work of many medieval liturgical commentators, particularly the school known as *Chasidei Ashkenaz*, a group of German mystics that flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By using the mathematical 'science' of 'gematria', whereby the numerical equivalent of the Hebrew consonants composing a word or prayer could be computed, and identically summed phrases were grouped together and then analyzed for their hidden message. Clearly, the relevant field of meaning here is far removed even from such an obvious textual characteristic as lexical proximity; in this scheme, prayer texts belong together because they add up to the same sum, and the relevant field of outside data is a system of signification in which not history or even literary style, but numeration is paramount.' Hoffman, 1989, p. 77. See also Dan, 1968; Langer, 1998, pp. 38 and 87-89; Sperber, 2010, pp. 143-160, Appendix I. On the Liturgical Theories of Chasidei Ashkenaz see pp. 22 and 39ff. of this study.

[54] I.e. mystical.

interesting that the practice itself was accepted in 16th-century Italy by Isaac Aboab as a valid legal precedent to allow Conversos to organise synagogue services in their vernacular, even though it is not certain such services actually took place. This is the more interesting as the Sephardi halakhic position is that whenever women keep a certain commandment[55] which they are not obliged to keep, they are not allowed to say the appropriate berakhah.[56]

What does this implicate for early modern Jewish prayer books, especially Sephardi ones that were published in Italy and the Northern Netherlands? From the positions that have been explained in this chapter it is clear that at the time prayer in the vernacular was not opposed by neither Ashkenazi nor Sephardi halakhic authorities, with the possible exception of private prayer. There is, however no indication that synagogue services in the vernacular were common,[57] but further research into this feature, as well as into the eventual existence of vernacular manuscript prayer books, could produce more information.

The position of Yiddish as Ashkenazi Jewish vernacular has been aptly described, e.g. by Jean Baumgarten,[58] and it seems that early modern Ashkenazi men, whatever their level of education, did not have a need for Yiddish prayer books. The same, however, cannot be said about the European Sephardim. Hundreds, if not thousands of exiles and refugees left the Iberian Peninsula, many of them lacking (sufficient) knowledge of Judaism and the Hebrew language. Under the circumstances, as had been repetitiously done in the past, ways had to be devised to assist those immigrants to become acquainted with Jewish tradition and prayer, interpreting Halakhah in a creative way, as is shown by the application of the precedent of women's prayer: in this way the vernacular could become the gateway to Jewish sources and Jewish life. To assist Conversos in recovering their Jewish identity and allow them to become acquainted with Jewish literature and prayer, translations of sources like the Bible, prayers, philosophical and historical works were published.[59] This proved to be essential for many former Conversos to develop into faithful and observant Jews. Relatively few were unable to embrace their Jewish identity.

As stated previously, practice is the fastest way to become acquainted with a prayer book, and perhaps it was deemed best for so many Conversos, to put at their disposal a translation of a contemporary Hebrew Sephardi prayer book. To become used to synagogue practice, the vernacular prayer books are not a great help, not only because of their intricacy as has been explained previously, but also because of the lack of practical instructions in most editions. An exception is the 1618 Amsterdam edition of the daily prayer book, published by the educational institute Talmud Torah, which clearly shows the intention to introduce pupils to Jewish liturgical practice even before they were well versed in Hebrew as directed by the curriculum. It contains also instructions for liturgical practice which are absent from the preceding and many subsequent editions.[60] It remains an open question how easily a Jewish dialect as presented in the prayer books would be understood not only by Portuguese immigrants.

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[55] E.g. hearing the Shofar on Rosh Ha-Shanah or sitting in the Sukkah on Sukkot, see the relevant halakhic literature.
[56] On the position of women in history and contemporary reality see Grossman and Haut, 1992; Weiss, 1990.
[57] It has to be stressed that the synagogue service specially for and by women in Salonika that was quoted on p. 206 may have been an exception rather than common practice.
[58] E.g. Baumgarten, 2003; IDEM, 2010; IDEM, 2014.
[59] That the vernacular was used to acquaint the Conversos with Jewish culture and literature has been successfully illustrated by Yerushalmi, 1984. On the importance of this process, see also Lehmann, 2005; Molcho, 1959.
[60] Such instructions, e.g. when one has to stand or bow, are absent from other early and later editions. However, the recently publication by Idan Perez of the prayer book according to the Catalonian rite, based on six manuscripts from the 14th -16th century, contains many such instructions and halakhic rules. Only in the last decades have various editions added them to assist those who are unacquainted with synagogue practice. The Arts Scroll Series (New York Mesorah Heritage Foundation) includes perhaps the best known representatives. Recently the in Israel quite popular

As the later sources indicate, during the last two and a half centuries Ashkenazi halakhists have increasingly opposed the use of the vernacular in prayer, against precedent to the contrary in previous halakhic literature. How can this be explained? The transition from Hebrew and Yiddish to the vernacular by German Jewry and the position of Yiddish in Ashkenazi culture have been described a.o. by Shlomo Zalman Berger, Steven Lowenstein[61] and Irene Zwiep.[62] The halakhic sources which have been quoted here reflect the way this transition was seen through the eyes of influential rabbis in Central and Eastern Europe who strongly opposed it, considering this change as leaving Jewish tradition.[63] The Chatam Sofer who has been previously[64] quoted was one of the contributors to *Eleh Divrei ha-Brit* (see illustration 66),[65] the response of orthodox Ashkenazi rabbinical leadership to the 1816 Hamburg Reform prayer book in which, as stated on the title page, praying in any language other than Hebrew is absolutely forbidden. Had the use of the vernacular been an important tool to introduce former Conversos to the Jewish sources, exchanging Yiddish and Hebrew for the non-Jewish vernacular helped Ashkenazi Jews in daily life to adapt to the culture of the majority around them. The translation of many traditional Jewish texts into the vernacular offered the non-Jewish world a gateway to Jewish literature and culture so that the non-Jewish intelligentsia might be able to appreciate it. One should, however, not forget that during the 19th century state laws would try to ban the use of 'dialects' at schools and so the vernacular school books and translations would become an important tool for Jewish children to learn the national language of their homeland.


אלה

דברי הברית

בפקודת בית דין צדק דק"ק המבורג.

נדפס באלטונא בשנת תקעט.

66 Title-page of Eleh Divrei ha-Brit, Hamburg 1819

When a group of new leaders began 'modernising' Jewish liturgy by adapting the synagogue service and enhancing the decorum of that service to make it acceptable even to critical outsiders, the introduction of the vernacular into the synagogue was 'the straw that broke the camel's back'. Traditional rabbinic leadership increasingly felt obliged to do their utmost to bolster the Jewish

editions of the Rinat Israel and Koren prayer books have been augmented with such instructions, probably following the example of the Art Scroll Series.

61 Lowenstein, 2003.

62 Berger, 2005; IDEM, 2006; IDEM, IDEM, 2007; IDEM, 2010; 2012; Löwenstein, 2003; Zwiep, 2003.

63 See also Guttmann, 1977.

64 P. 215.

65 Hamburg, 1819.

identity of the members of their communities whom they saw as straying from time-honoured rabbinical tradition. They felt responsible for preventing traditional Jews from assimilating with their non-religious environment, a struggle between tradition and modernity. It is remarkable to see how R. Salomon Kluger introduced an important contemporary aspect into the discussion: the national state with its national language.[66] Even over a century before the Jewish people returned to live in their own national state, their nationality as a people was stressed by the common and so decisive factor of a national language, Hebrew.

When early modern Sephardi leadership, e.g. the Amsterdam Rabbis Menasseh ben Israel and Saul Levi Morteira, used the vernacular as an educational tool, nobody could be certain at the time that their measures would have the desired effect. At the same time the Amsterdam Talmud Torah institute, later called Ets Haim, gave priority to the teaching of the passive and active knowledge of Hebrew, as has been stated earlier in this study. The various centres throughout Western Europe (e.g. Venice, Ferrara, Livorno, Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, and Bayonne) and subsequently in the New World, where the newcomers founded flourishing Sephardi communities, showed the undeniable success of this method, at least for the time being. From the end of the 18th century onwards, when Ashkenazim and Sephardim both lived under identical conditions the Jewish people for the first time in many centuries became divided between *orthodox* and *heterodox* leading to the addition of non-traditional prayer books to the already wide range of rites.

15.1 CONCLUSION

For many centuries, the use of the vernacular in Jewish prayer was not a problem, as is witnessed by pre-modern halakhic sources. As the many accepted prayers or parts of prayer in Aramaic prove, the discussion on the position of Aramaic also literally remained mostly academic, and did not affect daily practice. As the change from Yiddish (and in the synagogue liturgy also of Hebrew) to the vernacular in the 19th century became deliberately or accidentally a shibboleth of heterodoxy, at a time when the idea of national identities and national languages became a central concern in European culture, it explains the fierce opposition by especially the Ashkenazi orthodox leadership against any use of the vernacular in prayer.[67] The wide use of translations illustrates that the efforts of traditional rabbinic leadership lacked the success they hoped for, the many prescriptive instructions that have become commonly accepted in these works stress the fact that the prayer book has become a guide for liturgical behaviour.As it is a clear halakhic rule that an accepted custom or practice retains its binding character, even if the original reason for its introduction no longer exists, it is naive to expect a change in this position in the foreseeable future, even when Tannaitic sources explicitly allow the use of any language in prayer.

At the end of this part that is mostly concerned with practical elements of the Jewish prayer book, my initial questions have been answered as far as this was possible. Some questions deserve additional research, while others can only be answered when additional information becomes available.

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[66] 'The Jewish people received Hebrew as their national language, so our special angel, i.e. Michael, the greatest of those angels only speaks Hebrew and so it is obvious that he only understands Hebrew. Hence an individual is not allowed to pray in another language but only in the language spoken by our appointed angel and so the individual is exclusively allowed to pray in Hebrew.'

[67] For Sephardi rabbinical reactions to the 1819 prayer book reform, see Eleh Divrei Ha-Berit, 1819, and Guttman, 1977 (index).

CONCLUSIONS

What was the origin of the books containing obligatory Jewish prayers that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands and how did they develop? To answer this central question of my research it was necessary to start in Antiquity (chapter 1), dating the origins of Jewish obligatory prayer to the period following the Babylonian Exile (586-538 BCE). The question whether fixed obligatory Jewish prayer preceded or followed the destruction of the Second Temple was answered in favour of the former date, although it remains impossible to establish irrefutable dates on the base of contemporary evidence. In that period two main cultural and religious centres came into being, Israel and Babylonia, the start of a diaspora that would witness the birth of later decentral Jewry with its divergent culture, literature and liturgical rites. Other relevant developments were the transition of religious authority from the Priests of the Temple to the rabbis. The first rabbis to whom the institution of the obligatory prayers are attributed are known as 'The Men of the Great Assembly', a group of Sages on which no further details are known. The synagogue too predates the destruction of the Second Temple in 69 CE, but only later became the preferred place for communal Jewish liturgy, which would continue to diversify in the Jewish diaspora.

Although the Men of the Great Assembly set the rules for the obligatory prayers, early rabbinic authorities witnessed many textual variants and concluded that the initial rules only prescribed the outlines of the various prayers, but not the exact wording. A plethora of variants in manuscripts prove that already at an early stage the prayers lacked uniformity, a decisive argument against the search by Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt and others for an 'Urtext', a single, authoritative text and so I fully accept the conclusions of Ezra Fleischer, Joseph Heinemann, and Naphtali Wieder. As until today there is no consensus on the exact prescribed prayer texts it is better to avoid the term canonisation. Already in Antiquity prayer and synagogue liturgy were dynamic and as has been extensively illustrated in chapters 1-4 of this study, they remained evolving, long before prayer books were printed in the Northern Netherlands. The differences in prayer and liturgical customs between Israel and Babylonia would continue to increase and as Lawrence Hoffman[1] has illustrated, Saadiah Gaon tried in vain to impose uniformity in Berakhot and other prayers and liturgical practices. Hoffman also points to later Ashkenazi opposition from German rabbis who would continue their established customs against Geonic opinion. Such a position was clearly supported by Moses Maimonides who not only condoned the existing pluriformity but even urged on to keep to one's private tradition as received from the parents.

Has the development of the Jewish prayer book been influenced by external events and if so, in what way? Diaspora, migration and international contacts (chapter 2) certainly influenced Jewish prayer as is shown by the many religious poems, Piyyutim, which partly found their way into prayer and often reflect historical events. R. Amram, R. Saadiah and R. Hai, Babylonian Geonim, sent complete prayer books on their request to the Iberian Jews, but the originals were lost and only a few much later and richly emended copies are known to have survived. Less is known of the origin of the prayer books that were used by medieval German Jews who are supposed to have received their prayers and rite from Italy, a subject that needs special research. The question if medieval Jewish prayer texts show any influence of Islam or Christianity, the religion of the majority amongst who Jews lived as a minority, remained unanswered in this study. The expansion of the Jewish diaspora and the divergences in their prayer texts would result in the creation of various 'families' of liturgical rites as have been listed in chapter 11 of this study. For the prayer books that were printed in the early modern Northern Netherlands the most important of these families are the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites.

[1] Hoffmann, 1979.

The settlement of Jewish immigrants in the Northern Netherlands was the result of externally caused migration and the first printers of prayer books in early 17th-century Amsterdam were immigrants themselves. The transition from the Middle Ages into Early Modernity was a gradual process, also in the Jewish communities all over Europe and this process was characterised by discoveries and inventions which contributed to an explosion of knowledge, knowledge (as explained in chapter 3) that was easily disseminated through printing and international trade. The combination of mercantilism and humanism created a class of educated merchants able to communicate easily in the Republic of Letters and exchange views on a range of subjects, including religious ones. As David Ruderman[2] has proved, lay and rabbinic authorities would soon begin to struggle for supremacy, a struggle that will be referred to in the early period of Jewish settlement in Amsterdam in the second and central part of this study.

As stated, external events caused the immigration of many people of Jewish descent into the early modern Northern Netherlands. The first of these immigrants to arrive as groups came from the Iberian Peninsula. Many of them were former Conversos who had at least a limited knowledge of Judaism and its prayers and liturgy. Later Jews from Germany and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, who brought with them their own traditions. The main part of this study starts with a discussion of the economic, political, religious and social conditions they encountered (chapter 5). It has been shown that the Northern Netherlands at the time were am internally divided nation, where the rights of religious minorities were a point of fierce disputes. The Dutch Republic consisted of autonomous provinces, regions and cities who were united in their war of independence against Spain. Protestantism in its various denominations was readily accepted in the region, but met with fierce Spanish persecution. The Union of Utrecht guaranteed the freedom of conscience of the inhabitants of the signatories, but every party was free to define the interpretation of this clause.

At the beginning of the 17th century Amsterdam grew rapidly and warmly welcomed all kinds of newcomers, from unskilled labourers, craftsmen and merchants to financial professionals. It would, however, take decades before the legal and social conditions of those communities not belonging to the public Calvinist Church became more or less defined. The constant need for political consensus influenced the policies of the Amsterdam city fathers, at one time allowing the developing Jewish communities to exercise religious freedom, at another time compelling them to avoid any appearance of public synagogue services. This situation has previously attracted insufficient attention, though it provides the explanation for some of the otherwise apparently contradictory events in Amsterdam Jewish history. For example: in 1612 the members of the Neve Salom Sephardi community were first allowed by the Amsterdam city government to build an apartment building, housing a synagogue at its ground floor but this permission had to be revoked after protests by the Protestant clergy. No protests were raised, however, against the publication of a 3-volume set of Jewish prayer books in the same year. In this respect it is interesting to see that Jewish prayer books with a full Amsterdam imprint were published in the years 1617-1618, at a time when the religious and political conflict between the public Calvinist Church and Prince Maurice of Orange on the one side and the States of Holland on the other, was reaching its culmination. In 1651, after Stadholder Willem II had unsuccessfully tried to seize control the year before, Amsterdam finally reached the point where it could operate with some autonomy in Holland, leaving the city free to deal with its minorities as it saw fit. [3] The aftermath of this conflict has been described in chapter 8 as related with the ha-Noten prayer for the well-being of the secular authorities.

[2] Ruderman, 2010, pp. 57-98.

[3] As witnessed by the rejection of Menasseh ben Israel's request to be exempted from the prohibition for Jews to open shops, see p. 121.

Two Jewish prayer books were published in 1584 in the Northern Netherlands (chapter 7) even before there existed a considerable Jewish community, leading to the question: from where came Jewish prayer books to the Northern Netherlands and what was their position at the time in total Jewish book production? According to the data provided by Yeshayahu Vinograd, prayer books represented up to 33% of Jewish book production before 1600. During the 15th century, Hebrew printing was restricted to Italy, Spain and Portugal. The distribution of the various rites is uneven in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century before 1552, the year when Sephardi vernacular prayer books were printed for the first time. Vinograd lists 140 Ashkenazi books[4] containing prayers (including voluntary ones), up to the year 1600, 47 of which were printed before 1552. The Sephardi rite was printed 63 times, 24 of them before 1552.[5] The rite of Rome was printed 37 times, only 7 times before 1552, though never in Rome itself. The Romaniot (Balkan) rite was printed 10 times, half of them before 1552.[6] It is unknown who was the patron of the Dordrecht printer Peeter Verhagen to print Jewish prayer books in 1584, before there was any documented Jewish presence in the Northern Netherlands. In chapter 6 it has, however been sufficiently illustrated that the daily prayers and the prayers for the High Holidays closely followed previous Ferrara editions in an Iberian Jewish vernacular (1552-1555). The Ferrara editions contained the same Sephardi liturgical tradition as the one in the Hebrew prayer books that had been previously been printed in Venice, 1519-1544 by Daniel Bomberg and the two 1552 bi-lingual Venice editions by Alvise Bragadin. The latter, however, contained a Spanish translation of the prayers by Isaac Cavallero, different from the Ferrara editions and from the later editions in the Northern Netherlands. The relation between the vernacular and Hebrew Sephardi prayer books that were published in the Northern Netherlands and their predecessors from Italy has been traced and it has been shown that in spite of the similarities the former were not unaltered reprints of the Ferrara editions.

The first Ashkenazi prayer book in Amsterdam was printed in 1634, when organised Jewish life had become accepted in the city, although its authorities still needed to compromise with other cities and regions on the rights of this non-Christian minority. The Ashkenazim brought with them their own traditions and prayer books and the early Amsterdam Ashkenazi editions are easily recognised as products of a press of the Northern Netherlands, but their contents followed previous editions that had been published in Germany and further to the East. They contained the Ashkenazi (Western Ashkenazi) rite, the Polish (Eastern Ashkenazi) rite, or both rites in the same volume, as was the case elsewhere. The growing amount of Piyyutim in the festival prayers, however, would it make unavoidable that the Machsorim that contained these prayers would only contain a single Ashkenazi rite.

The first generation (1584-1627) Jewish prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands has been analysed textually and is was concluded that they contained the same liturgical tradition as their Venice and Ferrara predecessors. A number of what now would be considered to be anomalies has been discussed, showing that at the time most of them were common. The repetition of the Amidah in the Friday evening prayer that was presented in the Hebrew 1544 Venice edition by Daniel Bomberg and in the vernacular comprehensive, as well as in the daily Ferrara 1552 prayers, was not repeated in any edition that was printed in the Northern Netherlands. This since long forgotten tradition is presented in Beit ha-Bechirah by Menachem Meiri,[7] an influential medieval Spanish halakhist. On the other hand, the Amsterdam

[4] It is regrettable that Berger, 2019 fails to establish the taxonomy of the editions of Ashkenazi prayer books that are quoted by him.

[5] This shows that most Sephardi editions of that period were printed outside Venice, though a comparison of all the Italian Sephardi editions lay outside the scope of my research.

[6] I did not check editions of the Romaniot rite that may have been published in Constantinople, Salonika or Izmir.

[7] Beit ha-Bechirah on BT Berakhot 21a.

Festival prayers, the second part of the 3-volume set that was printed in 1612, contains the repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer for Festivals, a Palestinian tradition that is not known to have been printed another time. Another anomaly in Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books was the number of verses that are said when taking out the Sefer Torah, which would change in the 18th century. Later prayer books show a shortened version, with differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rite. Two important developments in the Sephardi prayer books was the disappearance of the so-called fifth Berakhah in the weekday evening prayer and the introduction of a long answer to the ha-Gomel blessing. No explanation for these changes are available at the moment.

Is the influence of Mysticism and Kabbalah in the early modern period discernible in the prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands? Amsterdam printers published many editions of mystical and kabbalistic books (see also chapter 10), but the books containing obligatory prayers remained almost free of kabbalistic elements. It has been explained that already in some of the oldest parts of Jewish obligatory prayer mystical elements are present, especially reflecting Merkabah mysticism. In the 16th century Sephardi prayer books that were printed by Daniel Bomberg, the medieval anonymous mystical poem *Ana Bekoach* became included in the morning prayer, a poem that would later be seen to have special protective power. The poem would be included in the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands in the morning prayer only. A kabbalistic element that became accepted in both rites, though not in the same way, was Kabbalat Shabbat, originating in the Safed kabbalistic circle. While the Sephardi prayer books that were printed in Amsterdam since 1627 would only include the *Lekha Dodi* song, the Ashkenazi books accepted the 'full' Kabbalat Shabbat as has been explained in chapter 7, however, without the Ana Bekoach preceding Lekha Dodi. Only a few editions of the obligatory prayers that were published in the Northern Netherlands included *Berikh Shemei*, a chapter from the Zohar, which became world-wide part of the synagogue service when taking out the Sefer Torah. Eventually this custom was rejected by Ashkenazim and Sephardim in the Northern Netherlands.

As expected, the analysis of some paratextual elements produced interesting information, first of all the rubrics. Various editions of both rites contained more or less identical instructions and references. The Bomberg editions contained vernacular rubrics in Hebrew characters, which would be copied in Latin characters in the 1552 Venice and 1552-1555 Ferrara editions, but also unchanged in the Sephardi editions that were published in the Northern Netherlands. Ashkenazi prayer books included such rubric in Hebrew or Yiddish but is has to be stressed that in neither rite the instructions referred to personal behaviour like stepping backwards or bowing. It became clear that for long the Sephardi vernacular prayers for the High Holidays were printed according to the same pattern: identical titles within ornamental borders, the same text preceding the prayers and the contents and lay-out of the prayers themselves, even when small differences were made. This was explained to assist the non-initiated members of the community to find their way in the complex liturgy of these days by looking at the prayer book of a neighbour which was looking almost identical.

My bottom-up method allowed a review of the interpretation of the title pages and prefaces of the 1612-1618 Amsterdam editions of the Sephardi prayers. The theory that the 3-volume 1612 edition was printed for the use of the Neve Salom community, and that the phoenix was that community's device has been declared insufficiently documented. As said previously, the inclusion of the repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer of the festivals could not yet be explained. Regarding the 1617-1618 prayer books it has been stated that there is no reason not to accept their statement of responsibility that they were printed by the Talmud Torah society whose board members were appointed by the Parnassim of Bet Jacob, especially as the institute

possessed a fully equipped printing shop. The society's regulations explicitly states that it is the responsibility of its governors, to provide their pupils with free tefilin and prayer books. After this initial period of prayer book productions, title pages and colophons generally provide all the necessary data, though I encountered some undated 17th century editions of prayer books which are listed at the end of my bibliographical list (p. 233). A nice example of external events that left traces in Jewish prayer books is provided by a number of chronograms that show the advance of chiliastic and messianic fervour. About 1666 the Shabtean frenzy is visible best in some engraved title pages of kabbalistic prayers (illustration 60), which had to remain outside this study.

What was the position of the prayer book in the total of Jewish book production? It has been stated that relatively few medieval manuscripts of Jewish prayer books have been preserved. They were copied either on command of a community or of wealthy individuals. Repeatedly has been stated that these prayer books did not have uniform titles, which would continue after the invention of printing. Jewish prayer books mostly follow the example of non-Jewish works that are printed in the same region in paper, layout and the style of the printing types. The Jewish prayer books that have been printed in the Northern Netherlands follow this principle and are easily recognised as products of a Dutch press but the Ashkenazi prayer books are often executed more simple and cheaper than the Sephardi ones, indicating the different economic situation of the members of both communities.

The amount of prayer books that were printed by the various 17th-century Amsterdam Jewish printers in the survey of and their production (chapter 7) illustrates their importance. The presence of high-quality printing houses, the extensive international book trade, the fairs and the many available channels of distribution made the Northern Netherlands for long an attractive and competitive centre of book production. The unique freedom of the Dutch press stimulated the production and dispersion of all kinds of Jewish books, including prayer books. As the first Jewish prayer books were printed in Dordrecht before documented Jewish presence in the region, followed by Amsterdam in a period that there lived less than 500 Jews in the city caused a revaluation of the intended users of these early editions (chapter 7 and 8). Demographics show that the local market for over half a century was too small to warrant any profit for the printer and it is clear that the central position of Amsterdam, like the other cities in the Dutch Republic, in the international book trade provided all the necessary instruments to sell these uncensored Jewish prayer books. The name Amsterdam on the title of Jewish books soon would become a mark of quality all over Jewish Europe, guaranteeing good sales until in the second half of the 18th century other countries gave their Jews more freedom of the press.

It could, however be argued that not seldom a statement on the title page of a prayer book claims that its contents represent the custom of the Amsterdam Sephardi community (Ashkenazi prayer books prior to the 19th century apparently do not mention this). Such statement cannot be trusted as printers tried to reach as large a market as was possible and that for that reason the various editions do not represent a single local or regional liturgical custom, but rather present the largest common denominator. The evolution of the obligatory prayers and synagogue liturgy in Early Modernity becomes less visible but continued as has been documented in chapter 8. The theory that printing slowed down the evolutionary process has not been substantiated.

What was the position of Jewish printing within the book culture of the Dutch Republic? It has been stated previously that the Jewish books follow the patterns of the other books that were printed in the country at the time. My review of previous research, especially by Lajb and Reina Fuks, showed some interesting differences between Jewish printers and their non-Jewish colleagues. Jewish printers regularly employed correctors, while only large non-Jewish firms did so, leaving correction to the compositors, who were paid piece rates. Jewish compositors were

commonly employed for fees that had been laid down in notarial contracts. It has been reported that in some cases non-Jewish employees were allowed to work on the Sabbath, a subject that deserves special additional attention. A Jew is not allowed to profit from work on Shabbat that is forbidden for himself, though allowed for non-Jews. This may be an example of payment in kind, a phenomenon that is well-known amongst Dutch printers of the time. When the employee was master of his own produce on Shabbat, it would not give any profit to his employer.

Copies of the early modern Jewish prayer books, wherever they were printed, are even more difficult to locate and identify than is the case with other early printed books and this problem has faced me for many years as a library professional and researcher. As my colleague Judaica librarians face the same problem, from the outset of the present study it was my aim to analyse the various problems that face the bibliographer, cataloguer and researcher of the Jewish prayer book and to propose some solutions. The unlimited variant titles of books of this class make it necessary to return in the existing online catalogues to the previously common use of uniform titles and subtitles (chapter 9), taking into consideration the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi books as described in chapter 10 of this study. Previous Ashkenazi-based uniformity should be abandoned to improve the tools that are necessary to fulfil the aims of descriptive cataloguing, especially as subject cataloguing seems to have lost importance. For reference and guidance into the perplexing world of Jewish prayer and its terminologies (Ashkenazi and Sephardi) a number of details have been described that should help less specialised professionals to identify Jewish prayer material in hand (chapters 11-14).

As has been stated in this study, the introduction of the German language in prayer books and synagogue liturgy was one of the main elements that caused upheaval in 19th-century European Jewry. The change from Yiddish to the vernacular in modernist Ashkenazi circles caused fierce criticism from more retentive rabbis and distorted the evaluation of the use of Iberian vernacular in early modern editions of the Sephardi prayer book. One of the initial questions to be answered in this study was the halakhic position of the use of the vernacular in obligatory Jewish prayer. Two millennia of rabbinical literature show some interesting developments. The Mishnah clearly condones the use of any language which is understood by one who prays as prayer in fact is praising the Almighty and asking for compassion, from the deepest of the heart. Early modern rabbinical authorities warmly welcomed many former Conversos back into the fold and gave them the status of תינוק שנשבע a person who had been taken captive as a baby. The use of the vernacular opened the way to become acquainted with Jewish literature and culture, including prayer. In 19th-century Ashkenaz, the vernacular opened the doors for Jews to imbibe non-Jewish culture and assimilate. An anthology of halakhic sources clearly illustrates this process (chapter 15 and appendix 3), without pretending to be exclusive.

Many questions have been answered in this study, while some deserve additional research. The remaining question whether a specific 'national' Dutch Jewish tradition has been developed was answered unequivocally: no such development can be discerned as far as the obligatory prayers are concerned (chapter 8). Like everywhere, certain synagogues and local communities may have their special customs, but they are often adapted from elsewhere. So it has been shown (chapter 7) that Isaiah 47: 4, said preceding the morning Amidah, is not said in Ashkenazi Amsterdam synagogues, which is indicated by it being printed in brackets, but this was a medieval custom in Northern France. Further research is necessary on the introduction of this custom in Amsterdam, as well as for other possible influences from other Ashkenazi regions, like Frankfurt and Alsace. Regarding the Dutch Sefardi tradition can be concluded that the Hebrew letter ב is always pronounced as *b* and the ע as *ng* does not constitute a national liturgical custom. The change from tushbechata to tishbechata in Kaddish and the introduction of a long answer to the ha-Gomel Berakhah are significant, but too small to indicate an independent custom. The supposed

influence on Amsterdam Sephardi liturgy from Livorno (chapter 8) was not yet studied. The discussion of this subject was closed in appendix 4 in relation with the vocalisation of Bible texts in the obligatory prayers. This phenomenon was explained as a result of 19th-century ideas on Hebrew grammar which were readily embraced by Jewish followers of the Wissenschaft des Judentums in the Netherlands and in the Hebrew grammars to be used in the Jewish schools. At the time grammars were seen as prescriptive and were therefore followed by the editors of Jewish prayer books like Lion Wagenaar and Joel Vredenburg. This vocalisation does not represent a trustworthy and longstanding tradition and is no more than a transient fashion without historical source or precedent in previous editions.

This study related to books containing obligatory prayers only. A complete survey and quantitative analysis of all books containing obligatory as well as voluntary prayers to have been printed in the Northern Netherlands and their distribution in the period 1584-2020 against the backdrop of the historical events of the time is still due.

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CATALOGUS
van
Nederduitsche
Franschen, Spaansche
en
Italiaansche
Boecken
en
MANUSCRIPTEN
door my
MOSES TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS
by Een Verzamelt
tot
AMSTERDAM

67

The following lists contain books with obligatory Jewish prayers, including separately printed Berakhot, Shemah and Counting the Omer. It is mainly based on Vinograd's Thesaurus[1], Kayserling's Bibliotheca Española-Portugueza-Judaica,[2] Harm den Boer's ongoing List of Sephardic editions,[3] Wilson's Iberian Books,[4] and the holdings of the Amsterdam University Library, including the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, and the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos, also in Amsterdam, STCN, as well as the catalogues of the British Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Entries in Vinograd only referring to the bibliographies of Bass, Ben Yacob[5] and Friedberg[6] were disregarded. The list only contains entries that are based on works of which at least one (even incomplete) copy has been located. An exception has been made for books listed by Kayserling and da Silva Rosa, who had access to the pre-World War II holdings of amongst others the Ets Haim Library. Copies that were part of the Ets Haim – LivrariaMotezinos collections but have been lost after 1940 are included. To further research and for reference the lists are not restricted to early modern editions, but include those that have been published up to the year 2020. As stated on p. XVII of this study to further research the records of the editions 1519-1618 that were inspected by the author contain additional bibliographical data.

The lists do not aim to be complete, being compiled from bibliographical literature and the author would welcome any additional information. Descriptions of editions of which no copy has been seen by the author – either in the original state, in photocopy or in a digitized format - have been marked *. All chronograms are *perat katan* (without five thousand) unless expressly stated otherwise. As explained on p. XVII the uniform titles used in the records correspond with those that are proposed on p. 169 and the other data are presented according to the rules published by Library of Congress in Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Material (Books) or DCRM(B) and contain the title, place of printing, responsibility statement and year of publication. Jewish years are accompanied by common years and Hebrew chronograms are presented as they appear in the book. These elements are followed by bibliographic references and the location of one or more copies, mostly with their call-numbers (a list of the abbreviations used is to be found on p. 324). More extensive bibliographic information has been added for the very rare editions up to 1618 as an incentive to further research.

[1] Vinograd, 1995.

[2] Kayserling, 1890. A new edition was published in New York, 1971 by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi in the series Studia Sephardica; Texts and Studies in the History and Literature of Spanish and Portuguese Jewry. The edition has been augmented with Jacob S. da Silva Rosa's 1933 Die Spanischen und Portugiesischen gedruckten Judaica in der Bibliothek des Jüd. Portug. Seminars "Ets Haim" in Amsterdam (1933) and with a preface by Yerushalmi.

[3] Den Boer, 2011-.

[4] Wilkinson, IB.

[5] Benjacob, 1880.

[6] Friedberg, 1956.

LIST OF BOOKS CONTAINING OBLIGATORY PRAYERS PRINTED IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS 1584-2019

1 Daily Prayers. Dordrecht, 1584

Orden de oraciones de mes arreo s. sin boltar de una à otra parte, la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada.
Maguntia (=Dordrecht), [Printed by Peeter Verhagen], [13 Adar 5344] [= February 26, 1584].

Colophon: Acabóse: a loor del Dio la presente orde de Oraciones en Maguntia à 13. De Adar de 5344.

236, (3) ff. the final (blank?) may be present or missing. Copy: Copy: BNE R/11178 (SE JS-267). Offenberg, 1987 1.
Collation: A-Z_8, a-f_8, g_4, $*_3$. Catchwords on every page, signatures, running titles, foliation. 24 lines.
Drop caps over 2 lines, fully aligned. The lower part of the title page is missing; the PDF scans do not show conjugate leaves, nor sewing. It is impossible from the reproduction to conclude if the final (blank?) leaf is present or missing. The text is more extensively manually censored than usual.

2 High Holidays. Dordrecht, 1584

מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español y de nuevo emendado y añadido el Selihoth el qual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.
Maguntia (=Dordrecht), Estampado por industria y despesa de Yahacob Ysrael [Printed by Peeter Verhagen] a .16. de Yiar de 5344 [=April 27, 1584].

Colophon: Estampado y acabado la presente orden de Roshasanah y Kipur à loor del Dio en Maguntia, a .16. de Yiar de 5344.

327, (1 blank) ff. Copies: Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Mainz XIVb 114 y; BLO Opp. Adds. 8^0 IV.12; BL (SE JS-299); SUL Hamburg; YUL. Kay 61, Offenberg 1987 2, SBH p. 35-37, V Mainz 2.
Collation: A-Z_8; a-s_8. Catchwords on every page; signatures signed 1-5; running titles; foliation 2-327. 25 lines.
Drop caps over two lines. The contents closely follow the Ferrara 1553 edition but is not identical: e.g. Ps. 81 is left out in the evening prayer of Rosh ha-Shanah and the Selichot are absent from the Ferrara edition.

3 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1604

מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español, y de nuevo emendado. Y añadido el Selihoth, el qual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.
[Amsterdam], Estampado por industria y despeza de Franco de Mendoça & compañia a primero de nisan 5364, [= April 1, 1604].

[263 [=264] ff. Copies: EH 23G02; ULA ROS 1895 H 37 (=SE JS-138); ULL 1149 H 2 (incomplete), BLO 8^0. M. 255 Th; JTS. Kay 61, Offenberg, 1987 3, STC 2430 STCN 112272487.
Collation: A-Z^8, Aa-Kk^8. Title unsigned, followed by A 2, f. 2 Undecided if title and A^8 are conjugates. F. 37 misnumbered 73, 67 misnumbered 66, 87 misnumbered 89, 152 misnumbered 144, 153-154 misnumbered 253-254, 169 misnumbered 269, 178 misnumbered 162, 180 misnumbered 172, 203 unnumbered (added in ms), 204 misnumbered 124, 205 misnumbered 185, 209 misnumbered 190, 226-232 corrected in ms., obliterating original foliation, 248 misnumbered 147, 249-264 misnumbered 248-263. Catch words at the foot of every page. 32 lines. Running titles. Vellum, rebacked. From the collection of David Montezinos.
Drop caps over 2 lines. text, headings, running titles, signatures and custodes: 8 pts; Hebrew characters: 28 pts. At the foot of most pages ink mark of form or furniture. Running titles in italics, headings in small caps.; shofar tones indicated in Hebrew type.

Comparing the recto and verso of the title-pages of the 1584 and the 1604 editions of the prayers for the High Holidays, as shown on the precious page, show that the former set the format for the later. The similarity between both editions is striking, but there are differences, the most important of which is the presence for the first time in the 1604 edition of Keter Malkhut and a number of Bakashot at the end of the book.

4 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1612

4a Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1612

Primera parte del sedur contiene las oraçiones de cada dia, de cada Sabath, y de cada mes. Y de los ajunos del Solo y congregaçion. Y de las fiestas de Hanucha I Purim, I de los diez dias de contriçion. Con muchas cosas acreçentadas que en todo el año se suelen dezir.
Amsterdam, Stampada pro industria y despeza de Yshac Franco, 5372 a los 4 de Addar [= February 7, 1612).

Colophon: Por mano de Iahacob Guadalupe.

16 cm. Size of text: 155 x 83 mm.223 (=224) ff. numbered (1), 2-153, 153-223. Copies: HABA Le 5, (photocopy in ULA RON A5270, BNE (SE JS-268), OSU. Offenberg, 1987 7a.
Collation: A-Z_8, Aa-Ee_8 (C_1 lacking), E_5 marked A_5. Catchwords on every page, signatures, running titles, foliation. 32 lines. Provenance: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolffenbüttel.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text 10 pts., running titles 8 pts., footers 10 pts., headings of various parts vary in size between 8-10 pts. Low quality paper, irregular typography and lay out, irregular inking of the form, often affecting the readability of the foliation, different font sizes in the foliation.

4b Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1612

Segunda parte del sedur contiee las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, Sucoth, y da octao. Con todas las cosas que e nellas se suele dezir en Casa y en la ysnoga.
Amsterdam, Stampada por industria y despeza de Yshac Franco a 4 de Adar ve Adar (= Adar 2) 5372, [=March 8, 1612].

17 cm. Size of text: 156 x 84 mm. 240 ff. numbered 2-240. Copies: EH 9H29, ULA RON A-5271 (SE JS-139), Tresoar, Ya. dSR 58, IB 51153, Offenberg, 1987 7b, Seeligmann, 1927 p. 41.
Collation: A-Z_8, Aa-GG_8. Catchwords on every page, gathering signatures 1-5, running titles. 32 lines. 18th century velvet over wooden boards (book block and binding carefully restored c. 2002, book block cropped by the 18th century binder. Provenance: from the collection of David Montezinos.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text, headings, signatures, custodes and rubrics: 9 pts; running titles: 8 pts. Low quality paper, irregular typography and lay out, irregular inking of the form, often affecting the readability of the foliation. Headings and rubrics are printed in the same font ad size as the text. Repetition of the Amidah in Arbit, including Kedushah. Halleel is said both nights of Pesach with Berakhah before Arbit; Remark that portion of Hagada from Ps. 136 onwards is not obligatory (not in edition Bomberg). Montezinos remarked in ms. on some peculiarities, e.g. incorrect translations on the fly leaf.

4c High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1612

Tercera parte del sedur contiene las thephiloth de Roshasanah y Kipur, con los diez dias de contricion, y el Selicoth que se dize quarenta dias antes del Kipur, en las madrugadas: y el Keter malcuth con todas las Bakasoth nuevas y Viejas.
Amsterdam, Por mandado de Isah Franco à 1e de Siuan 5372, [= June 1, 1612].

Size of tekst: 158 x 84 mm. 244 ff. (final gathering signed 1-4, possible 4 final blank ff. lacking), numbered (1), 1-224, 221, 226, 223, 228, 225, 230, 227, 232-244. Copy: ULA ROK A 1361 (SE JS-140). Offenberg, 1987 7c.
Collation: A-Z_8, Aa-Gg_8, Hh_4. In this copy Hh is bound as a gathering but the gutter has been mounted on stubs; it is impossible to establish whether they are conjugates. Catchwords, signatures, running titles and foliation. 32 lines. Modern red morocco, richly gilt. Provenance: Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text 10 pts, running titles and captions 9 pts. italics, footers 10 pts. Most of the text is identical with the 1604 edition, except for a number of *Pizmonim* and *Bakasoth* for Kipur which are excluded in this edition and a prayer at the end the last 2 lines of text on f 98v, last line f. 169v, 172v, 181v, 183r, 199v, 201r+v, 123v, ff. 206-211, 214r, 217v and from f. 341v till the end. Typography differs from that of parts 1-2 of the series, but is closer to the 1604 Amsterdam edition of the High Holiday prayers.

5 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1617

מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur trasladado en Español y de nuevo eme[n]dado y añadido el Selihot en qual se dize quare[n]ta dias a[n]tes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.
Em Amstradama, Talmud Torah Bet Yaahkob. Estampado por industria y despesa de David Abenatar Mello. A primero de sivan de 5377 [= June 4, 1617].

Colophon:
Acabóse à loor del Dio la presente orden de Oraçiones, en Amstradama, a 15. de Iunio de 5378

328 ll., the final leaf blank, numbered 2-327; f. 34 misnumbered 36, f. 54 misnumbered 45, f. 326 misnumbered 327. Copies: HUC Klau RBR E 1617, Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau (Apparently lost). IB 51154, Kay 61; Offenberg, 1987 12.
Collation: A-Z_8, a-s_8. Catchwords at every page. 25 lines. Provenance: Dr. Louis Grossmann Collection. Dropcaps over 2 lines. Running titles in italics. Minor textual differences with the previous editions of the High Holiday prayers in the vernacular. As indicated on the title the Bakashot are printed in Iberian Jewish dialect and on the opposite page in Romanised Hebrew.

6 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1618

Orden de oraciones de mess arreo sin boltar de una á otra parte y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada y las Bakassot al principio en Ladino con la pronunçiacón Hebrayca escrita en Hespannol.
En Amstradama, Impresso a despesza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah del Kahal Kadoos Bet Yaahkob, 15 Elul 5378, [= September 5, 1618].

264 ll., numbered (8), 1-212, (5). Copies: MLR Michel-Crepin 7355c, ULA OTM ROK A-938 (SE JS-141), BL, NLI, SE, SUH, Vat, YB. IB 51155-6, Kay 60, Offenberg, 1987 13, Simon Diaz v16 2228, V Asd 11.
Collation: (:)$_8$, A-Z_8, Aa-Ii$_8$. Catchwords on every page. 26-27 lines. Mediathèque La Rochelle.
Drop caps over 2 lines.

7 Fast days. Amsterdam. 1618*

Orden de oraciones de los cinquo Ayunos del año, assaber : de Gedaliah, de 10. de Thebet, de Hester, de 17. de Thamus, de Tishabe Ab y las Kinot de Tishabe Ab, todas en verso Hespanhol, muy à la letra de Hebraico con mucha diligencia todo emendado
En Amstradama : impresso à despeza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Thorah, del Kahal Kados Bet Yaahkob, 5378 [1618]

V Asd11. Copy: BrUL Sp BM675.F3 Z58 1618

8 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1622

Orden de oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y pascuas nuevamente emmendado.
Amsterdam, Stampado en casa de Paulo de Ravesteyn, por industria de Yehudah Machabeu, 5382 a primero de Adar [= February 11, 1622].

Copies: ULA ROK A-1156 (misdated 1620), UoM BM 660. 067. 1622

9 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1625

Orden de Ros Asana y Kipur.
Amsterdam, em casa de Joris Trigg, 5412 (1625).

Copy: EH 05G83

10 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1626*
Orden de oraciones de mes arreo y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y pascuas de Pesah.
[Amsterdam], 5386 (1626).

IB 51160. Copy: BLO Opp. add. 12^0 .107

11 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1627
סדר תפלות כמנהג קהל קדש ספרד והוספנו על הראשונים לכה דודי ומזמור המועדים וקדושי ג רגלים וזולתם מלבד שהעמרנו כל דבר ודבר על סדר השנה למען יקל על כל איש למצא מבוקשו.
באמשטילרדאם, בבית מנשה בן ישראל במצות הגבירים אפרים בואינו ואברהם צרפתי, וישכן ישראל בטח [5386/1626].

Colophon: תם ונשלם שבח לאל בורא עולם ביום שישי י״ג לחדש טבת שנת השפז ליצירה.
FHT 145, STC 2129, V Asd 13. Copy: BLO Opp. Add. 12^0. 107. The colophon is dated 13 Tevet 5387 (January 1st 1627).

12 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1630
Orden de los cinco Tahaniot del año, sin boltar de una a otra parte, los quales son el Tahanit de Tebet, el de Esther, el de dezisiete de Thamuz, el del Ab y el de Guedalha
(Amsterdam), Estampado por orde(n) de los señores Efraim Bueno y Yona Abravanel en casa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5390 (1630)

FHT p135 2, Kay 64, STC 2433, STCN 087334429; V Asd 23. Copies: EH 31F49, EH 35F61; ULA ROK A-1229 (Ros. 1899 G 27); BL 1972.bb.29; Google books

13 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1630
מחזור Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur. Traduzido en Español y de nuevo emme(n)dado y añadido el Keter Malchut y otras cosa.
Amsterdam, Estampado por industria y despeza de David Pardo y Salom ben Yosseph 5390 en primero de Tamuz (June 11, 1630).

Kay 61; STC 2131? STCN 102266468. Copies: EH 31F48 (https://www.amazon.de/Orden-Ros-Asaná-Kipur-Spanish-ebook/dp/B07CG959SD Kindle books); ULA ROK A-1217 (Ros. 1899 F 26).

14 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1631
סדר ארבעה תעניות הלא הם עשרה בטבת צום אסתר שבעה עשר בתמוז ותשעה באב ... והוספתי על הראשונים כמה דברים כאשר הקונה יוכל לראות הוגה בבית מנשה בן יוסף בן ישראל נ״ע.
באמשטירדסת במצות השותפים דוד פארדו ושלום בן יוסף,קול רנה וישועה
[5391/1631]

FHT 156, STCN 097772127, V Asd 24. Copies: EH 20H09, ULA ROS 3818 B 40

15 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1631*
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur.
(Amsterdam), Acosta de David Pardo y Salom ben Yosseph en casa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5390 (1630).

Kay 61. Copy: BLO Opp. add. 8^0 .II. 104

16 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1631*
מחזור ספרדים מימים נוראים וסדר סליחות ללילי אשמורות וסדר תפלות השנה וליום הכפורים.
באמשטירדם, בבית מנשה בן ישראל במצות דוד פרדו ושלום בן יוסף, קול רנה וישועה [5391/1631].

FHT 155 (mistakenly labeled Festival Prayers), STC 7487, V Asd 26. Copy: BLO

17 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1634
סדר התפלות ויפות ואותיות חדשות ומוגה מכל הטעויות שנפלו בראשונים.
באמשטרדם, נדפס בבית מנשה בן יוסף בן ישראל ותהי התחלת מלאכתו ביום ראשון לחודש חשון וישמחו השמים, [5395/1634].

The first Ashkenazi prayer book printed in Amsterdam, the date is October 23, 1634.
FHT 158, STC 2132, V Asd 37. Copies: BL 1972. a. 17, ULA ROS.

18 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1634
סדור ברכה Orden de Bendicion conformeel uso del K.K. de Sepharad, añadido y acrescentado en muchas cosas a as precedenttes impressiones.
[Amsterdam], Estampado acosta de un zeloso Hebreo e casa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5394 [1634].

FHT 159, STCN 097767395, V Asd 31. Copies: ULA ROS 20 C 1, BL 1972.a.17, BLO Opp. add. 8^0 .II. 104

19 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1635*
סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרד קהל קדוש ספרד עם פרקים תהלים פרשיות ומעמדות נדפס עתה מחדש באותיות יפות.
[אמשטירדם], בבית מנשה בן ישראל ובמצותו, ישעיה [5395/1635].

FHT 162, STC 2133, V Asd 38. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 721

20 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1636
Orden de las Oraciones del mes con los mas necessario y obligatorio de las tres fiestas del año como tambien lo que toca à los ayunos, Hanucah y Purim.
Amsteredam, por industria y despesa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5397 [1636].

FHT p. 135 10, Kay 60, STC 2428, STCN 357471555, V Asd 41. Copies: ULA OTM ROK A-1426 (incomplete); BNE R/27290, BL 8^0. M. 31. Th. Seld., NLI.

21 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1637*
Orden de oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y Pascuas.
Amsterdam, por yndustria de Yehuda Machabeu, Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, 5397 (1636/7).

IB51161. Copy: HUC

22 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1640
סדר ברכות Orden de Bendicion conforme el uso del K.K. de Sepharad. Añadido y acrescentado en muchos cosas a las precedentes impressiones
Amsterdam, Estampado en casa de Emanuel Benbeniste, 5400 [1640].

FHT p. 184 2, Kay 62, STC 3035, V Asd 53. Copy: EH 20K43

23 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1642
סדר תפלות ופזמונים ותחינות וקינות והפטרות לכל ימות השנה ... ומידי שבת בשבתו ובחגים ובמועדים.
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, הנה אנכי שולח לכם את אליהו [5402/1642].

FHT 207, STC 2137, V Asd 63. Copies: ULA Ros, EH 29D45 (lacking), BLO Opp. 12^0. 393 (1)

24 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1642*
סדר תפלות לכל השנה עם מאה ברכות.
אמשטרדם, [5402/1646].

Copies: BLO Opp. 12^o. 393 (1), EH 20K14 (Missing)

25 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1642*

סדר תפלות ותקון שבת ... כמנהג ק״ק אשכנז ופולין ופיהם ונדפס יחד.
אמשטרדם, במצות עמנואל בנבנשתי ובביתו, הת״ב [5402/1642].

FHT 208, Seeligmann, 1924, p. 195, STC 2136; 31527? STCN 098758136, V Asd 62. Copies ULA ROS 19 B 39; BLO Opp. 40 417(3)

26 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1643

26a Daily Prayers*

סדר תפלות ותחינות ופזמונים וקינות וקריאות והפטרות לכל ימות השנה כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים נדפט מחדש ונתוסף בו לוח כמה שנים רצופים.
אמשטרדם, במצות עמנואל בנבנשתי ובביתו, ת״ג [5403/1643].

FHT 211, STC 2138, V Asd 69. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 716

26b Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1643

סדר תפלות מועדים וימים טובים כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, עמנואל בנבנשתי, 5403 [1643]

V Asd 70. Copy: EH 20H53

26c Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1643

סדר ארבע תעניות הלא הם עשרה בטבת צום אסתר י״ז בתמוז ותשעה באב. ובחלק הימים נוראים כבר נדפס צום גדליה וצום כפור נדפט מחדש.
אמשטרדם, במצות עמנואל בנבנישתי ובביתו, 5403 [1643].

V Asd 64. Copies: EH 20H52, BLO Opp. 12^0. 393 (2), NLI

26d High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1643

סדר ספרדים מימים נוראים וסליחות לליל אשמורות.
אמשטרדם, נדפס מחדש והוגה בעיון נמרץ במצות עמנואל בנבנישתי או בביתו, 5403 [1643].

STCN 099936283, V Asd 68. Copies: EH 20H54, ULA ROS 20 H 3, NLI

27 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1644

סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרד עם פרשיות פרקים תהלים ומעמדות, נדפס מחדש.
אמשטרדם, בבית אליהו אבוהב, אש דת [5404/1643]

FHT 175, V Asd 82. Copies: EH 20K23, BLO

28 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1644*

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז
אמשטרדשם, [עמנואל בנבנשטי], [5404/1644].

FHT 215, STC 2139, V Asd 78. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 284 (title lacking)

29 Daily prayers. Amsterdam. 1644

תפלות מ״ס

Copy: EH 20K50/01

30 Festival Prayers 1644*

תפלות למועדים טובים מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, אליהו אבוהב, [5404/1644].

V Asd 84. Copy: NLI

31 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1644
סדר ארבע תעניות הלא הם ... עשרה בטבת צום אסתר שבעה עשר בתמוז תשעה באב ושמנו אותם בחלק לבדי להפסקת רצון לקונה. ובחלק הימים נוראים כבר נדפס צום גדליה וצום כפור.
אמשטרדסת בבית אליהו אבוהב, אש דת למו [5404/1644].

FHT 172, STC 2140, V Asd 71. Copies: EH 20H55, BLO Opp. add. 4^0 .IV. 608

32 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1644
סדר תפלות לימים נוראים לראש השנה ויום הכפורים עם סליחות לליל אשמורות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים יז״א.
אמשטרדם, בבית אליהו אבוהב, אש דת למו [5404/1644].

FHT 174, V Asd 81. Copies: ULA ROS, NLI

33 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1645
ברכת המזון.
אמשטרדם, ...

Copy: EH 21I80

34 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1646*
תפלות מכל השנה מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, 5406 [1646].

V Asd 109. Copy EH 23I49 (Missing)

35 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1646
תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג פולין ואשכנז.
אמשטרדם, במצות אברהם בן יהושע בן מרדכי גימפל, שמואל בר משה הלוי, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, אתה תרחם ציון [5406/1616].

FHT 218, STC 2141, V Asd 112. Copies: EH 23I21, BLO Opp. 12^0 . 263-264

36 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1646
סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז
אמשטרדם, בדפוס יוסף בן ישראל בן מנשה בן ישראל, ת״ו [5406/1646].

FHT 181, V Asd 110. Copy: EH 20I57

37 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1647*
תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג פולין רייסן ליטא פיהסמערהרין ואשכנז עם פרשיות ויוצרות וסליחות ושיר היחוד ותהלים ומעמדות וקינות ומנהגים מווגים ... ונעשה ספר לבד למנהגי פולין ולבד לאשכנז.
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, הראני אות לטובה [5407/1647].

FHT 220, STC 2142, V Asd 142. Copies: BLO Opp. 40. 1154, BL

38 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1648
Orden de oraciones de mes, con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y pascuas nuevamente emendado.
Amsterdam, stampada en casa de Nicolao de Ravesteyn por yndustria del doctor Efraim Bueno y Ionas Abravanel, 5408 [1648].

IB 51162, Kay 60, Palau202335, STC 7488, STCN 226381269. Copies: EH 23I06, ULA IV L 2B19, BL 1972.a.1

39 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1648
סדר תפלות מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים עם תעניות ותפלות מועדים. וימים נוראים.
אמשטירדם, נדפס בדפוס המשובח של יוסף בר החכם הנעלה לשם ולתהילה כמוה״רר מנשה בן ישראל מרביץ תורה ודורש טוב, הזאת [5408/1648].

FHT 188, V Asd 154. Copies: EH 20K44, 35F50, BLO Opp. add. 8^0 . IV. 22

40 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1648
Orden de los cinco tahaniot.
Amsterdam. Estampado por orden de los señores Efraim Bueno y Yonah Abravanel por Nic. De Ravestein, 5408 [1648].

Kay 64, STC 2434, STCN 226847667, V Asd 144, Zedner 489. Copies: EH 34F37, BL 8^0. Z. 214. Th; 1972.g.13

41 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1648*
ברכת המזון יברכני ... כמנהג אשכנז ופולין גידרוקט אין עברי אונ אין טייטש ... דען די אומנים זיין די בעשטן אין לאנד. דז האט מחבר גיוועזן שמשון בר יונה ...
אמשטרדם, בבית השותפים יהודה בן מרדכי ... שמואל בר משהה הלוי, מאת יי היתה זאת לפ״ק. [5408/1648].

FHT 253, Turniansky, 6, STC 2609, V Asd 146. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1366.

42 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1649
Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo s. sin boltar de una a otra parte con el ayuno de solo y las de mas cosas occurentes en todo el año. Y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada. Conforme a lo que se dize en el K.K. de talmud thora de Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, stampada por industtria y despeza de Joana Abravanel y Efraim Bueno en casa Joris Trigg, 5409 [1649].

IB 51163, Kay 60, Palau 202336, STCN 089407822, V Asd 158, Zedner 486. Copies: ULA ROS 1854 H 14 (online), BL 1972.cc.26 (lacks $2A_8$)

43 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1649
תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנזים עם יוצרות ... כתר מלכות סליחות ומעמדות תחינות יפות בלע״ז
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, לב אבות על בנים [5409/16499].

FHT 224, STC 2146, STCN 098758888, V Asd 166. Copies: ULA Band 1 C 8, BLO Opp. 80. 666

44 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650
סדר תפלה מכל השנה רעכט פאר טייטשט. (מתרגם : אבגדור סופר).
אמשטרדם,יהודה בר מרדכי גימפל ושמואל בר משה הלוי, כי בשם קדשו בטחנו [5410/1650].

FHT 268, STC 2417, STCN 099936119, V Asd 184. Copies: ULA ROS 15 F 53 (incomplete), BLO Opp. 4^0. 1191.

45 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650
45a Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650
מחזור de los oraciones del año parte primera contiene las Thephilot cotidianas, de Sabat, Ros Hodesz, Hanuca, Purim y del Ayuno del solo.
Amsterdam, Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

dSR 59, 65, FHT p135 19, Kay 60-61, STC 2431, STCN 121347028, V Asd 174. Copies: EH 31F55/01, ULA OTM ROK A-1433-1434 (online), ULL 1150 H 25:1, BL Mar. 320.

45b Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1650
מחזור de las Oraciones del año. Parte segunda contiene las Thephilot de los cinco ayunos del ano.
Amsterdam, Dirigida al Amplissimo y magnifico Señor Ishac de Pinto. Dispuestas y ordenadas por el Hacham Menasseh ben Israel. Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

dSR 58. Copies: EH 31F54, ULA ROK A-1434 online, BL 3366. aa. 1.

45c Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650.
מחזור de las Oraciones del año. Parte tercera, contiene todas las Thephilot de las Pascuas con un amostrador circular de Homer, una excelente Parraphrases en los rakim [sic!] y todos los 613 Preceptos Dispuesto y reformado por el Hacham Menasseh ben Israel.
Amsterdam, en la estampa de su hijo Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

dSR59, STCN 097724416, V Asd 185. Copies: EH 31F53, ULA ROS 3801 H 14 online, ULL 1150 H 12, BLO

46 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1650
Orden de las Bendiciones conforme el uso del K.K. de España. Añadido y dispuesto en mejor forma que las precedentes impreciones
Amsterdam, en la estampa de Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

FHT p135 20, Kay 62. Copy: ULA online

47 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1651
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג איטליאני וספירת העומר ולוח כמה שנים.
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, **אתי** [5411/1651].

FHT 231, V Asd 195. Copy: ULA ROS.

48 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1652
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur. Traduzido en Español y de Nuevo emendado y añidado de Keter Malchut y otras cosas.
Amsterdam, en casa de Joris Trigg, estampado por industria y despesa de Efraim Bueno y Jona Abravanel, 5412 [1652]

Kay 60-61, Palau 2202415, STC 2432, STCN 090548000. Copies: EH 05G83, ULA 1854 H 12, BL Mar. 251

49 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1653*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג ק״ק איטלייני.
אמשטרדם, שאול בן מנשה בן ישראל, 5413 [1653].

STCN 099926490, V Asd 210 ה. Copies: ULA ROS 20 H 5, Shocken

50 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1656*
מחזור מכל השנה מנהג אשכנז ופולין פיהם ומעהרן.
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, **תיו** [5416/1656].

FHT 243, STC 2476, V Asd 228. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^{0}. 1281.

51 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1656
Orden de oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y Pascuas nuevamente enmendado y añedido.
Amsterdam, por industria de Iehudah Machabeu y despeza de Eliau y David Uziel Cardoso, vezinos de Amsterdam, 5416 [1656]

At the end a special title-page: Calendario de las fiestas … del à criacion del mundo 5417 (19 September 1656) hasta 5436 (20 September 1675) y des de 1655 hasta 1675, calculado iustamente por Yehudah Machabeu, vezino de Amsterdam (veteran of Amsterdam) . En Amsterdam, en casa de Iillis Ioosten, a 25 de Tamuz 5416 (17 July 1656). The addition *vezino de Amsterdam* refers to the biography of Jehudah Machabeu (Louis Nuns Dovale) who is reorded as a member of the community in Amsterdam in 1617 and emigrated to Brazil in 1646 and left in 1654 after the Portuguese reconquered that country. He first settled in La Rochelle in France and returned to Amsterdam. (See: Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana Treasures of Jewish Booklore. Amsterdam, 1994 p. 35.
STCN 226381048 , V Asd 229, Zedner 486. Copies: EH 27F52, ULA OTM ROK A-603 (1), BLO Opp. add. 12^0. 144, BL C.049.a.9

52 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1658*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה ... כמנהג האשכנזים ופולין עם יוצרות ומערבים פרדשיות ופרקים ושיר היחוד וסליחות ותהלים כמו מקדם בק״ק פראנקבורט ועתה נוסף עליהם ... זולתות ... והגדה ומעמדות ותחינות.
אמשטרדם, נדפס בדפוס חדש בבית אורי וייבש בן אהרן וויטמונד הלוי, ושמחתים בבית תפלתי [5418/1658].

FHT 279, STC 2152, V Asd 251. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1156.

53 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1658*
סדר התפלות ותחנות ופזמונים ורינות וקריאות והפטרות לכל ימות השנה.
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, הגית בו יומם ולילה [5418/1658].

FHT 249, STC 2153, V Asd 253. Copy: Opp. 8^0. 718.

54 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1658
54a Daily Prayers. Amsterdam
סדר תפלות כמנהג קהל קדוש ספרד ... ושיר השירים, פרקי אבות, רות, ואזהרות.
אמשטירדם, הוגה ... ונדפס במצות ... יהושע צרפתי בדפוס ... יוסף עטיאש, תחיי נפשי ותהללך [5418/1658].

FHT 376, STC 2154, STCN 09993504X, V Asd 252. Copies: EH 20I13, ULA ROS 20 D 11-13, BLO Opp. 8^0. 717825 fragm

54b Festival Prayers. Amsterdam, 1658
תפלות מ״ס ג״ח סכות (סדר תפלות למועדים טובים)
Amsterdam, Sarphati, 5418 [1658].

Copies: EH 20H46 (NAW); EH 20I46/02, UoGranada

54c Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1658
סדר ארבע תעניות עשרה בטבת, צום אסתר, י״ז בתמוז ותשע באב. ובחלק נוראים כבר נדפס צום גדליה וצום כפור
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, הגית בו יומם ולילה [5418/1658].

FHT 248, STCN 098762893, V Asd 236. Copies: EH 20H47, ULA ROS 1859 J 14

54d High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1658
סדר תפלות לימים נוראים לראש השנה וליום הכפורים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, בבית עמנואל בנבנשתי, והגית בו יומם ולילה [5418/1658].

FHT 247, STC 2153, STCN 098756400, V Asd 254. Copies: EH 20H47, ULA ROS 3807 H 17

55 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1658*

לוח כי כן יבורך גבר
אמשטרדם, 1658 [5418].

STC 2653, V Asd 241. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1374

56 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1659*
Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo. S. sin boltar de una á otra parte con el ayuno de solo y las de mas cosas occurentes en todo el año. Y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth y dia octavo y Osanot; … añadido nuevamente un Calendario de fiestas …. con mucha diligentia emendada. Conforme a lo que se dize enel K.K. de talmuthora [sic!] de Amsterdam. Amsterdam, Joris Trigg, 5419 [1659].

Kay 60, STC 2429. Copies: BL; ULG

57 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1659

תפלות מ״ס
אמשטרדם, 5419 [1659].

Kay 60, Mar. 247, StC 2429. Copy: EH 29G31

58 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1660

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, בדפוס יוסף עטיאש ובמצותו, תכון תפלתי [5420/1660].

FHT 380, STC 2155, STCN 226381390, V Asd 272. Copies: ULA ROK A-971, BL C.049.a.8, BLO Opp. 80. 764, CUL F166.e.5.7

59 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1660
Orden de los cinco Tahaniot del ano.
Amsterdam, Estampado por orden de Efraim Bueno y Yahacob Castello, en casa de Joris Trigg, 5420 [1660].

Kay 64, STCN 226381390, V Asd 265. Copies: EH 29G31, ULA ROK A 971, BL C.049.a.8, CUL F166.e.5.7

60 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1661*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, במצות דוד די קאסיריז ... הרון בן אברהם משה נדפס בבית אורי פייבש בן... אהרון הלוי, יצו ה׳ אתך את הברכה, [5421/1661].

FHT 294, STC 2156, V Asd 284. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 266

61 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1661

סדר תפלות תחנות ופזמונים וקינות ... לכל ימות השנה ... כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס יוסף עטיאש ובמצותו, קדושים תהיו [5421/1661].

FHT 383, STC 2157, STCN 099932415, V Asd 285. Copies: ULA ROS 20 C 22, ULUpp

62 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1661

תפלות לחול ולימים נוראים.
[אמשטרדם, 4521/1661]

Zedner 486? Copy: EH 20H41-42

63 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1661
Orden de las bendiciones conforme el uso del K.K. de Espana, anadido y dispuesto en mejor forma que las precedentes imprenciones.
Amsterdam, en la estampa de Joris Trigg, 5421 [1661]

dSR 74. Copy: EH 18G41

64 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1661*
ברכת המזון ... דש בענשן איז גידרוקט כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, והנה פרח מטה אהרן לבית לוי [5421/1662].

FHT 624, Turnnianski 7, V Asd 276. Copy: ULErlangen
The chronogram, quoting Num. 17: 23 ('and there the staff of Aaron of the house of Levi had sprouted'), probably referring to Uri ben Aaron ha-Levi as printer of the work.

65 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1662*
Orden de Oraciones de Mez arreo, y la orden de Hanuccah Purim y Pascuas de Pesa Sebuoth Sucoth y ajuno del Solo. Añadido nuevamente la orden de mismara de Ros Hodes, y las Parasioth y Haphtoroth de las dichas Pascuas, y la historia de Antiochos, y mas Cozas occurrentes en todo el año.
Amsterdam, David de Crasta [=Castro] Tartaz, 5422 [1662]

Kay p. 60, STCN 217884962. Copies: BL 1972.g.17.1, PBU 8B10 69 INV1511.

66 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam, 1662*
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים
אמשטרדסת בדפוס יוסף עטיאש, תחדהו בשמחה את פניך [5423/1663]

FHT 386, STC 2163, V Asd 293. Copies: BL, BLO

67 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1662*
סדר תפלות מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, בבית דוד תי קראשתו תרתס, כי ביתי בית תפלה [5422/1662].

FHT 434, Kay 60, STC 2159, V Asd 294. Copy: BLO Opp. 120. 287

68 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1663*
מחזור מכל השנהה כמנהג אשכנז כדת פולין כנימוס מעררין, כמשפט פיהם.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס אורי פייבש בן אהרון הלוי, עבדו את ה׳ ביראה ובאו לפניו ברננה [5423/1663]

FHT 300, STC 2479, V Asd 304. Copies: BLO Opp. 40. 1277, UCM

69 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam, 1663*
סדר תפלות ממדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו כמנהג ק״ק ספרד.
בבית ובמצות דוד די קראשתו תארתס, יי ישמע בקראי אליו [5423/1663].

FHT 435, STC 2162, V Asd 309. Copies: EH 20K05 (missing), BLO Opp. 120. 288

70* Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1663
Libro de oraciones de mez y la orden de Hanukah, y Purim. Dispuesto con toda curiozidad.
Amsterdam, David de Crasto [=Castro] Tartaz, 5423 [1663].

dSR 46, FHT p380 1, STCN 860181855. Copies: EH 02G02, KB 345 G 9, 345 G 10, BL 954. f. 4

71 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1663*

מחזור לראש השנה ויום כפור
אמשטרדם, 5423 [1663]

Cowley 556, V Asd 303; Copy: BLO

72 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1663
Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur, traduzido en Español y de nuevo emmendado y añadido el Keter Malchut y otras cosas.
Amsterdam, por despeza de David Fereira y Mosseh Moreno Henriques en casa de David de Crasto [=Castro] Tartaz, 5423 [1663]

FHT p. 380 2, Kay 62. Copies: EH 10G59; 32E63

73 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1664*
מחזור ספרדים לימים נוראים וסדר סליחות ללילי אשמורות וסדר תפלות לראש השנה וליום הכפורים.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס יוסף אטיאש ובמצותו, למען תחיו [5424/1664]

FHT 387, V Asd 314. Copy: BLO Opp. add. 120. 123 (3)

74 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1666*
Dagelics gebedt der joden, hetwelcke sij alle dagen drie malen staende bidden en des sabbaths of heilige dagen vier malen.
Amsterdam, 5426 [1666]

Copy: EH 21H31/04 (lost). No further information or references.

75 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1666*
Orden de Selihot y lo que se dize en dias de Ayuno y de congregacion.
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5426 [1666]

The prayers for a communal Fast Day are generally included in the Sephardi Daily Prayer book.
FHT p. 380 10, V Asd 334. Copy?

76 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1668*
סדר תפלות כמנהג פולין רייסן, ליטא פיהם מעריבים ופרקים ושיר היחוד ופרשיות ויוצרות וסליחות ותהלים ומעמדות וקינות ומנהגים.
אמשטרדם, בבית יוסף עטיאש בן אברהם ובמצותו, משיחנו יבא [5427/1667]

3 parts. The colophon of part 1 is dated 20 Menachem 5428 (28 July 1668). Part 2-3 contain Bible portions, Psalms, Ma'amadot, Minhagim and Techinot in Yiddish and are dated 5428/1668.
FHT 394, STC 2167, V Asd 357. Copy: BLO Opp. 80. 681

77 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1668*
סדר תפלות מכל שנה כמנהג האשכנזים עם מעריבים ופרקים ושיר היחוד ופרשיות וסליחות ומעמדות ותחינות כתר מלכות וזולת, סדר פרקים ופרשיות ותהלים ומעמדות ומנהגים מסודר כפי ימי השבוע ... תפלות זעני גאר וואול מוגה די טעיות ... די פרקים זייני גיזעצט אויז די משניות די פרשיות ותהלים אויז עשרים וארבע. די מעמדות אויז די גמרות ... די מנהגים של ר׳ אייזיק טירנא
אמשטרדם, בבית יוסף עטיאש בן אברהם ובמצותו, משיחנו יבא [5428/1668]

FHT 395, STC 2168, V Asd 358. Copies: BL, BLO Opp. 80. 667

78 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1669*
Orden de Oraciones cotidianas. Por estilo seguido y corriente con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth. A que se añaden las Parasioth que en todas estas fiestas se leen.
Amsterdam, en casa y à costa de David de Castro Tartas, 5429 [1669]

FHT p. 381 13, STCN 125018800. Copy: UBL 1149 H 1

79 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1669
עמק ברכה
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות דוד די קאשטרו תרתס, אברכה את יי בכל עת [5429/1669]

FHT 451, STC 2613, V Asd 367. Copies: EH 20K39, ULA Ros. Includes the Pesach Haggadah.

80 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1670*
מחזור מכל השנה כמנהג פיהם פולין וגרמניה בתוספת סליחות יי״כ.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס אורי וייבוש בן אהרון הלוי, תל-פיות [5430/1670]

FHT 318, STC 2482, V Asd 382. Copies: BLO Opp. fol. 1225; BL A. 7.14. Th, ULLund

81 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1670-71
81a Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1670
סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרד
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית ובמצות דוד די קאסטרו תארתס, ואני תפלתי ה׳ עת רצון [5430/1670]

FHT 457 I, STC 2170, STCN 109597389, V Asd 385. Copies: EH 20K40, ULA ROS 1860 J 32:1, BLO

81b Festivals + Fast days. Amsterdam. 1671
סדר תפלות לחגים ולתעניות כפי מנהג ק״ק ספרד
אמשטרדם, בדפוס דוד די קאסטרו תארתס, תהלה לדוד ארוממך [5431/1671]

FHT 457 II, STC 2170, STCN 109597001, V Asd 397. Copies: EH 20K40, ULA ROS 1860 J 32:2, BLO

82 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1670*
ברכת המזון דש בענשן איז גידרוקט כמנהג אשכנז ופולין אובר אנייש
אמשטרדם, בדפוס אורי וייבש בן אהרן הלוי, ר״ח כסליו תלא [5431/1670]

FHT 315, STC 2614, Turniansky 8, V Asd 374; 387 [sic!]. Copy: BLO Opp. 40. 1367

83 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1676*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין עברית ואשכנזית מערכה מול מערכה
אמשטרדם, במצות מנחם בר יעקב כהן בדפוס אורי וויבש בן אהרן הלוי,חשון תז״ל כטל [5437/1676].

FHT 334, STC 2176, V Asd 425. Copy: BLO Opp. 80. 697. (First part finished 8 October 1676)

84 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1677
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג האשכנזים עם יוצרות ומעריבים פרשיות ופרקים ושיר היחוד, סליחת תהלים מעמדות ... והגדה ותחינות.
אמשטרדם, במצות דוד בן אורי וייבש הלוי בבית אורי וייבש בן אהרון הלוי, תז״ל כטל אמרתי, [5437/1676]

FHT 337, STC 2177, V Asd 434. Copies: ULA Ros, BLO Opp. 40. 1130

85 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1677*
Orden de las Oraciones del todo el anno
Amsterdam, por industria de Dan. Vaez y Jos. Athias, 5437 [1677]

FHT p339 5, Kay 60. Copy: ?

86 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1678
תפלות מ״א
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5438 [1678]

V Asd 438. Copy: EH 28B04

87 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1678*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה ...כמנהג האשכנזים כמו שנדפס מקדם בק״ק פראנקבורט ... ועתה נוסף עליהם ... זולת שבין פסח לשבועות ... והגדה ומעמדות ותחנות וקבלת שבת
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות ... דוד תארטאס, יי נחני בצדקתיך [5438/1678].

FHT 466, STC 2178, V Asd 442. Copy: ?

88 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1678
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרד
אמשטרדם, נדפס בביתובמצות אורי בן אהרן לוי, תח״ל [5438/1678]

FHT 339, Roest 713, STC 2179/80, V Asd 440/1. Copies: EH 23I39, ULA Ros, BLO Opp. 40. 292; Opp. add. 40. II. 230

89 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1679*
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas ... con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del Solo.
Amstterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5439

FHT p. 381 19. Copy: ?

90 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1679
מחזור ספרדים לימים נוראים וסדר סליחות ללילי אשמורות וסדר תפלות לראש השנה וליום הכפורים ולצום גדליה
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית אורי הלוי, כי טל אורות טלך [5439/1679]

FHT 341, STC 7490, V Asd 447. Copies: EH 29G37, BLO

91 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1680*
תפלה מכל השנה עם תוספות ... עם השמות על פי הקבלה ... וכמה תחינות ... וזמירות
אמשארדם, במצות משורר מראג בבית דוד תארטאס, ושמחתם בבית תפלתי [5440/1680]

FHT 470, STC 2183, V Asd 465. Copy: BLO Opp. 120. 320

92 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1680
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים לחדשים ולמועדים
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות דוד די קאסטרו תארתס, תכון תפלתי [5440/1680]

FHT 471, V Asd 466. Copy: ULA Ros (photocopy of the title-page only).

93 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1681*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה עם פ׳ כמנהג פולין רייסין, ליטא, פיהם, מערהרין ... ויוצרות וסליחות עם פ׳ ... ושיר היחוד ותהלים עם פי׳ רד״ק ומעמדות עם תרגום פרשת המן ... וקינות ... מנהגים ותיקון שבת עם פי׳ המשניות פרק שירה תפלי׳ ... על החולאין עם פדיון השם מפי ... יצחק לוריא ... שערי ציון ... וידוי ... שאר תפלות מספר שני לוחות הבריתהטבת חלום
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות אורי וייבש בן אהרון הלוי, אמת קנה [5441/1681]

FHT 345, STC 2184, V Asd 475. Copies: BLO Opp. 40. 1145, ULUpp

94 Comprehensive Prayers. Amstterdam. 1681*
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente, con las de Hanucah Purim, y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien de las tres Pascuas, de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth.
Amsterdam, David Tartas, 5441 [1681]

FHT p. 381 26, STCN 226526798. Copy: BL 1972.a.22:1, CUL Syn.9.68.1

95 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1682
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרד.
אמשטרדם, בבית אורי בן אהרן הלוי, והיה כל מבקש [5442/1682]

FHT 350, V Asd 488, Zedner 459. Copies: EH 20K03, BL

96 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1684*
מחזור מנהג אשכנז עם פרוש הדרת קודש.
אמשטרדם, תמ״ד [5444/1684]

V Asd 507.Copy: Annenberg

97 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1684*
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרד לחדשים ולמועדים
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות דוד די קאשטרו תארטאס, תפלה לדוד [5444/1684]

FHT 481, STC 2186'V Asd 513. Copy: BLO Opp. 120, 293-94

98 Fast Days. Ammsterdam. 1684*
Orden de los cinco ayunos, que son Tahanith de nueve de Ab. el de Tebeth, el de Ester, el de Thamuz, y el de Guedaliah. Por estilo seguido, y corriente, conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados Amsterdam, impresso en casa y à costa de David Tartas, 5444 [1684]

FHT p381 30, STCN 217863027. Copy: BL 1971.ccc.18

99 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1684
Orden de Ros Asanah y kipur.
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5444 [1684]

FHT p. 381 31; STCN 036761702. Copies: EH 20H36; ULA Ros. 1854 H 36 (lacks G7-8); KB 485 L 33 (lacks G7-8); BL C.049.b.6.

100 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1685*
מחזור של ראש השנה ויום הכפורים כמנהג ק״ק אלגזאייר הנקרא ארג״יר
אמשטרדם, במצות ... יצחק קנסינו ... שלמה טובייגא ... שמואל די קאמפוס ... ובהשתדלות ...
יצחק בר יעקב ששפורטש בבית אורי פייבש בן אהרן הלוי, קול רנה וישוע״ה באהלי צדיקים [5445/1685]

FHT 356, STC 2590, V Asd 518. Copy: BLO Opp. 80. 963

101 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1686
ברכת המזון דש בענשן איז גידרוקט כמנהג (אשכנז ופולין) איבר איינש
אמשטרדם, בבית ... אורי וייבש בן ... אהרון הלוי, י״ג אייר תמ״ו [5446/1686]

FHT 358, Turniansky 12, V Asd 525. Copy: ULA Ros

102 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1687
Orden de las oraciones del año. Contiene las Thephillot cotidianas, de Sabbat, del Ayuno del Solo de Roshodes, de Hanucah, de Purim, de Pesah, de Sebuoth, de Succoth, de Hosaana Rabá.
Amsterdam, En casa de David de Castro Tartas, 5448 [1687].

Copies: ULA OTM ROK A-935 (1) online (made-up copy, 'fictitious title'), KB, Fcs. Edition: Madrid, 1992

103 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1687
סדר ברכות על כל הענינים ... בו הרבה תקונים
אמשטרדם, בבית אלבירטוס מאגנוס, שימני כחתם על לבך [5448/1687]

Colophon: שנת ברוך תהיה מכל העמים
FHT 606, STC 2619, V Asd 550. Copies: EH 05I58; 20H11; 21H62, ULA Ros, BLO Opp. 8^0. 1009; Opp. 12^0. 406; Opp. 12^0. 43

104 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1687
'סדר ברכות כן יברך גבר ירא ה, Orden de Bendiciones. Y las ocaziones en que se deven dezir. Con muchas adiciones a las precedentes impreciones, y por mejor methodo dispuestas
[Translated into Spanish by Binyamin Senior Godines].
Amsterdam, en la estampa de Albertus Magnus, 5447 [1687].

FHT 607, Kay 62, STC 2619b, STCN 217863094, V Asd 550. Copies: EH 20H10, ULA Ros, BL 1972.b.11, 1972.b.12, 1972.b.22, BLO Opp. 8^0. 1010

105 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1688*
מחסור מכל השנה כמנהג פולין רייסין פיהם ומערהרין ואשכנז
אמשטילרדאם, נדפס ע״י אורי פייביש בן אהרן הלוי ובביתו ובהשגחת בן המדפיס דוד, אז ימלא שחוק פינו ולשוננו רנה [5448/1688]

FHT 367, STC 2491, STCN 099581361, V Asd 555. Copies: ULA ROS 19 F 29, BLO Opp. 8^0. 950

106 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1688*
סדר התפלות כמנהג פולין, רייסן, ליטא, פיהם, מערהרין ... ויוצרות וסליחות ... ותהלים ומעמדות וקינות ומנהגים ... בהשגחת שמואל טישיירה תרטאס
אמשטירדם, בבית דוד די קרשתו תרטאס, תפלה לדוד שמעה [5448/1688]

FHT 491, STC 2193, V Asd 564. Copies: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1146, Opp. 4^0. 1132

107 Festival Prayers + Fasts. Amsterdam. 1688
סדר תפלות לחגים ולתעניות כמנהג ק״ק ספרד
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית אורי בן אהרן לוי, ישמח מלך [5448/1688]

FHT 371, STC 2194, V Asd 565. Copies: EH 20K34, BLO Opp. 12^0. 394

108 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1688
סדר ארבע תעניות ... עשרה בטבת,צום אסתר, י״ט (= י״ז) בתמוז ותשעה באב. ובחלק ימים נוראים כבר נדפס צום גדליה וצום כפור
אמשטירדם, בבית ובדפוס עמנואל בן יוסף עטיאש, בעזד ישמח מלך [5448//1688]

FHT 400, STCN 099933810, Vinograd Asd 549. Copies: ULA ROS 19 D 7, RLC.

109 Festival Prayers + Fasts. Amsterdam. 1689
109a Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1689
סדר תפלות למועדים טובים כמנהג ...ספרדים.
אמשטירדם, בדפוס יוסף עטיאש, אנכי שולח לכם את אליה [5449/1689].

FHT 401, STC 2194, V Asd 566. Copies: EH 20L13, BLO

109b Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1689
סדר ארבע תעניות ... עשרה בטבת, צום אסתר, י״ז בתמוז ותשעה באב.
אמשטירדם, בדפוס יוסף עטיאש, אנכי שולח לכם את אליה [5448/1688].

FHT 401, STC 2194, V Asd 566. Copies: EH 20L13, BLO.

109c Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1689
סדר ארבע תעניות ... עשרה בטבת, צום אסתר, י״ז בתמוז ותשעה באב.
אמשטירדם, בדפוס עמנואל עטיאש, אנכי שולח לכם את אליה [5448/1688].

FHT 401 note. Copy: ULA Ros

109d High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1689
מחזור ספרדים לימים נוראים וסדר סליחות ללילי אשמורות וסדר תפלות לראש השנה ויום הכפורים.
אמשטירדם, בדפוס יוסף עטיאש, אנכי שולח לכם את אליה [5448/1688].

FHT 401, STC 2194, STCN 109593553, V Asd 566. Copies: EH 20L13, ULA ROK 343, BLO

110 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1689
סדר תפלות מדי חודש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו כמנהג ספרד.
אמשטרדם, [1689] 5449

V Asd 575, Zedner 486. Copies: EH 20K01, BL

110 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1690
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente, con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas, Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth. Aque se añaden las Parasioth y Aphtaroth que en todas estas Fiestas se leen. Nuovamente corregido
Amsterdam, à su costa impresso por David de Castro Tartas [5450] 1690

FHT p 382 35. Copies: BL; BNE R/3682 (online)

111 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1692
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriete con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas, Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth. Aque se anaden las Parasioth y Aphtaroth que en todas estas Fiestas se leen. Nuovamente corregido
Amsterdam, a sua costa impresso par David Tartas, 5452 [1692]

dSR 47, FHT p 382 38, STC 2204, V Asd 625. Copies: EH 6H04, 27F53/01 (another state), Tresoar FHT 31-4b orde, BLO Opp. 12^0, 321; ULL Closed Stacks 5854D30. Two states of the work are known with variant titles, one including a privilege and approbation.

112 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1692
סידור מכל השנה נוסח אשכנז
אמשטרדם, [1692] 5452

V Asd 606. Copies: EH 13D19/05, Bar Ilan

113 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1693*
Orden de Rosasanah y Kipur
Amsterdam, Davis de Castro Tartas, 5453 [1693]

FHT p. 382 39; STCN 138869936. Copies: ULL 854 D 31

114 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1694*
תפלה מכל ההשנה ... ותפלה של ימים נוראים ופרקי אבות ופרשיות ושיר היחוד ... ושבעי ושתים פסוקים ... תחינות וקבלת השבת וזמירות [מנהג אשכנז ופולין]
אמשטרדם, נדפס במצות יעקב בן אברהם חזקוני בבית ... משה בר אברהם אבינו, כי אתה אבינו כי אברהם לא ידענו [5454/16994]

FHT 512, STC 2204, V Asd 625. Copies: BL, BLO Opp. 12^0, 321

115 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amstterdam. 1694*
ברכת המזון דאש בענשן ... כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות משה בר אברהם אבינו, מי לא ידע ככל אלה כי יד יהוה עשתה זאת [5454/1694].

FHT 510, STC 2623, Turniansky, 1982 nr. 17, V Asd 622. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0. 468

116 Comprehensive Prayers. Amstterdam. 1695*
116a Daily Prayers.
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5455 [1695].

FHT p 382 41, Kay 60, STCN 226381471. Copies: BL C.049.a.10, BLO; NLI; Yivo

116b Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1695
Orden de los cinco tahaniot
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5455 [1695].

FHT p. 382 40, Kay 64, V Asd 626, Zedner 489. Copy: EH 34F38.

116c High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1695
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados. Nuevamente corregido.
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5455 [1696]

Kay 62, STCN 216437253; V Asd 631. Copies: EH 23G01; ULA Ros. Cass. 291, BL 1971.cc.16, 1971.aaa.22

117 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1696*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, נדפס במצות יעקב בן משה בבית השותפים אשר אנשיל בן אליעזר חזן, יששכר בער בן אברהם אליעזר, ואהבת לרעך כמוך [5456/1696]

FHT 526, STC 2206, V Asd 643. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0, 321

118 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1699
תפלה לימים ומועדים וימים נוראים ופרקים וברכת הנהנין
אמשטרדם, נדפס ע"י חיים פילא בבית וילם סימן, תנ"ט [5459/1699]

FHT 613, STCN 115264302, V Asd 685. Copy: ULA ROS 1861 H 36

119 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1700
סדר תפלות לחדשים ולמועדים עם פרשיות והפטרות לכל חג ... וגם חמש תעניות ... כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניו, תפלה למשה [5460/1700]

FHT 567, STC 2228, V Asd 712. Copies: EH 20K 55-58, 35F51, BLO Opp. 12^0. 303

120 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1700
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג ספרדים והוספנו ... סדר המועדים עם הפרשיות והפטרות, שיש השירים ופרקי אבות, רות ואזהרות, תפלות ראש השנה ויום כפור, הסליחות ותחינות וכל סדר תעניות
אמשטרדם, בהוצאות שלמה בן יוסף פרופס בית ובמצות משה בן אברהם קויטיניו, וסלחת לעונינו [5460/1700]

FHT 568, STC 2229, STCN 036329010, V Asd 713. Copies: EH 35F51, KB: 486 L 30, BLO Opp. 12^0. 298, Dr. Williams's Library: Judaica A 5

121 Shemah [c. 1700]*
תיקון קריאת שמע
אמשטרדם. [4560/1700 בערך]

STC 3086, V Asd 711. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 1032

122 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1701
סדר ארבע תעניות צום גדליה, עשרה בטבת, צום אסתר, שבעה עשר בתמוז ותשעה באב.
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניו, אנכי שולח לכם את אליה [5461/1701].

FHT 569, V Asd 714. Copies: EH 20I03, ULA Ros.

123 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1701
ברכת המזון דש בענטשן ... כמנהג (אשכנז ופולין)
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות עמנואל בן יוסף עטיאס, אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת [5461/1701].

FHT 412, STC 2628, Turniansky 21, V Asd 715. Copies: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1365, ULA Ros

124 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1702
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים מדי חדש בחדשו, תפלות המועדים
אמשטרדם, בדפוס עמנואל עטיאש, והמכתב מכתב אלהים הוא [5462/1702].

FHT 417, STCN 323043259, V Asd 749. Copies: EH 20K06, KB 1769 A 19, BL, ULA Ros

125 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1702*
סדור מנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניו, לסדר ברוך תהיה מכל העמים [5462/1702].

FHT 577, STC 2240, V Asd 745. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 312

126 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1702*
ברכת המזון דש בענטשן כמנהג אשכנז ופולין ... דיא זמירות אין טייטש גאנץ אנדרשט גישטעלט האב איך מיר איינם טון דינגן ... דער דיא ריימן גמאכט האט.
אמשטרדם, במצות שלמה בן יוסף פרופס מוכר ספרים ... בבית עמנואל בן יוסף עטיאש, והמכתב מכתב אלהים הוא [5462/1702].

FHT 416, STC 2630, Turniansky 22, V Asd 736. Copies: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1370-71, Opp. 4^0. 1357

127 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1703*
סדר תפילות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, במצות אשר אנשיל בן אליעזר וישׁשכר בער בר אליעזר ושלמה בן יוסף פרופס ... בבית אנשיל שוחט, לא תסיג גבול רעך [5463/1703].

FHT 546, STC 2244, Van Eeghen, 1967, p. 56, V Asd 767. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 271

128 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1703*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין עם פרקים והושענות ומערבים ופרשיות ושיר היחוד ...
אמטרדם, במצות שלמה בן יוסף פרופס בדפוס עמנואל עטיאש, בהתהלכך תנחה אותך [5463/1703].

FHT 421, STC 2243, V Asd 768. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 840

129 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1704*
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente, Con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas …
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5464 [1704].

Kay 60, V Asd 778, Zedner 486. Copies: BLO Opp. add. 80. II. 193, BL, Trinity College Dublin

130 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1704
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente, Con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas …
Amsterdam, A costa de Yshak de Cordova impresso em casa H. Ackerman y W. Groeneveldt, 5464 [1704].

Kay p. 60, STCN 317318772. Copies: EH 31F52/01, ULA ROK A-1184:1, BL, BLO Opp. 8^0, 668

131 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1704
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס עמנואל עטיאש, הדריכני בנתיב מצותיך [5464/1704].

FHT 422, STC 2251, V Asd 779. Copies: EH 20K61, ULA Ros, BLO Opp. 12^0, 299

132 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1704*
סדר תפלות מנהג פולין ורייסין.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ד [5474/1704].

STC 2250, V Asd 780. Copies: BLO Opp. 8^0, 683, NLI

133 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1705*
סדר תפלות ... ותקון שבת ... וסליחות ותחינות ... ופרשיות ותהלים ומעמדות וקינות כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניא, תס״ה [5465/17.05].

FHT 583, STC 2257/7491, V Asd 799/800. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0, 1172

134 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1705*
סדור מנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, 4565/1705.

V Asd 789. Copy: BLO Opp. add. 430. II. 220

135 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1705

[סדור מנהג אשכנז].
אמשטרדם, פרופס, תס״ה [5465/1705].

STC 2259, V Asd 790. Copy: EH 29B19/01

136 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1705
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido ...
Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Yshac de Cordova, 5465 [1705].

Copies: EH 21G45/01, BLO Opp. 4⁰. 1189 (imperf.)

137 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1705

סדר התפלות מכל השנה עם פירוש בלשון אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית ובמצות משה בן מינדיס קוטיניא, תס״ה [5465/1705].

FHT 582, STC 2258, STCN 371241332, V Asd 801. Copies: ULA RON A-557, RON A-624 (1, fol. 1 defective), KB 1769 C 4, BLO Opp. 8⁰. 730; 1173; Opp. 4⁰. 1174

138 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, y con las Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazaroth, Historia de Hantiochos, todo de letra grande.
Amsterdam, em casa de Yshak de Cordova y a costa de Aharon Hisquiyah Querido, 5466 [1706].

dSR 49, Van Stralen 152, V Asd 806. Copies: EH 30E71, BL

139 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706*
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, y con las Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazaroth, Historia de Hantiochos, todo de letra grande.
Amsterdam, en casa de Yshak de Cordova y a costa de Yshak de Ioseph Cohen Farro, [5466/1706].

Kay p. 60, STCN 183882717, V Asd 823, Zedner 486. Copies: KB 345 G 11, BL, DSMU

140 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de las Oraciones quotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Aiuno del Solo. Y las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazazeroth de Sebuoth.
Amsterdam, en caza y Acosta de Moseh Mendes Coutinho, 5466 [1706].

Format: 18°. Collation: π4 <***>12 <***>1-<***>3812/6 [<***>39]6
dSR 48, STCN 314761462. Copies: EH 20H35, ULA OTM ROK A-1428, ULL 871 G 11, BNE R/41474, ULAU (Google Books)

141 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de las Oraciones quotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Aiuno del Solo. Y las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazazeroth de Sebuoth.
Amsterdam, en caza y Acosta de Moseh Mendes Coutinho, 5466 [1706].

Format: 8°. Collation: π4 3*1-3*434 3*442 [3*45]1 A-2D4
dSR 48, STCN 172172667. Copies: ULA ROK A-970 (lacks gathering 2D), KB 144 G 35:1, ULL 854 E 30, BL 1972.g.18, 1972.a.23

142 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קוטיניא, כשמך אלהים כן תהלתך
[5466/1706].

FHT 590, STC 2265, V Asd 821. Copy: BLO

143 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1706
מחזור מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, נדפס בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניו, תס״ו [5466/1706].

FHT 587, STC 2510, V Asd 808. Copies: BLO opp. 4^0. 1282, ULA Ros

144 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1706*
מחזור כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, משה בן אברהם מנדיס קוטיניו, תס״ו [5466/1706].

StC 2264 (= 2205), V Asd 809. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 837

145 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706*
תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ו [5466/1706].

STC 2263, STCN 316109436, V Asd 822. Copies: ULA RON A-627, BLO Opp. 4^0. 1137-38

146 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur nuevamente corr.
Amsterdam, de casa y a costa de Yshak de Cordova, 5466 [1706].

dSR 60, STC 2266, V Asd 807. Copies: EH 20B64, 32F59, BL 4034. bb. 30, BLO Opp. 8^0. 958

147 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1707
תפלות לחדשים ולמועדים מ״ס.
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניה, תס״ז [1707].

V Asd 844. Copies: EH 20K37, Auction catalogue Jerusalem 1987.

148 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1707*
תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות משה בן אברהם מינדיס קויטיניה, תס״ז [5467/1717].

FHT 592, STC 2270, V Asd 843. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 273

149 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1708*
מחזור מכל השנה מנהג פולין ריסין ליטא.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ח [5468/1708].

STC 2514, V Asd 852. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1272-74

150 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1708
מחזור מכל השנהה כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ח [5468/1708].

STC 2516, STCN 316111201, V Asd 853. Copies: EH 29C29, ULA RON A-5452-5453, BLO Opp. 4^0. 1256-58

151 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1708*

מחזור מכל השנה עם פירוש הדרת קודש
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ח [5468/1708].

STC 2515, Asd 854, Zedner 466. Copies: BLO Opp. 4⁰. 1259-66, BL

152 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1708*

[סדור מנהג פולין].
אמשטרדם, חסיתי [5468/1708].

STC 2517, V Asd 859. BL

153 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1708*

סדר תפלות עם תקון שבת מנהג פולין
אמשטרדם, מינדיס קויטיניו, [5468/1708].

V Asd 874. Copy: NLI

154 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1708*

סדר תפלות ליושב תהילות
אמשטרדם, מנדיס קויטיניו, תס״ח [5468/1708].

V Asd 875. Copy: NLI

155 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1708*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, [תס״ח 5468/1708].

STC 2278, STCN 317781332, V Asd 876, Zedner 487. Copies: ULA ROK A-1359, BL

156 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1708*

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ח [5468/1708].

STC 2277, V Asd 877, Zedner 459. Copies: BLO Opp. 8⁰. 970-71; 980, BL

157 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1708*

סדר תפלות ותקון שבת כמנהג אשכנז
אמשטרדם, בבית ובמצות משה מינדיס קויטיניו, תס״ח [5468/1708].

FHT 595, STC 2276, V Asd 878. Copy: BLO Opp. 4⁰. 1175

158 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1709*

סדור מנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תס״ט [5469/1709].

STC 2286, V Asd 893. Copy: BLO Opp. 8⁰. 753; 839

159 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1709

סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו.
אמשטרדם, במצות שמואל מרקיס בבית עמנואל עטיאש, ותתפלל חנה ותאמר [5469/1709].

FHT 428, TC 2287, V Asd 902. Copies: EH 20K27, BLO Opp. 12⁰. 296, NLI

160 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1710*

מחזור מנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, ת״ע [5470/1710].

V Asd 909. Copies: BLO Opp. 12⁰. 387, NLI

161 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1710*

מחזור מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, ת״ע [5470/1710].

STC 2520, V Asd 910. Copy: NLI

162 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1711*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג ק״ק אשכנזים ... עם מערבים ... ותהילים ומעמדות.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס ובבית שלמה בן יוסף פרופס, תע״א [5471/1711].

STC 2297, STCN 344820467, V Asd 943. Copies: AVU XZ.00070, BLO Opp. 8^{0}. 669-70

163 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1711

סדר תפלות מנהג פולין רייסן עם תהלים ומעמדות.
אמשטרדשם, שלמה פרופס, תע״א [5471/1711].

STC 2298, V Asd 944. Copy: EH 42E36

164 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1712

164a Daily Prayers

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ב [5472/1712].

STC 2303 I, STCN 316708100; V Asd 977. Copies: EH 20I53, ULA ROK A-402, ROK A-580

164b Festival Prayers

מועדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ב [5472/1712].

STC 2303 II, STCN 316708100; V Asd 964. Copies: EH 20I54, ULA ROK A-403, ROK A-1679 (incomplete), BLO, NLI

164c Fast Days

חמשה תעניות
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ב [5472/1712].

STC 2303 VI, STCN 316708100, V Asd 959, Zedner 489. Copies: EH 20I55, ULA ROK A-405, BL, NLI

164d High Holidays

תפלות לראש השנה ויום בכפורים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ב [5472/1712].

STC 2303 III, STCN 316708100, V Asd 964. Copy: EH 20I56, ULA ROK A-404

165 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1712*

סדור מנהג אשכנז עם הושענות, פרשיות ..., זלמן לונדון מהדיר.
אמשטרדם, משה דיאז ושמעון שמש, ערבית [5472/1712].

Cowley 546, STC 2300, V Asd 968. Copy: BLO

166 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1712

בית תפילה וסדר דברי הימים מנהג ספרדים עם פרוש ר׳ משה בן מרדכי זכות.
אמשטרדם, משה דיאז ושמעון שמש, תע״ב [5472/1712].

STC 2304, V Asd 948, Zedner 487. Copies: EH 08I76; 20E01, BL, NLI

167 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1712*

מחזור כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, משה דיאז ושמעון שמש, תע״ב [5472/1712].

STC 2303, V Asd 964. Copy? Unvocalised.

168 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1713-15*

מחזור ... כמנהג אשכנזים ופולין, פיהם, מהרן ושאר מדינות ... בלשון אשכנז.
אמשטרדם,חים בן יעקב דרוקר ושמעון ב׳ נפתלי הירץ כ״ץ ... פרופס, תע״ג-תעה.

2 vols. (Composed by Jacob ben Samuel Shalit)
STC 2530, STCN 317377752, V Asd 991. Copies: ULA RON A-1400-1401, BLO Opp. 4^0. 1285-6; 1283-4; Opp. Fol. 1227-8.

169 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1713*

סדר תפלות כמנהג פולין רייסן.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ג [5473/1713].

V Asd 1010. Copy: Annenberg

170 Omer. Amsterdam. 1713*

ספירת העומר. אקדמות.
אמשטרדם, תע״ג [5473/1713].

STC 3266, V Asd 1002. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 370; 372

171 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1714*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה מנהג אשכנז
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ד [5474/1714].

STC 2321, V Asd 1040. Copy: NLI

172 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1714

תפלות מ״ס
אמשטרדם, תע״ד [5474/1714].

Copy: 41F43

173 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1715*

סדור מנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, משה דיאז ושמעון שמש, תע״ה [5475/1715].

Cowley 547, STC 2330, .V Asd 1062. Copy: BLO

174 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1715*

סדור מנהג פולין
אמשטרדם, משה דיאז ושמעון שמש, תע״ה [5475/1715].

Cowley 547, STC 2331, V Asd 1061. Copy: BLO

175 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1715*

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ה [5475/1715].

V Asd 1070. Copies: BLO, NLI

176 Festivals + Fast days. Amsterdam. 1715

סדר תפלות לחגים ולתעניות מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ה [5475/1715].

STCN 31735115X, V Asd 1071. Copies: EH 20K60, ULA ROK A-1179, BL Heb. g. 6, NLI.

177 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1716

Orden de las oraciones cotidianas: por estilo seguido con las de Hanucà, Purim, Ayuno del Solo y las tres Pascuas con sus Parasioth, Aphtarot, Asàarot y muchos cosas mas, en esta impression añadidas.
Amsterdam, en casa y costa de Selomoh Proops, 5476 [1716].

dSR 60, STCN 354984497. Copies: EH 23I40, KB GW A100191 (lacks 2C6)1, BL 1971.ccc.20, BNE,

1878 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1716

178a Daily prayers

סדר תפלות תחינות ופזמונים וקריאות והפטרות לכל ימות השנה.
אמשטרדם, שלמה בן יוסף פרופס, [5476/1716].

STCN 317414062. Copy: ULA RON A-4821

178b Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1716

סדר תפלות למועדים טובים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, בשנת כי אתן אתכם לשם ולתהלה בכל עמי הארץ [5476/1716].

STCN 317262769 (part 2), V Asd 1095, Zed 491. Copies: EH 20H28, ULA RON A-4823, ROK A-483, BL, NLI

178c Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1716

סדר ארבע תעניות, הלא הם עשרה בטבת, צום אסתר, י״ז בתמוז ותשעה באב.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, בשנת כי אתן אתכם לשם ולתהלה בכל עמי הארץ [5476/1716].
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STCN 317262769 (part 3), V Asd 1074, Zedner 489. Copies: EH 20H29, ULA RON A-4824, BL 1972. bb. 3, NLI

178d High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1716

מחזור כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים לימים נוראים וסדר הסליחות ללילי אשמורות ותפלות לראש השנה וליום הכפורים ולצום גדליה.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, בשנת כי אתן אתכם לשם ולתהלה בכל עמי הארץ [5476/1716].

STCN 317262769 (part1), STC 2333, V Asd 1079. Copies: EH 20H30, ULA RON A-4822, ROK A-765, BLO Opp. 8^0. 722, 954, 955, 996

179 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1717

179a Daily prayers. Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas con sus Parasiot, Aphtarot, Asaarot y muchas cosas mas en esta impress. Añadidas.
Amsterdam, Selomoh Proops, 5477 [1717].

Kay 60-61, STCN 317296221, Zedner 487. Copies: EH 23H61/01, ULA RON A 586:1-2 online access, BL 1971.ccc.20, BNE

179b Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1717
Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco Ayunos: por estilo seguido, y corriente; conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados.
Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Selomoh Proops, 5477 [1717].

dSR 66, Kay 64, STCN 31723739X , V Asd 1102. Copies: EH 20K31, 41F47, ULL 1150 H 10, BL C.049.b.6:2, 1972.g.14, BLO Opp. add. 8^0. II. 194, Opp. 12^0. 397, WLH V(Heb) 6645.117*; HHL Gen (Jud 6645.717*)

179c High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1717
Orden de las oraciones de Ros-Asanah y Kipur … Nuevamente corregido
Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Selomoh Proops, 5477 [1717].

dSR 62. Copies: EH 31F47, BL 4034. bbb. 36

180 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1717

סדר המועדים.

Amsterdam, A. Antunes, 5477 [1717].

Van Stralen 152, V Asd 1105. 20K45, BL

181 Prayers. Amsterdam. 1717

תפלות מנהג ספרדים ד,׳ חלקים.

Copy: EH 20H27 (4 vols. In 1)

182 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1717*

סדור מנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, אהרון די שלמה אנטוניוס, תע״ז [5477/1717].

STC 2336, V Asd 1110. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 836

183 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1717*

שער השמים. פרוש מאת ישעיה בן אברהם הורביץ.
אמשטרדם, אהרון בן שלמה אנטוניס, תע״ז [5477/1717].

STC 2335, V Asd 1114. Copy: BLO Opp. 4^0. 1185-86

184 Omer. Amsterdam. 1717*

ספירת העומר.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תע״ז [5477/1717].

STC 3267, V Asd 1112. Copy: BL C. 50. a. 31

185 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1718

תפלות מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, תע״ח [5478/1718].

STC 2339, V Asd 1128. Copies: EH 27F50, BLO Opp. 12^0. 302

186 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1718

סדר תפלות למועדים ולימים טובים כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, אהרון די שלמה אנטוניס, תע״ח [5478/1718].

V Asd 1141. Copy: EH 27F51

187 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1720

סדר תפלות מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו ... כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים

Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente.
Amsterdam, S. Proops, 5480 [1720].

dSR 50, STCN 315990295. Copies: EH 27F45, ULA OTM ROK A-1133(1), BL 1972.a.16

188 Omer. Amsterdam. 1720*

ספירת העומר
אמשטרדם, חים דרוקר, ת״ף [5480/1720].

STC 3268, V Asd 1157. Copy: BLO Opp. 12^0. 371

189 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1721

מחזור בלשון אשכנז כמנהג אשכנז ופולין קרובץ
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״א [5481/1721].

STC 2569, STCN 317718118, V Asd 1166. Copies: EH 37D09; 41D10, ULA RON A-657, ROG A-429, BLO Opp. add. 4^0. II. 101

190 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1721*

תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״א [5481/1721].

STC 2349, Asd 1175. Copy: BLO

191 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1722*

תפלות כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, יצחק די קורדווא, תפ״ב [5482/1722].

STC 2352, V Asd 1200. Copy: BLO Opp. 8^0. 838

192 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1722*

ברכת המזון כנהג אשכנז ופולין
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״ב [5482/1722].

STC 2648, STCN 321152913, Turniansky 39, V Asd 1180. Copies: ULA RON A-276 (1), RON A-879, NLI

193 Machsor 1723*

מחזוור כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, יצחק דרוקר ושמעון כץ ושלמה פרופס, תפ״ג [5483/1723].

STC 2539, STCN 317276352, Van Stralen 147, V Asd 1209. Copies: ULA ROF A-311 (volume 1 only), ROF A-856-857, RON A-5721 (volume 2 only), BL, NLI

194 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1723

Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente. Con las de las tres Pasquas, Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucot. Con las Parasiyot y Aphtarot que se leen en dhas Fiestas. Corregido exactamente de muchas faltas halladas en las ultimas Ediciones
Amsterdam, en casa y acosta de Hazan de Vatikin, Semuel Teixeira Tartaz, 5483, [1723].

dSR 67, STCN 317316591. Copies: EH 31F51; ULA ROK A-1133 (lacks title-page, prelims incomplete), Dr. Williams's Library: Jud.D.21, BNE R/10733(1)

195 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1723
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente. Con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, y con las Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazaroth.
Amsterdam, en casa y acosta de Yshak de Cordova, 5483 [1723].

dSR 51, Kay 61. Copies: EH 02G03/01, 30E71/01, 31E67/11, EH 31F51/01, ULA OTM ROK A-1133, BNE

196 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1723
תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״ג [5483/1723].

STC [2353/4], V Asd 1228/9. Copies: EH 20I21, BLO Opp. add. 80. IV. 21

197 Birkat ha-Mazon. Amsterdam. 1723
ברכת המזון כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יצחק די קורדווא, תפ״ג [5483/1723].

STC 7501, Turniansky 40, V Asd 1203. Copies: EH 38C05/01, BL

198 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1724*
תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״ד [5484/1724].

STC 2357, STCN 317722026, V Asd 1247. Copies: ULA ROK A-292, ROK A-1358, NLI

199 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1724*
תפלות מ״א בלי נקודות
אמשטרדם, תפ״ד [55484/1724].

Copy: EH 27F46 (missing)

200 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1724
Orden de los oraciones de los cinco Ayunos.
Amsterdam, en casa y acosta de Yshak H^{u} de Cordova, 5484 (1724).

dSR 67. Kay p.64. Copies: EH 21G21(WorldCat: E02G03), BL 4034. bb. 24

201 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1724
Orden de las Bendiciones conforme el uso del K.K. de España.
Amsterdam, Yshac de Cordova, 5484 (1724).

BMH 151, Kay 62, V Asd 1233. Copies: EH 30E71/01, BL 4034. bb. 17

202 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1725
קרבן מנחה
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״ה [5485/1725].

STC 2359, V Asd 1260. Copies: EH 29A01, NLI

203 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1725*
Orden de oraciones para las fiestas fijas solemnes segun costumbre de la Iglesia Española.
Amsterdam, Hisquia Rafael Abraham ben Refael Hizquia Querido, 1725.

Copy: BNE 2/41583

204 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1725
עולת שבת. סדר תפלות וזמירות עם פרוש מאת זאב וולף בן שמואל הלוי.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״ה [5485/1725].

Roest 712, STC 3141, STCN 317680919, V Asd 1255. Copies: ULA ROK A-1023 (lacks 1, folium 3), NLI

205 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1726
205a Daily Prayers
סדור מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, ותהללך [5486/1726].

STC [2363, V Asd 1284. Copies: EH 20D23-30, 20G41, BLO Opp. add. 80. II. 106-108, BL

205b Festival Prayers
סדר תפלות המועדים.
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, תפ״ו [5486/1726].

Kay 61, STC 7492, STCN 315181656, V Asd 1295. Copies: EH 20G42, ULA RON A-986, BL K 38 11

205c Fast Days
חמשה תעניות.
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, תפ״ו [5486/1726].

STC 7492, V Asd 1276. Copies: EH 20G43, NLI

205d High Holidays
סדר לימם נוראים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, [5486/1726].

Kay 62, STCN 338472258, V Asd 1283. Copies: EH20G44-45, KB 1756 B 12, NLI

206 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1726*
206a Daily Prayers
סדר התפלות כמנהג הספרדים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, שמואל הלך וגדל וטוב [5486/1726].

STC 7492, STCN 316696099, V Asd 1294. Copies: ULA ROK A-991-995:1, BLO Opp. add. 80. II. 101-103, Mehl 347

206b Fast Days
תעניות.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, שמואל הלך וגדל וטוב [5486/1726]..

V Asd 1293. Copy: NLI

206c High Holidays
סדר לימם נוראים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, שמואל הלך וגדל וטוב [5486/1726].

Kay 62, STCN 338472258, V Asd 1283. Copies: EH 20G44-45, KB 1756 B 12, NLI

207 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1726
Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur.
Amsterdam, Aharon Hisquia Querido, 5486 [1726].

STCN 183884590. Copies: ULA A-365; KB: 486 E 22; ULL 1143 G 22

208 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1727*

208a Daily Prayers*

Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas con las de Hanuca y Purim … con sus Parasiot en sus lugares y orden del Ayuno del Solo

Amsterdam, Acosta de Aharon Hisquia Querido, 5487 [1727].

Copy: Paris, mahj 2002.01.0684

208b Festival Prayers*

Orden de las tres Pascuas Pesah, Sebuoth, Y Suco con sus Parasioth y aphtarot, la Hagada, y Selihot de Hossana Raba. Nuevamente corregido

Amsterdam, En caza de Aharon Hisquia Querido, en cuya Casa se hallen avender como toda suerte delibros, 5487 [1727].

van Stralen 152, V Asd 1305. Copy: BL

208c Fast Days*

Orden de los cinco Ayunos por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados.

Amsterdam, Nuevamente corregido y a su costa impresso por Aharon Hisquia Querido en cuya casa se hallan avender como toda suerte de libros, 5487 [1727].

Kay 64, STCN 183884833, V Asd 1302, Zed 489. Copies: ULA RON A-421, KB 486 E 23 (Google Books), BL

208d High Holidays

Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur. Por estillo corriente y seguido sin bolver de una aotra parte, como se uza en este Kahal Kados de Amsterdam.

Amsterdam, Acosta de Aharon Hisquia Querido, 5487 [1727].

STCN 183884590, Van Stralen 152, V Asd 1277. Copies: EH 31D43, ULA A-365, KB 486 E 22, ULL 1143 G 22

209 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1728*

מחזור כמנהג פולין, רייסין, ליטא, פיהם, מעהרין.
אמשטרדם, שלממה פרופס, תפ״ח [5488/1728].

STC 2540A, V Asd 1322. Copy: NLI

210 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1728

Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente...

Amsterdam, nuevamente corregido y a su costa por David Fernandes y David de Elisa Pereyra, 5488 (1728).

dSR 53. Copy EH 11D26 (preceded by Bakasot and Calendario)

211 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1728

סדר תפלות ותחינות ופזמונים כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תפ״ח [5488/1728].

V Asd 1327= 1339. Copies: EH 20G13, NLI

212 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1728

סדר תפלות למועדים טובים כמנהג ספרדים
אמשטרדם, רפאל חזקיהו עטיאש, תפ״ח [5488/1728].

V Asd 1340. Copies: EH 20G14, BL Heb. f. 36, 37, NLI

213 Festival Prayers + Fasts. Amsterdam. 1728

תפלות למועדים ולתעניות.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תפ״ח [5488/1728].

STC 7493, V Asd 1323, Zedner 491. Copies: EH 20G16, BL

214 Fasts. Amsterdam. 1728

סדר ארבע תעניות.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תפ״ח [5488/1728].

V Asd 1317. Copies: EH 20G15, BLO Opp. add. 8^{0}. II. 109-110, NLI

215 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1728*

סדר חמישה תעניות.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תפ״ח [5488/1728].

V Asd 1320, Zedner 489. Copies: BL 1972. g. 4, NLI

216 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1729*

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תפ״ט [5489/1729].

STC 2367, V Asd 1354. Copy: BL C. 49. a. 19

217 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1730

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, ת״ץ [5490/1730].

STC 2370, V Asd 1370. Copies: EH 35F07

218 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1730

סדר תפלותמכל השנה עם לשון אשכנז כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, ת״ץ [5490/1730].

STC 2369, STCN 370325737, V Asd 1381. Copies: EH 41F51/01, ULA RON A-5277

219 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1730

[סדור] תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, ת״ץ [5490/1730].

STCN 317811207. Copies: EH 20K33, ULA ROK A-48

220 Yom Kippur. Vidui. Amsterdam. 1730
Libro de las sacras conficiones de la noche, y dia de kipur
Amsterdam, Yshac Yeuda Leão Templo, 5490 (1730).

Kay 63; STCN 317885979. Copies: EH 23G45; ULA RON A-518

221 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1731*

סדר תפלות לחדשים ומועדים מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, תצ״א [5491/1731].

V Asd 1391. Copy: JTS

222 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1731

תעניות
אמשטרדם, תצ״א [5491/1731].

Copies: EH 21I15, 23I46

223 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1733

מחזור כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, תצ״ג [5493/1733].

STCN 421356790, V Asd 1414. Copies: EH 29A17-20, ULA OTM: ROG A-661-662 (Google Books), ULU V oct 816 (volume 2 only), NLI

224 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1733
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente, con las de Hanucah ... como tambien las tres Pascuas ... nuevamente corregido ... [Calendario].
Amsterdam, David de Elisa Pereyra, 5493 [1733].

Kay 61, STCN 301920982. Copies: EH 23G25, KB (Ned. Letterk. Online), UBL 1150 H 1:1, BL 1972.g.15:1, Dr. Williams's Library: Jud.D.20 (1), BNE R/13229

225 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1733*

תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדשם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ג [5493/1733].

V Asd 1422. Copy: NLI

226 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1733

עולת שבת.
אמשטרדם, תצ״ג [5493/1733].

Copy: EH 20G02

227 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1734
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del Solo, las tres Pascuas …
Amsterdam, Por industria de Mordehay de Ishac Levi, Caza na Ofecina de Ishac Jehudah Leao Templo, 5494 [1734].

dSR 54. Copies: EH 20I11/01, BLO Opp. add. 8^{0}. IV. 254

228 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1734*

סדר תפלה דרך ישרה, מהדיר ר׳ יחיאל מכל בן אברהם אפשטין.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ד [5494/1734].

STCN 370137574, V Asd 1424, Zedner, 487. Copies: ULA ROG A-14, BL, NLI

229 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1734

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים
אמשטרדם, יצחק ליאון טמפלו, תצ״ד [5494/1734].

V Asd 1436, Zed 487. Copies: EH 20H51, 29F37, BL, NLI

230 Daily Prayers. The Hague. 1734
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas
Haya (Den Haag), à costa de Selomoh de Mercado, y Jahacob Castello en la officina de C. Hoffeling, 5494 (1734).

dSR 55, STCN 239259467. Copies: EH 20K18 (missing); ULA ROK A-290; KB 346 J 17 (on vellum), HvhB HM 105 (incomplete; engraved title-page vellum); NLI

231 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1735
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas … como de Hanuca y Purim con sus Parasiot.
Amsterdam, por orden de Aharon Mendes, 5495 (1735).

dSR 56, STCN 31726141X. Copies: EH 12I48 (missing); ULA ROK A- 984; KB; Tresoar Fuks 31-4b orde

232 Daily Prayers. Ansterdam. 1736
סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תצ״ו [5496/176].

V Asd 1461. Copies: EH 20I59, NLI

233 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1737
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג ק״ק אשכנזים עם מערבים ופרקים ושיר היחוד ופרשיות יוצרוא וסליחות, תהילים ומעמדות, הכל עם לשון אשכנז קרבן מנחה.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ז [5497/1737].

STCN 371243807, V Asd 1477. Copies: EH 29E33, ULA RON A-353 (engraved title-page cropped and defective; title-pages bound in reverse order; lacks 32, fol. 7,8), NLI

234 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1737
תפילה נאה וישרה.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ז [5497/1737].

V Asd 1475. Copies: EH 29G44, NLI

235 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1738*
מחזור כל השנה מנג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תצ״ח [5498/1738].

V Asd 1483. Copy: NLI

236 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1738*
מחזור מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלמה פרופס, תצ״ח [54998/1738].

V Asd 1484. Copy: NLI

237 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1738*
מחזור מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ח [5498/1738].

V Asd 1485. Copy: Annenberg

238 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1738*
סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין. מנהגים.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלמה פרופס, תצ״ח [5498/1738].

V Asd 1486, Zed 460. Copies: BL, NLI

239 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1739

סדר תפלות לחדשים ולמועדים כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ט [5499/1739].

STCN 391248502, V Asd 1505, Zedner 487. Copies: EH 220K46, KB 1769 D 201 (lacks gathering 10), 1769 D 328 (part 1 only), BL, NLI

240 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1739

סדר תפלות מדי חדש בחדשו כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ט [5499/173].

V Asd 1506. Copies: EH 35F20, NLI

241 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1739

סדר לימים נוראים מנהג קרפנטרץ חלק א-ב
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ט [5499/1739].

V Asd 1496. Copies: 29F53, NLI. The third volume (nr. 286 of this list) was published by Rofe in 1759.

242 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1739*

אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תצ״ט [5499/1739].

V Asd 1497 (citing a 1989 Jerusalem auction catalogue) mentions a copy in another state.

243 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1740
243a Daily Prayers

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים לחדשים ולמועדים
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, ת״ק [5500/1740].

V Asd 1537, Zed 487. Copies: EH 20K51-54, BL, NLI

243b Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1740

סדר תפלות ההמועדים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, ת״ק [5500/1740].

Roest 736, V Asd 1539, Zedner 491. Copies: ULA Ros, BL, NLI

243c Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1740

סדר חמישה תעניות.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, ת״ק [5500/1740].

Roest 736, V Asd 1513. Copies: EH 20L08, ULA Ros, BL

243d High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1740

מחזור ספרדים לימים נוראים.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, ת״ק [5500/1740].

Roest 736, V Asd 1519. Copies: EH 20L06-07, ULA Ros, NLI, Annenberg

244 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1740

תפילת ישרים. מועד דוד.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, ת״ק [5500/1740].

V Asd 1538, Zed 487. Copies: EH 05E47; 20C17, BL, NLI

245 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1740

תפלות מנהג אשכנז.
.5500 [1740]

Copies: EH 35F21? Private collection

246 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1740*

סדר המועדים.
אמשטרדם, [ת״ק 5500/1740].

V Asd 1518. Copy: NLI

247 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1741

סדר תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין בית רחל ושער הלל יה.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא, תק״א [5501/1741].

STCN 370435311, V Asd 1548. Copies: ULA RON A-352, ROK A-94 (misbound), NLI

248 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1742*

תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תק״ב [5502/1742].

V Asd 1563. Copy: TA M

249 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1742

שער השמים ממנג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלמה פרופס, תק״ב [5502/1742].

STCN 317865765, V Asd 1560. Copies: EH 09H51/01; 20G53/01, ULA ROK A-67, NLI

250 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1742*

עולת שבת.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תק״ב [5502/1742].

V Asd 1556. Copy: Bar Ilan

251 Government. Amsterdam. 1745

תפלה נכונה לשאלת שלום להשררה.
אמשטרדם, אברהם עטיאש, תק״ג [5503/1743].

V Asd 1574. Copy: EH 20I78

252 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1744

De dagelijkse gebedens der Jooden, in ’t gantsche jaar gebruykende. Als meede verscheyde loffelijke liederen. Alles gedicht na de Hebreeusche manier … welke met de overzetting an de Portugeesse Natie wel overeen komt.
Amsterdam, gedrukt voor den auteur, 1744, na ’t Joodse getal 5504.

The first gathering only. Copy: private collection. No references.

253 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1744*

עולת שבת.
אמשטרדם,תק״ד [5504/1744].

V Asd 1578. Copy: JTS

254 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1745*

סדור מנהג פולין
אמשטרדם,תק״ה [5505/1745].

V Asd 1586. Copy: JTS

255 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1748*

סדר תפילה דרך ישרה.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלמה פרופס, תק״ח [5508/1748].

STCN 317869698, V Asd 1609. Copies: ULA ROG A-680, NLI

256 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1749*

תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלממה פרופס, תק״ט [5509/1749].

V Asd 1625. Copy: NLI

257 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1750

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן כמנהג פולין רייסן.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלמה פרופס, תק״י [5510/1750].

Rosh ha-Shanah
Yom Kippur
Pesach, Shavuot
Sukkot
V Asd 1629. Copies: EH 25B28-31, NLI, Annenberg

258 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1750*

מחזור כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תק״י [5510/1750].

V Asd 1630. Copy: NLI

259 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1750*

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן כמנהג אשכנזים ושאר ק״ק אשכנז עם הדרת קודש.
אמשטרדם, יתומי שלמה פרופס, תק״י [5510/1750].

STCN 317892894, V Asd 1631. Copies: ULA ULA ROG A-597-599, RON A-5696 (incomplete), ROG A-31-36, ROG A-378 (incomplete), KB 1756 F 25 (volume 2 only), NLI

260 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1750*

עולת שבת.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תק״י [5510/1750].

V Asd 1636. Copy: NLI

261 Shemah. Amsterdam. 1750*

טייטש נאכט לייאן.
[אמשטרדם, 1750].

V Str 144, V Asd 1627. Copy: BL

262 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1751.

Copy: Private collection

263 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1751*

סדר תפלות מכל שנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקי״א [5511/1751].

V Asd 1648. Copy: NLI

264 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1752

Copy: Private collection.

265 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1752

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז עם פרשיות ופרקים שיר היחוד יוצרוא וסליחות, תהילים והושענות ומערבות ותחינות.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קוסמן, תצ״ז [5497/1737].

STCN 372462499. Copy: ULA RON A-5280

266 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1753*

סדור כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, תקי״ג [5513/17753].

V Asd 1681. Copy: JTS.

267 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1754*

סדור כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, תקי״ד [5514/1754].

V Asd 1701. Copy: JTS

268 Omer. Amsterdam. 1754

ספירת העומר.
אמשטרדם, תקי״ד [5514/1754].

Copy: EH 20K09

269 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1755

תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, האחים פרופס, תקט״ו [5515/1755].

Roest 715, STCN 31885211X , V Asd 1720. Copy: ULA ROK A-888

270 Government. Amsterdam. 1756

Vertaling van het joodsch gebed voor den souverain van dezen lande, mitsgaders de regenten en magistraat dezer stad Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, 5516 [1757].

Copy: EH 20A10/08

271 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1757*

קרבן מנחה היא תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז.
אממשטרדם, תקי״ז [5517/1757].

V Asd 1758, Zedner 460. Copy: BL

272 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1757*

סדור כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, תקי״ז [5517/1757].

V Asd 1755. Copy: JTS

273 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1757

סדר תפלות שבחות ושירים כמנהג שינגילי וקהל קוגין.
אמשטרדם, בני שלמה פרופס, תקי״ז [5517/1757].

STCN 318850532, V Asd 1761. Copies: EH 5H110, 20G40, ULA ROK A-928, BLO Opp. add. 8^0. II. 111, NLI

274 Festival Prayers. Simchat Torah. Amsterdam. 1757

סדר תפלות לימי שמחת תורה שבחות ושירים כמנהג שינגילי וקהל קוגין.
אמשטרדם, בני שלמה פרופס, למען אחי ורעי אדבר״ה נא שלום בך [5517/1757].

STCN 318850532. Copy: ULA ROK A-928.

275 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1759

מחזור מנהג קרפנטרץ חלק ג.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאסמן, תקי״ט [5519/1759].

STC 2586, V Asd 1776. Copies: EH 5H110, 20G40, BLO Opp. add. 8^0. II. 111, NLI. Vols. 1-2 (nr. 250 of this list) were published in 1739.

276 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1760*

סדר התפלות מנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאסמן, תק״ך [5520/1760].

V Asd 1793. Copy: NLI

277 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam.1760

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, האחים פרופס, תק״ך 5520/1760].

STCN 318043483, V Asd 1794. Copies: EH 20K21, ULA ROS 20 D 14, ROK A-581 (lacks folium 271)
BLO Opp. add. 8^0. II. 184, NLI

278 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1760*

סדר חמש תעניות.
אממשטרדם, י דא סילוא מינדיז, תק״ך- [5520/1760].

V Asd 1784. Copy: NLI

279 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1760*

עולת שבת.
אמשטרדם, תק״ך [5520/1760].

V Asd 1786. Copy: JTS

280 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1761*

סדר תפלה כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תק״ך [5520/1760].

V Asd 1801. Copy: NLI

281 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1761*

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קושמן, תקכ״א [5521/1761].

V Asd 1802. Copy: NLI

282 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1761

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, פידנקא, תקכ״א [5521/1761].

Copies: EH 20I37, 35F22

283 Omer. Amsterdam. [1761]*

ספירת העומר
[אמשטרדם, 1761].

V Asd 1799, Zedner 460. Copy: BL

284 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1762*

סדר לארבע צומות מנהג קרפנטרץ.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקכ״ב [5522/1762].

V Asd 1811. Copy: NLI

285 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1764

תיקון שלמה.
אמשטרדם, יוסף יעקב ואברהם פרופס, תקכ״ד [5524/1764].

V Asd 1855. Copies: EH 20G10, NLI

286 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1765*

תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקכ״ה [5525/1765].

STCN 372463002, V Asd 1884. Copies: ULA ROK A-1146, BL 01902. a. 25, NLI

287 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1765*

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, יאנסון – מנדווי, תקכ״ה [5525/1765].

V Asd 1886. Copy: NLI

288 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1765

תפלות מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, תקכ״ה [5525/1765].

Copies: EH20 F49, 20K67

289 Rosh Hashanah. Amsterdam. 1765*

סדר של ראש השנה כמנהג אויגנון.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קושמן, תקכ״ה [5525/1765].

Cowley 550, V Asd 1876. Copies: BL 1976. gg. 15, BLO, NLI

290 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1766*

מחזור כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, תקכ״ו [5526/1766].

van Stralen 147, V Asd 1896. Copy: BL 1971. aaa. 5,6

291 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1766*

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, האחים פרופס, תקכ״ו [5526/1766].

V Asd 1915. Copies: BL 01916. a. 33, NLI

292 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1766*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז עם פרשיות פרקים שיר היחוד יוצרוא סליחות, הושענות, מערבות, יום כפור קטן, תהילים, תחינות ... כוונת הפייטן אויף טייטש.
אמשטרדם, יוסף יעקב ואברהם פרופס, תקכ״ו [5526/1766].

STCN 321164210, V Asd 1916. Copies: ULA ROK A-68 (title-page defective; defective), NLI

293 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1766*

סדר התפלות כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, יוסף יעקב ואברהם פרופס, תקכ״ו [5526/1766].

V Asd 1917. Copy: NLI

294 Yom Kippur. Amsterdam. 1766*

סדר של יום כפור כמנהג אויגנון
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקכ״ו [5526/1766].

V Asd 1900. Copy: NLI

295 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1767*

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקכ״ז [5527/1767].

V Asd 1924. Copy: NLI

296 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1767

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן כמנההג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, קאשמן בן יוסף ברוך, תקכ״ז [5527/1767].

V Asd 1925. Copies: EH 36D17-18, NLI

297 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1767*

מחזור כמנהג אשכנז ע״פ המסביר יוסף יוזפא בן יוסף קושמן.
אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקכ״ז [5527/1767].

V Asd 1926. Copy: NLI

298 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1768

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן... כמנהג אשכנז ושארי קהלות קדושות עם טייטש והדרת קודש.
אמשטרדם, בבית ובדפוס האחים יוסף ... ואברהם פרופס, תקכ״ח [5528/1768].

Pesach 2 vols.
Shavuot
Rosh ha-Shanah 2 vols.
Yom Kippur 2 vols.
Sukkot 2vols.
STCN 318937190, 318937115, 316708100, 31893664X; V Asd 1953. Copies: EH 29E02-10, ULA RON A-1 –A7; Ron A 37-38; NLI

299 Government. Amsterdam. 1768

אמשטרדם, תקכ״ח [5528/1768].

Copy: EH 03E29/04

300 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1769*

מחזור ... מיט טייטש פירוש.
אמשטרדם, תקכ״ט [5569/1729].

Copy: BL 1971. aaa. 5,6

301 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1769

סדר תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, קאשמן בן יוסף ברוך, תקכ״ט [5569/1729].

V Asd 1983. Copies: EH 20L10, NLI

302 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1769

סדר תפלות לימי שמחת תורה שבחות ושירים כמנהג שינגילי וקהל קוגין.
אמשטרדם, בני שלמה פרופס, תקכ״ט [5529/1769].

Roest 700, V Asd 1984. Copies: EH 20H02, ULA Ros, BLO Opp. add. 80. II. 112, NLI

303 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1771*

סדר התפלות כמנהג ספרדים
אמשטרדם, יאן יאנסון, תקל״א [5531/1771].

V Asd 2010. Copy: NLI

304 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1771

304a Daily Prayers

סדר תפלות כמנהג הספרדים.
אמשטרדם, ישראל מונדווי, תקל״א [5531/1771].

V Asd 2005. Copies: EH 08G64, 20F31, 20F36, 29D03, 29F54, NLI

304b Festival Prayers

סדר המועדים.
אמשטרדם, ישראל מונדווי, תקל״א [5531/1771].

V Asd 2005. Copies: EH 8G65, 20F32, 20F37, 29D04, 29F55

304c Fast Days

סדר תעניות.
אמשטרדם, ישראל מונדווי, תקל״א [5531/1771].

V Asd 2009. Copies: EH 8G66, 20F33, 20F38, 29D07, 29F56, NLI

304d Rosh Hashanah

סדר ראש השנה.
אמשטרדם, ישראל מונדווי, תקל״א [5531/1771].

Copies: EH 8G67, 20F34, 20F39, 29D05, 29F57

304e Yom Kippur

תפלות ליום כפור
אמשטרדם, ישראל מונדווי, תקל״א [5531/1771].

Copies: EH 8G68, 20F35, 20F40, 29D06, 29F58

305 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1772*

סדר תפלה כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא וגיסו ברוך ואחיו, תקל״ב [5532/1772].

V Asd 2019. Copy: NLI

306 Daily Prayers. Amserdam. 1772

סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים ... בלשון עברי ולשון ספרדי

Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas en Hebraico y Romance

.ע״י יצחק ב״ר אליהו הכהן בלינפנטי בבית ודפוס יוסף, יעקב אברשישץ פרופס כ״ץ

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Amsterdam, Abraham, Jacob & Joseph Proops, 5532 [1772].

STCN 318911736, V Asd 2020. Copies: EH 20F46, 29F43, ULA ROK A-1523, RON A-367, NLI

307 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1772

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.

אמשטרדם, נפתלי הירץ לוי רופא וחתנו קאשמן, תקל״ב [5532/1772].

V Asd 2021. Copies: EH 23D67, NLI

308 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1772-78

תפלות כמנהג אשכנזים.

אמשטרדם, תקל״ב-תקל״ח [5532-38/1772-78].

Zedner 487. Copies: EH 22G32-37, BL

309 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1773

תפלה מכל השנה מנהג אשכנז ופולין.

אמשטרדם, פרופס, תקל״ג [5533/1773].

STCN 318892901, V Asd 2033. Copies: EH 20I16, ULA ROK A-87:1, NLI

310 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1775

תיקון שלמה.

אמשטרדם, פרופס, תקל״ה [5535/1775].

Roest 712, V Asd 2048. Copies: ULA Ros, NLI

311 Berakhot. Amsterdam. [1775]*

סדר ברכות כמנהג ספרדים.

אמשטרדם, [1775].

Cowley 558, V Asd 2041. Copy: BLO

312 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1776

סדר תפלה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.

אמשטרדם, יאנסון, תקל״ו [5536/1776].

V Asd p. 77 unnumbered. Copies: EH 29F38, NLI

313 Daily Prayers. The Hague. 1777

בית תפלה עם פרוש שלמה זלמן בן יהודה ליב כץ.

האג, ליב זוסמאנש, תקל״ז [5537/1777].

V Hague 3. Copies: EH 20H49, NLI

314 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1777*

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.

אמשטרדם, קאשמן בן יוסף ברוך ובניו, תקל״ז [5537/1777].

V Asd 2072. Copy: NLI

315 Omer. Amsterdam. 1777
ספירת העומר עם תפלת מנחה ומעריב וכל הפסוקים שאומרים קודם תפלת מעריב.
אמשטרדם, יוסף׳ שלמה פרופס כ״ץ, תקל״ז [5537/1777].

STCN 320718433. Copy: ULA ROK A-1162

316 Government. Amsterdam. 1777
Vertaling van het Joodsch gebed voor den souverain van dezen lande, mitsgaders de regenten en magistraat dezer stad Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, J.S. Proops, 1777.

STCN 317723197. Copy: Middelburg, Zeeuwse Bibliotheek: KLUIS 1145 B 3459

317 Daily Prayers. Amstterdam. 1778*
סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יעקב פרופס, תקל״ח [5538/1778].

STCN 320718026, V Asd 2086. Copies: ULA ROK A-1341, NLI

318 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1778*
סדר תפלה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יעקב פרופס, תקל״ח [5538/1778].

V Asd 2085. Copy: NLI (made-up)

319 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1779
תפלת ישרים מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, יעקב בן שלמה פרופס, תקל״ט [5539/1739].

STCN 319022099, V Asd 2093. Copies: EH 20C18-20, ULA RON A-4227, NLI

320 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1780*
סדור מנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, [תקמ- 5540/1780].

V Asd 2097. Copy: NLI

321 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1780*
סדר תפלות מנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, קאשמן בן יוסף ברוך ובניו, תק״ם [5540/1780].

V Asd 2102. Copy: NLI

322 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1781
מחזור מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, י. פרופס, תקמ״א [5541/1781].

V Asd 2112. Copies: EH 29G36, NLI

323 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1782*
סדר התפלות כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, קאשמן בן יוסף ברוך, תקמ״ב [5542/1782].

V Asd 2123 ה. Copy: Vinograd collection

324 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1785*

מחזור כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא וגיסו ברוך ואחיו הירץ, תקמ״ה [5545/1785].

V Asd 2146. Copy: NLI

325 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1786*

סדור.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא וגיסו ברוך ואחיו הירץ, תקמ״ו [5546/1786].

V Asd 2156. Copy: NLI

326 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1791

סדר התפלות כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא וגיסו ברוך, תקנ״א [5551/1791].

Roest 716, STCN 371194857, V Asd 2197. Copies: EH 35E18, ULA RON A-351 (title-page defective), NLI

327 Comprehensive Prayers. The Hague, 1791-93
Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden.
's Gravenhage, Lion Cohen, 1791-1793.

STCN 191623709, V Hague 16. Copies: EH 7G18-21a, 28E30-33a, 36E01-04, ULA RON A-8-11, Band 3 E 22-25, KB 485 E 17-20 (full-tekst: Delpher), NLI. The first Comprehensive translation in Dutch. Two copies with the publishing announcement.

328 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1792*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, תקנ״ב [5552/1792].

V Asd 2206. Copy: JTS

329 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1793

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, אלמנה ויתומי פרופס, תקנ״ג [5559/1793].

Pesach 2 vols. STCN 321175999
Shavuot STCN 321175409
Rosh ha-Shanah
Yom Kippur 2 vols. STCN 321175824
Sukkot 2vols. STCN 321175018, 321711432
STCN 31893664X, V Asd 2212. Copies: EH 29F12-20, ULA RON A-52-58, RON A-71-77, RON 909-912 (all lacking Rosh ha-Shanah), KB KB 1756 G 15 (Shavuot only), NLI

330 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1797*

סדר תפלה כמנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, פרופס, תקנ״ז [5557/1797].

V Asd 2257. Copy: NLI

331 Omer. Amsterdam. 1793

ספירת העומר אל תשקח לאמר עם תפלת מנחה ומעריב וכל הפסוקים שאומרים קודם תפלת מעריב.
אמשטרדם, האלמנה ויתומי יעקב פרופס, תקל״ז [5537/1777].

STCN 319010406. Copy: ULA ROK A-990 (incomplete)

332 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1797

תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, בבית יוחנן לוי רופה ובנו בנימין, תקנ״ז [5557/1797].

STCN 371194873. Copy: ULA ROK A-818

333 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1799*

סדר תפלה כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקנ״ט [5559/1799].

V Asd 2281. Copy: NLI

334 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1800

תפלות מ״א (בית רחל).
אמשטרדם, תק״מ [5561/1800].

Copy: EH 36D27

335 Daily Prayers. Amstterdam. 1800

גבעטע דער יודען. מתורגם ע״י דוד פרידלנדר.
אמשטרדם, תק״ס [5560/1800].

V Asd 2286. Copy: EH 20F25

336 Levana [1800]

סדר ברכת הלבנה.
אמשטרדם, [תק״ס 5560/1800].

V Asd 2285. Copies: EH 23H77, NLI

337 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. [1802]*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, תקס״ב [5562/1802].

V Asd 2317, Zedner 461. Copy: BL

338 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1802*

סדר התפלות כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא, תקס״ב [5562/1802].

V Asd 2316. Copy: NLI

339 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1803-1805

מחזור עם כוונת הפייטן כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, אלמנה ויתומי י פרופס, תקס״ג [5563-5/1803-5]

V Asd 2321. Copies: EH 29F03-11, NLI

340 Daily Prayers. Amstterdam. 1804*

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקס״ד [5564/1804].

V Asd 2333. Copy: NLI

341 Daily Prayers 1804*

סדר התפלות כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקס״ד [5564/1804].

V Asd 2334. Copies: BL 01902. a. 26, NLI, 1989 Jerusalem auction catalogue

342 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1805

תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקס״ה [5565/1805].

V Asd 2345. Copies: EH 29G35/01, BL 01902. a. 26, NLI

343 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1806

מחזור ממכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקס״ו [5566/1806].

V Asd 2350. Copies: EH 20I15, NLI

344 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1806*

מחזור כמנהג פולין ורייסין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקס״ו [5566/1806].

V Asd 2351. Copy: NLI

345 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1807

גבעט דער יודען.
אמשטרדם, שלמה פרופס, תקס״ז [5567/1807].

V Asd 2356. Copies: EH 20D62, BL 1971. ccc. 3, NLI

346 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1808*

סדר תפלות כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקס״ח [5568/1808].

V Asd 2377. Copy: NLI

347 High Holidays. Amstterdam. 1809*

מחזור תפלות ימים נוראים כמנהג פולין רייסין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין,תקס״ט [5569/1809].

V Asd 2383. Copies: BL 1971. bb. 1, 2, NLI

348 Berakhot. Amsterdam. [1810]*

ברכות.
אמשטרדם, די מיסקיטה, תק״ע [5570/1810].

V Asd 2386

349 Omer. Amsterdam. 1810*

ספירת העומר
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תק״ע [5570/1810].

V Asd 2391 Copy: ?

350 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1811

סדר התפלה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, אלמנה יעקב פרופס, תקע״א [5571/1811].

V Asd 2401. Copies: EH 29D42/01, NLI

351 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1813*

סדר התפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו, תקע״ג [5573/1813].

V Asd 2417. Copy: NLI

352 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1814

סדר תפלת ערב
יוסף אשר למל. פרופס, [5574/1814]

V Asd 2425. Copies: EH 21E70/04, NLI

353 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1815*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג פולין הנקרא ראש חודש תפלות.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקעה [5575/1815].

V Asd 2435. Copy: 1991 Jerusalem auction catalogue

354 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1816*

בית רחל ושער הלל יה.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין,תקע״ו [5576/1816].

V Asd 2436. Copy: BL 1971. a. 12

355 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1816*

[סדור תפלה עם תלים ומעמדות].
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין,תקע״ו [5576/1816].

V Asd 2443. Copy: NLI

356 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1816

סדר תפלה מכל השנה כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין,תקע״ו [5576/1816].

V Asd 2449. Copies: EH 20I15, NLI

357 Omer. Amsterdam. 1817*

ספירת העומר.
אמשטרדם, דוד פרופס, תקע״ז [5577/1817].

V Asd 2456. Copies: BL 1970. a. 18, NLI

358 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1818*

סדור תפלות מכל השנה כמנג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי ון אמבדן ובנו, תקע״ח [5578/1817].

V Asd 2466. Copy: 1992 Jerusalem auction catalogue

359 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1819

סדר התפלות מכל השנה כמנהג פולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקע״ט [5579/1819].

V Asd 2472. Copies: EH 36D15/01, 1987 Jerusalem auction catalogue

360 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1822*

סדר תפלות מכל השנה מנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקפ״ב [5582/1822].

V Asd 2498. Copy: NLI

361 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1822
Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israelieten. Lehmans.
Amsterdam, 1822

Copy: EH 11F22

362 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1823

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, דוד פרופס, תקפ״ג [5583/1823].

V Asd 2508. Copies: EH 20I24, NLI

363 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1823*

סדר תפלות ימי חול.
אמשטרדם, פרופס, תקפ״ג [5583/1823].

V Asd 2509. Copy: NLI

364 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1824

תפלות מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנז ופולין.
אמשטרדם, יוחנן לוי רופא ובנו בנימין, תקפ״ד [5584/1824].

V Asd 2517. Copies: EH 35F19, NLI

365 Daily Prayers. Amserdam. 1827*

סדר התפלות עם הפיוטים והקרובות. גבריאל פולק מהדיר.
אמשטרדם, ון עמבדן, תקפ״ז [5587/1827].

V Asd 2538. Copy: NLI

366 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1828

מחזור מנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, דוד פרופס, תקפ״ח [5588/1828].

V Asd 2544. Copies: EH 20G17-21, NLI

367 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1828

סדר תיקון שבת כמנהג אשכנז.
אמשטרדם, דוד בן יעקב פרופס, תקפ״ח [5588/1828].

V Asd 2546. Copies: EH 29F47, NLI

368 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1832
Gebed voor de Hollandsche Israëliten door B.C. Carillon.
Amsterdam, 1832.

Copy: EH 31B28/08

369 Minchah/Ma'ariv. Amsterdam. 1834

מנחת ערב.
אמשטרדם, דוד פרופס, תקצ״ד [5594/1834].

V Asd 2575. Copies: EH 22I52, NLI

370 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1835

תפלות מ״א
אמשטרדם, תקצ״ה [5594/1835].

Copy: EH 29D46

371 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1836

סדר תפלות.
אמשטרדם, תקצ״ו [5536/1836].

Copy: EH 36D62

372 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1837

סדר התפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים יזיי״א
Gebeden der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israëlieten opnieuwin het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, Bij Belinfante & de Vita, 5597 [1837].

V Asd 2599. Copies: EH 20C37, NLI

373 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1838

סדר תפלות לכל השנה עם תרגום הולנדי ע״י שמואל בן עזריאל מולדר.
אמשטרדם, דוד פרופס, תקצ״ח [5598/1838].

V Asd 2608. Copies: EH 20C54, NLI

374 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1839*

תפילה ורינה, אורך אברהם לוטומירסקי.
אמשטרדם, פרופס, תקצ״ט [5539/1839].

V Asd 2616. Copy: NLI

375 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1840*

מחזור ... Gebeden der Nederlansch- Israelietische Joden
Amsterdam, 5600/1840

V Asd 2630. Copy: NLI. The first edition of the Ashkenazi Machsor with Dutch translation by G.I. Polak and M.L. van Ameringen.

376 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1840*

מדי שבת בשבתו.
אמשטרדם. מינדיס קויטיניו, [ת״ר 5600/1840].

V Asd 2627. Copy: NLI

377 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1841

ברכת החמה.
אמשטרדם, 5601 [1841].

Copy: EH 20E30/02

378 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1842*

סדר תפלות עם הפיוטים ... Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten, vertaald door S.I Mulder.
Amsterdam, Belinfante, 5602/1842

V Asd 2653. Copy: NLI

379 Daily Prayers. Amstterdam. 1843

סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, בלינפנטי-די ויטא ישראל, תר״ג [5603/1843].

V Asd 2661. Copy: EH 20B07, NLI

380 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1843
סדר המועדים Orde voor de Feestdagen naar denn ritus der Nederlanddsch-Portugeesche Israëlieten. Opnieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, 5603.

Copies: EH 08D02, 20C41

381 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1847*

סדר תפלות לכל השנה.
אמשטרדם, וון עמדין, תר״ז [5607/1847].

V Asd 2696. Copy: NLI

382 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1849*

אורח מישור. מאת שמעון בן אפרים היגמנש.
אמסטרדם, תר״ט [5609/1849].

V Asd 2704. Copy: JTS

383 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1849-51
Gebeden der Nederlansche Israëliten. Tweede, verbeterde en vermeerderde oorspronkelijke uitgave Het Hebreeuwsch bijeengebracht en nagezien door G.I.Polak en de vertalig onder deszelfs toezigt bewerkt door Dz. M.S. Polak.
Amsterdam, bij de Wed. D. Proops Jz. en J.L. Joachimsthal, 5610-5611/1849-1851. 9 vols.

With engraved additional titles. Rosh ha-Shanah: 5610/1849, 2 vols.
Rosh ha-Shanah 2 5610/1850
Yom Kippur evening 5610/1849
Yom Kippur day 5611/1851
Succot 5611/1851, 2 vols.
Pesach 5610/1850, 2 vols.
Shavuot lacking.

Cowley 551, V Asd 2709. Copy: Private collection.

384 Rosh Hashanah. Amsterdam. 1849

סדר לראש השנה כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים עם תרגום הללנדית
Orde voor het Nieuwjaarsfeest naar den ritus der Nederlanesch-Portugeesche Israëliten op nieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, bij S.L. Salzedo & Co., 5609/1849.

Copy: EH 08D03, 20C42

385 Yom Kippur. Amsterdam. 1850
Orde voor den Verzoendag naar den ritus der Nederlanesch-Portugeesche Israëliten op nieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, bij S.L. Salzedo & Co., 5610/1850.

Copy: EH 08D01, 20C43-46

386 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1852

סדור תפלה נכונה מנהג אשכנזים.
אמשטרדם, אלמנת דוד פרופס, 5612/1852.

V Asd 2729. Copies: EH 09D51; 20C49, NLI

387 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1852
סדר תפלות לכל השנה מנהג אשכנזים. עורך שמואל בן עזריאל מולדר.
אמשטרדם, פרופס-יואכימסטל, 5612/1852.

V Asd 2730. Copies: EH 29C04, NLI

388 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1852
סדור תפלה נכונה הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה עם תרגום הללנדית Volledig gebedenboek der Nederlandsche Israëliten voor het geheele jaar, met eene Nederduitsche vertaling. Het Hebreeuwsch bijeengebracht en nagezien door G.I. Polak en de vertaling bewerkt door M.S. Polak.
Amsterdam, Wed. D. Proops en J.L. Joachimsthal, 5612/1852.

Copy: private collection.

389 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1853
סדר תפלות לכל השנה מנהג אשכנזים. עורך שמואל בן עזריאל מולדר.
שאמשטרדם, ון עמבדן, 5613/1853.

V Asd 2730 ה. Copies: EH 21E55/02; Vinograd Collection.

390 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1853
תפלות לימים נוראים מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, 5613/1853.

Copy: EH EH 29D25

391 Women's Prayers. Groningen. 1853
Stichtelijk handboek voor Israelitische vrouwen door M.M. Cohen.
Groningen, 5613/1853.

Copy: EH 21D54/07

392 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1855*
סדר תפלות כמנהג ספרדים
אממשטרדם, יוסף בואינו די מיסקיטה, 5615/1855.

V Asd 2746. Copy: NLI

393 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1855
תפלות למועדים מנג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, 5616/1856.

Copy: EH 20B68/03

394 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1856-58
מחזור מנהג אשכנז Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten ... Hebreewsch en Nederduitsch, met een historisch overzigt. Nieuwe, verbeterde en vermeerderde uitgave, bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5616-5618/1856-1858.

Rosh Hashanah: 5616/1856, 2 vols.
Yom Kippur evening 5617/1857
Yom Kippur day 5618/1858
Succot 5618/1857, 2 vols.
Pesach I 5616/1856
Pesach II 5617/1857
Shavuot 5617/1857
V Asd 2764. Copies: Private collection, NLI

395 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1856

סדר תפלות לכל השנה כסדר תפלת ישרון אשר נקראה מאז בשם ראש חודש תפלות

Gebedenboek voor het geheele jaar. Met aanwijzingen der gebruiken en ceremoniën in het Nederduitsch door G.A. Parser.
Amsterdam, voor rekening van S.I. Levisson ter boekdrukkerij van I. Levisson firma D. Proops Jz., 5616/1856.

Copy: private collection. N.B.: The editor mistakenly at the end of the Hebrew title calls the work Rosh Chodesh Tefilot instead of Tefilot ha-Chodesh.

396 Omer. Amsterdam. 1856

ספירת העומר.
אמשטרדם, 5616/1856.

Roest 722, V Asd 2753. Copy: ULA Ros

397 Tashlikh. Amsterdam. 1856

סדר תשליך.
אמשטרדם, ישראל לויזון, 5616/1856.

V Asd 2757. Copies: EH 27D51/07, NLI

398 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1857

תפילות בית ישראל מנהג אשכנזים.

With Dutch translation by Abraham David Lutomirski.
אמשטרדם, דוד פרופס, 5617/1857.

Roest 697, V Asd 2768. Copies: EH 29G19, ULA Ros, BL, NLI

399 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1857

סדר תפלות לכל השנה. עורך שמואל בן עזריאל מולדר.
אמשטרדם, פרופס-יואכימסטל, 5617/157.

Copies: EH 20C36, 36D08

400 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1857*

כי נר מצוה ותורה אור.
[אממשטרדם], 5617/1857.

V Asd 2762. Copy: NLI

401 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1858

מועדים.
אמשטרדם, 5618/1858.

Copy: private collection

402 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1858

סדר תעניות

Gebeden voor de vastendagen naar en ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugesche Israelieten, op nieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door Jacob Lopes Cardozo.
Amsterdam, J.B. de Mesquita, 5618/1858.

V Asd 2780. Copies: EH 08D04, 20C39, 20C50, 25A10, NLI

403 Daily Prayers, Omer. Amsterdam. 1859*

מנחת ערב.
אמשטרדם, ישראל לויזון, 5619/1859.

Roest 722, V Asd 2786. Copies: ULA Ros, NLI

404 Omer. Amsterdam. 1860

ספירת העומר.
אמשטרדם, 5610/1860.

V Asd 2797. Copies: EH 20I41, BL 1970. a. 17, NLI

405 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1861

תפלה לדוד, ע״י דוד דה רפאל מונטזינוס.
אמשטרדם, 5621/1861.

Copy: EH 24A20

406 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1862

תפלת ישראל, הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה [מנהג אשכנזים].
Volledig dagelijksch gebedenboek voor het geheele jaar. Het Hebreeuwsch ... bijeengebracht door G.I. Polak en de Nederduitsche vertaling omgewerkt door S.I. Mulder. Vijfde geheel herziene en vermeerderde uitgave.
Amsterdam, bij J.L. Joachimsthal, 5621/1862.

Copy: private collection

407 Omer. Amsterdam. 1862

ספרת העומר.
אמשטרדם, 5622/1862.

Copy: EH20E52/01

408 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1863*

ארשת שפתים הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה [מ״א]. עורך גבריאל פולק.
אמשטרדם, תרכ״ג [5623/1863].

V Asd 2811. Copy: BL

409 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1864.

סדר המועדים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים יזיי״א Orde voor de Feestdagen naar den ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israelieten, op nieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I.Mulder, vermeerderd en verbeterd door D.R. Montezinos.
Amsterdam, J.B. de Mesquita, 5625/1864.

Copy: private collection

410 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1864-65

מחזור מנהג אשכנז

Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten met een historisch overzicht. Nieuwe, verbeterde en vermeerderde uitgave, bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5624-25/1864-1865. 9 vols.

Copy: EH 20C26-34

411 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1865

תפלת לכל השנה מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, 5625/1865.

Copy: EH 20F09

412 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1865

תפלות מערכת לשון מנהג ספרדים.
אמשטרדם, תרכ״ה [5625/1865].

Copy: EH 20K66

413 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1865

סדר המועדים כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים יזיי״א, הוגה ... דוד בן רפאל מונטיזינוס.
אמשטרדם, בדפוס יוסף בן אברהם בואינו די מסקיטא, וצדקה תהיה לנו [5625/1865].

Copies: EH 20C40; 36D09, private collection

414 Minhah/Ma'ariv. Amsterdam. 1865

מנחת ערב
אמשטרדם, 5625/1865.

Copy: EH 20I48

415 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1866

סדר המועדים.
אמשטרדם, 5626/1866.

Copy: EH 20C38

416 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1869

ברכת החמה.
אמשטרדם, 5629/1869.

Copy: EH 21I50/02

417 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. After 1867

עלת שבת בשבתוף סדר תפלות לכל שבתות השנה [מנהג אשכנז]. Orde van het ochtend- en bijgevoegd gebed voor elken Sabbath in het Nederduitsh vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, after 1867.

Copy: private collection. The title is printed on heavier paper; on verso the page is marked א. In front a stub is mounted, on which the endpaper is pasted.As the leaves of the first gatherings are on stubs, it can not be established if the copy contains original conjugates. The final leaf is also on a stub. Joachimsthal printers was established in 1867.

418 Rosh Hashanah. Amsterdam. 1870

Orde voor het Nieuwjaarsfeest naar den Ritus der Nederlamdsch-Portugeesche Israëliten im het Nederduitsch vertaald Nieuwe uitgave door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, J.B. de Mesquita, 5630/1870.

Copies: EH 20C11, 35D04

419 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1871

עולת שבת בשבתו.
אמשטרדם, 5631 [1871].

Copies: EH 29D36, private collection

420 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1871
סדר התפלות והפיוטים והקרובות Orde der Sabbath-gebede en Piyyutim in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, J.L.Joachimsthal, 5631/1871.

Copy: private collection. There are minor typographic differences between this edition and the preceding one, both published by Joachimsthal in the same year.

421 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1872*
ארשת שפתים הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה [מנהג אשכנזים]. עורך גבריאל פולק.
אמשטרדם, תרל״ב [5632/1872].

RV (1). Copy: NLI

422 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1874*
ארשת שפתים הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה [מנהג אשכנזים]. עורך גבריאל פולק.
אמשטרדם, תרל״ד [5634/1874].

RV (2). Copy: NLI

423 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1874-1876
Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten Hebreeuwsch en Nederduitsch met een historisch overzigt, bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen. Nieuwe, verbeterde en vermeerderde uitgave.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5634/1874.
Pesach vol. 2 1874
Shavuot 1874
Sukkot vol. 1 1875
Copy: private collection

424 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1875
תפלת ישראל הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה Volledig dagelijksch gebedenboek der Nederlandsche Israëlieten voor het geheele jaar met de Nederduitsche vertaling van S.I. Mulder. Zesde uitgave.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5635/1875.

Copy: private collection

425 Yom Kippur. Amsterdam. 1876
Orde oor den Verzoendag aar den ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israelieten, in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, D.L. Cardozo & Co., 5637/1876.

Copies: EH 08C08, 20B12

426 Minhah/Ma'ariv. Amsterdam. 1877
מנחת ערב
אמשטרדסת 5637/1877.

Copy: EH 20K13

427 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1879-1880
Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israelieten voor den Verzoendag. Hebreeuwsch en Nederduitsch, met een historisch overzigt, bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen. Nieuwe, verbeterde en vermeerderde uitgave.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5640/1879.

Rosh ha-Shanah vol. 2 1880
Yom Kippur. 2 vols. 1879
Copy: private collection

428 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1880

סדר ברכות והודאות.
אמשטרדם,5640 [1880].

Copy: EH 25D26/13

429 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1881-1882
Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israelieten Hebreeuwsch en Nederduitsch, met een historisch overzigt, bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen. Nieuwe, verbeterde en vermeerderde uitgave.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5641/1880.

Rosh ha-Shanah
Pesach 1 1880
Sukkot 1 1882
Copy: private collection

430 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1882

תפלת ישראל, הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה [מנהג אשכנזים].
Volledig dagelijksch gebedenboek voor het geheele jaar. Het Hebreeuwsch ... bijeengebracht door G.I. Polak en de Nederduitsche vertaling omgewerkt door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, bij J.L. Joachimsthal, 5642/1882.

Copy: EH 29C21

431 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1883

ארשת שפתים הוא סדר תפלה לכל השנה [מנהג אשכנזים]. עורך גבריאל פולק.
אמשטרדם, תרל״ד [5643/1883].

RV (3). Copy: EH 14F24/08

432 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1883

עולת שבת בשבתו.
אמשטרדם, 5643/1883.

Copy: private collection

433 Daily Prayers 1884

תפלות ניב שפתים
אממשטרדם, 5644/1884

Copy: EH 20I36

434 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1884

מערכת לשון והוא סדר תפלה כמנהג ספרדים

Dagelijksche gebeden naar den Portugeesch Israel. Ritus met aanwijzing der gebruiken in het Nederl. van den klemtoon, de Kamets Chatoef enz. door Jb. Lopes Cardozo Jr.
Amsterdam, D. Mirada & D.L. Cardozo & Co., 5644/1884.

Copy: private collection.

435 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1886

עולת שבת בשבתו Orde van het ochtend- en bijgevoegd gebed voor elken Sabbath, in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5647/1886.

Copy: Private collection. Newly set but page for page the same text as in the 1866 edition, titled סדר התפלות Orde der Sabbath-gebeden en Piyyutim.

436 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1889

מחזור מנהג אשכנז Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten ... voor den eersten dag van het Nieuwjaarsfeest. Bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5689/1889.

Copy: private collection.

437 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1889

סדר ברכות.
אמשטרדם, 5649/1889.

Copy: EH 31E28

438 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1890

ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaar, met Nederlandsche gebruiksaanwijzing door G.I. Polak, geheel herzien door S. Poons.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5650/1890.

RV (5). Copies: UBL, NLI

439 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1892

מחזור מנהג אשכנז Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten. Bewerkt door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5652/1892.
Pesach 1-2
Rosh ha-Shanah 2
Yom Kippur
Copy: private collection.

440 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1892

סדר ברכות והודאות.
אמשטרדם, 5652/1892.

Copy: EH 34F10/07

441 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1893
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaar, met Nederlandsche gebruiksaanwijzing door G.I. Polak, geheel herzien door S. Poons.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, 5653/1893.

RV (5). Copy: NIK

442 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1893-1994
Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëlieten voor den eersten en tweeden dag van het Loofhuttenfeest, Hebreeuwsch en Nederduitsch met een Historische overzicht door G.I. Polak en M.L. van Ameringen. Nieuwe, verbeterde en vermeerderde uitgave.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal. 5653/1893.

Shavuot 1894
Sukkot 2 vols. 1893
Copy: private collection.

443 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1895

תפלת כל פה.
אמשטרדם, 5655/1895.

Copies: EH 20F48, 35B19, 36D06

444 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1897
תפלת ישראל Volledig gebedenboek der Nederlandsche Israëlieten voor het geheele jaar. Onieuw in het Nederlandsch vertaald en van verklarende aantekeningen voorzien door J. Vredenburg.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joacchimsthal, 5657/1897

Copy: EH29C34

445 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1897
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. 16e veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, 5657/1897

RV (6). Copies: ULA, FULA, private collection.

446 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1898*
סדר הגיון נפשף תפלה עם העתקה וביור Gebedenboek met Nederlandsche vertaling en verklaring door L. Wagenaar.
Amsterdam, van Creveld & Co., 5661/1901

Copy: BL 1971. bb. 11. No other copy known. It is probably a misdated copy of the official first edition of 1901.

447 Minchah/Ma'ariv. Amsterdam. 1898

מנחת ערב
אמשטרדם, 5658/1898.

Copy: EH 27F49

448 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1899
סדר תפלות שחרית ומוסף לשבתות השנה Orde der gebeden voor den Sabbath-morgendienst Met Nederlandsche vertaling van L. Wagenaar.
Amsterdam, Van Creveld& Co., 5960/1899.

Copy: Private collection

449 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1900
סדר תפלות השחר לכל שבתות השנה Orde der ochtendgebeden voor den Shabbath, opnieuw in het Nederladsch vertaald en van verklrede aannteekeningen voorzien door J. Vredenburg.
Amsterdam, J.L. Joachimsthal, (5660//1900).

Copy: private collection.

450 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1901
סדר הגיון נפשף תפלה עם העתקה וביור Gebedenboek met Nederlandsche vertaling en verklaring door L. Wagenaar.
Amsterdam, van Creveld & Co., 5661/1901

Copies: EH 29B21, private collection (one of 3 copies printed on large paper, uncut)

451 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1901
אמרי לב Gebedenboek met Nederlandsche vertaling door L. Wagenaar.
Amsterdam, van Creveld & Co., 5662/1901.

Copies: EH 29C10, private collection. The text and Dutch translation are identical with that of the previous edition but this one id without the commentary.

452 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1901
תפלת כל פה והוא סדור תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים פה העירה אמשטרדם.
Gedrukt voor rekening van de Portugeesch-Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, Joachimsthal's Stoomdrukkerij, 5661 [1901].

Copy: EH 29G26 (on vellum)

453 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1901*
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. … veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, 5661/1901

RV (7). Copy: NLI

454 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1903

Copy: private collection

455 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1906
תפלת כל פה והוא סדור תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים פה העירה אמשטרדם.
Gedrukt voor rekening van de Portugeesch-Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, Joachimsthal's Stoomdrukkerij, 5666 [1906].

Copy: EH 20G54

456 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1906
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. … veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, 5666/1906

RV (8). Copy: NIK

457 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1914
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. Negentiende veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, 5674/1914

RV (9). Copies: ULA, private collection

458 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1924
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. Twintigste, veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, 5684/1924

RV (10). Copies: private collection, NLI, Stanford

459 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1928
תפלת כל פה והוא סדור תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים פה העירה אמשטרדם.
Gedrukt voor rekening van de Portugeesch-Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, Joachimsthal's Stoomdrukkerij, 5688 [1928].

Copies: EH 36D07, private collection

460 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1930
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. 21ste veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, L.J. Joachimsthal, 5690/1930

RV (11). Copies: ULA, private collection

461 Friday night prayers. The Hague. 1930
[Service on 19-12-1930 by M.J. lasker]

vP 1. Non-traditional.

462 Friday night prayers. The Hague. 1930
[Service on 26-12-1930 by M.J. lasker]

vP 1. Non-traditional.

463 Friday night prayers. The Hague. 1931
[Prayers and hymns] by M.J. Lasker.
Den Haag, Joodsche Reform Genootschap, 1931.

vP 2. Non-traditional

464 Shabbat Prayers. The Hague. 1931
[Prayers and hymns fort he Friday evening and Shabbat morning service, by J. Norden, L. Levisson and R.J. Spitz.
The Hague, 1931.

vP 3. Non-traditional

465 Yom Kippur. The Hague, 1932
[Prayers and hymns for Yom Kippur., by J. Norden, L. Levisson and R.J. Spitz, 1932

vP 4. Non-traditional

466 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1933

ענג שבת מנהג אשכנזים.

Amsterdam, 5693/1933.

Copy: EH 42E47

467 Friday evening. The Hague. 1933
[Prayers and hymns fort he Friday evening service, by H. Hirschberg and R.J. Spitz.
The Hague, 1933.

vP 6. Non-traditional

468 Rosh Hashanah. The Hague. 1933
Gebeden en gezangen voor het joodse Nieuwjaar. [By H, Hirschberg and R.J. Spitz.
The Hague, 1933.

vP 7 Non-traditional. Copy: EH 29E …

469 Yom Kippur. The Hague. 1933
Gebeden en gezangen voor de Grote Verzoendag, [by H. Hirschberg and R. J. Spitz].
Den Haag, 1933.

vP 8. Non-traditional. Copy: EH 29E …

470 Shavuot. The Hague. 1933
Gebeden en gezangen voor het Loofhuttenfeest en Vreugde der Wet, [by H. Hirschberg and R. J. Spitz].
Den Haag, 1933.

vP 9. Non-traditional

471 Yom Kippur. Amsterdam. 1934
Gebeden en Gezangen voor de Godsdienstoefeningen op den Grooten Verzoendag: aanvullingen voor het gebedenboek uitgegeven in 5694-1933, by L. Levisson et al.
Amsterdam, Verbond voor Liberaal-Religieuse Joden in Nederland, 1934.

vP 10. Non-traditional. Copy: EH 29E …

472 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1936

Copy: private collection

473 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1937
אחרשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. 22ste veel verbeterde en vermeerderde druk.
Amsterdam, L.J. Joachimsthal, 5697/1937.

RV (12). Copy: private collection. In the preface the editor mentions his revisions of the previous edition.

474 Yom Kippur. The Hague. 1939
Gebeden en Gezangen voor de Godsdienstoefeningen op den Grooten Verzoendag (ochtenddienst), by H. Andorn and R. J. Spitz.
Den Haag, Liberaal Joodsche Gemeente 'S-Gravenhage, 1939.

vP 13. Non-traditional. Copy: EH 29E …

475 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1941
סדר הגיון נפשף תפלה עם העתקה וביור Gebedenboek met Nederlandsche vertaling en verklaring door L. Wagenaar.
Amsterdam, van Creveld & Co., 5701/1941

Copies: private collections. This is a reissue of the original 1901 edition bookblocks, with only a new title page. Copies were presented by the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Community to Bar Mitswah boys and newly married couples.

476 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1950
תפלת כל פה והוא סדור תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדיסמידי חדש בחדשו ומידי שבת בשבתו עם תרגום הללנדית מאת חיים בנימין ישראל ריקרדו על פי כ״י שהניח אחריו.
Gebeden der Portugees-Israëlieten met Nederlandsche vertaling naar het nagelaten handschrift van B. Israël Ricardo. (Editor: S. Rodrigues Pereira.)
Amsterdam, PIG, 5710/1950.

Copies: EH 29E44, 29E51

477 Friday evening prayers. Amsterdam. 1955
לקרת שבת לכו ונלכה Gebeden voor de vrijdagavonddienst, by J. Soetendorp and R.A. Levisson.
Amsterdam, 1955.

vP 14. Non-traditional

478 Shabbat morning prayers. Amsterdam. 1955
יוצא לשבת יקר וגדולה ביום שבת Gebeden voor de Sjabbat ochtenddienst, by J. Soetendorp and R.A. Levisson.
Amsterdam, 1955.

vP 15. Non-traditional

479 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1955?
תפלות לשבת מנוחה Gebeden voor de Sjabbat ochtenddienst, by J. Soetendorp and R.A. Levisson.
Amsterdam, 1955?

vP 16. Non-traditional

480 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1960
ארשת שפתים Gebeden der Israëlieten voor het geheele jaaar met nauwkeurige aanwijzingen der voorschriften bij de gebeden in de Nederlandsche taal door G.I. Polak. 23ste druk.
Amsterdam, L.J. Joachimsthal, 5720/1960.

RV (13). Copy: NIK

481 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 1961
סדר תפלות לשבת Gebeden voor Sjabbat, by J. Soetendorp and R.A. Levisson.
(Amsterdam), 1960.

vP 19. Non-traditional. Copy: LJG Amsterdam

482 Shabbat and Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1964
סדר טוב להודות Gebeden voor Sjabbat en Feestdagen ten gebruike in de Liberaal-Joodse Gemeenten in Nederland.
[Amsterdam], Verbond van Liberaal Religieuze Joden in Nederland, 5724/1964.

vP 20. Copy: private collection

483 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1964
סדר טוב להודות Gebeden voor Rosj Hasjanah en Jom Kippoer ten gebruike in de Liberaal-Joodse Gemeenten in Nederland.
[Amsterdam], Verbond van Liberaal Religieuze Joden in Nederland, 5725/1964.

vP 21. Copy: private collection

484 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1972
ארשת שפתים Gebeden - Tefila voor het gehele jaar met Nederlandse gebruiksaanwijzing door G.I. Polak, geheel herzien door S. Poons met een inleiding van D. Hausdorf. Vier-en-twintigste druk.
[Amsterdam], NIK, gedrukt bij N.V. Verenigde grafische industrie Levisson MPS, Rijswijk Z.H, 1972-5732.

Copies: NIK, private collextion

485 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1977
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar.
Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 5737/1977.

RV (15). Copy: NIK

486 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1979
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar.
Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 2e verbeterde druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 1979-5739.

RV (16). Copies: ULA, private collection

487 Machsor. Amsterdam. 1981-1998
עתירת יצחק 'Atirat Jitschak, het smeken van Jitschak.

Copies: NIK, private collections

487a Rosh Hashanah. Amsterdam. 1981
מחזור לראש השנה Gebeden voor het Nieujaarsfeest. Vertaald en bewerkt door J. Dasberg. Waaraan toegevoegd een bloemlezing van toepasselijke gedachten onder redaktie van I. Vorst. Amsterdam, NIK, 5741/1981.

487b Yom Kippur. Amsterdam. 1983
מחזור ליום כפור Gebeden voor de Verzoendag. Vertaling enbewerking I. Dasberg, redaktie en lay-out I. Vorst. חלק ב
Amsterdam, 5743/1983. 2 vols.

487c Pesach. Amsterdam. 1998
מחזור לפסח Gebeden voor het Pesachfeest. Vertaling en bewerking I. Dasberg. Vertaling en bewerking van de Pioetim A. Wijler (vol. 1 only) en W.J. van Bekkum. Redaktie en lay-out A.W. Rosenberg. Deel III, 1-2.
Amsterdam, NIK, 5758/1998. 2 vols.

487d Shavuot. Amsterdam. 1992
מחזור לשבועות Gebeden voor het Wekenfeest. Vertaling en bewerking I. Dasberg. Vertaling en bewerking van dePioetim W.J. van Bekkum. Redaktie en lay-out A.W. Rosenberg. Deel IV.
Amsterdam, NIK, 5752/1992.

487e Sukkot. Amsterdam.
מחזור לסוכות Gebeden voor het Loofhuttenfeest. Vertaling en bewerking I. Dasberg. Vertaling en bewerking van dePioetim W.J. van Bekkum. Redaktie en lay-out A.W. Rosenberg. Deel V 1-2.
Amsterdam, NIK, 5754/1994 -5756/1996. 2 vols.

488 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1986
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar. Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 3e druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 1986-5746.

RV (17). Copy: NIK

489 Shabbat evening Prayers. Amsterdam. 1989
סדור שים שלום by D. Lilienthal et al.
Amsterdam, 1989.

vP. 23a. Non-traditional. First provisional edition.

490 Shabbat evening Prayers. Amsterdam. 1991
סדור טאב להודות by D. Lilienthal et al.
Amsterdam, 1991.

vP. 23b. Non-traditional. Second provisional edition.

491 Daily Prayers. Daily Prayers. 1993
תפלת כל פה והוא סדור תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדיסמידי חדש בחדשו ומידי שבת בשבתו עם תרגום הללנדית מאת חיים בנימין ישראל ריקרדו על פי כ״י שהניח אחריו.
Gebeden der Portugees-Israëlieten met Nederlandsche vertaling naar het nagelaten handschrift van B. Israël Ricardo.
Amsterdam, PIG, 5753/1993.

Copies: PIG. This is a reprint of the 1950 edition with the addition of the prayers for the State of Israel and the soldiers of the IDF. Part was bound in wrappers, another part in a cloth binding, given to Bat and Bar Mitswa girls and boys.

492 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1993
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar. Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 4e druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 1993-5753.

RV (18). Copy: NIK

493 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1995
סדר המועדים Orde voor de Feestdagen naar den ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israëlieten .Opnieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, PIG, 1995-5755.

Copies: PIG. Reprint of the 1858 edition.

494 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1995
סדר תעניות Gebeden voor de vastendagen naar den ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugesche Israelieten in het Nederduitsch vertaald door J(aco)b Lopes Cardozo.
Amsterdam, PIG, 1995-5755.

Copies: PIG. Reprint of the 1858 edition.

495 Rosh Hashanah. Amsterdam.1995
ראש השנה Orde voor het Nieuwjaarsfeest naar den Ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israëliten in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder.
Amsterdam, PIG, 1995-5755.

Copies: PIG. Reprint of the 1870 edition.

496 Yom Kippur. Amsterdam. 1995
סדר ליום כפור Orde voor den Verzoendag naar den rits der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israelieten, in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.I. Mulder, vermeerderd en verbeterd door D.R. Montezinos.
Amsterdam, PIG, 1995-5755.

Copies: PIG. Reprint of the 1876 edition.

497 Shabbat evening Prayers. Amsterdam. 1995
סדור טאב להודות by D. Lilienthal et al., translated by M. Bakker and C.I. Dessaur.
Amsterdam, 1995.

vP. 23c. Non-traditional. Third provisional edition.

498 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1991
סדר טוב להודות Ochtendgebeden voor Sjabbat en weekdagen, by D. Lilienthal et al., translated by M. Bakker and C.I. Dessaur.
Amsterdam, 1995.

vP. 24a. Non-traditional. First provisional edition.

499 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1996
סדר טוב להודות Ochtendgebeden voor Sjabbat en weekdagen, by D. Lilienthal et al., translated by M. Bakker and C.I. Dessaur.
Amsterdam, 1996.

vP. 24b. Non-traditional. Second provisional edition.

500 Afternoon and evening Prayers. Amsterdam. 1998
סדר טוב להודות Middag en avondgebeden bij Avelim, by D. Lilienthal et al., translated by M. Bakker and C.I. Dessaur.
Amsterdam, 1998.

vP. 25. Non-traditional.

501 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 2000
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar.
Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 5e druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 2000-5760.

RV (19). Copy: NIK

502 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 2000
סדר טוב להודות חול ושבת Gebeden, by Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1991
סדר טוב להודות Ochtendgebeden voor Sjabbat en weekdagen, by D. Lilienthal et al., translated by M. Bakker and C.I. Dessaur.
Amsterdam, 2000.

vP. 27. Non-traditional.

503 Machsor עתירת יצחק. Amsterdam. 2001
עתירת יצחק ‘Atirat Jitschak, het smeken van Jitschak.

Copies: NIK, private collections

503a Rosh Hashanah
מחזור לראש השנה Gebeden voor het Nieujaarsfeest. Vertaald en bewerkt door J. Dasberg. Waaraan toegevoegd een bloemlezing van toepasselijke gedachten onder redaktie van I. Vorst. Tweede, herziene druk.
Amsterdam, NIK, 5762/2001.

503b Yom Kippur
מחזור ליום כפור Gebeden voor de Verzoendag. Vertaling enbewerking I. Dasberg, redaktie en lay-out I. Vorst. חלק ב
Amsterdam, 5762/2001. 2 vols.

504 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 2008
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar. Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 6e druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 2008-5768.

RV (20). Copy: NIK

505 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 2013
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar. Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 7e druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 2013-5773.

RV (21). Copy: NIK

506 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 2013
שבת Sjabbatsiddoer: Sjabbatsiddoer met fonetische tekst, toelichting en praktische tips. Samenstelling en tekstdesign Henny van het Hoofd.
שבת Sjabbat thuis met fonetische tekst, toelichting en praktische tips.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 2013-5774.

2 vols. Copy: NIK

507 Minchah. Amsterdam. 2015
מנחת דותר Mienchat Dotar; Middaggebeden voor werkdagen, Sjabbat en Jom Tob met toegevoegd de Parasa, Pierkee Abot en de Choepa, inclusief de Dotar loting zonder te hoeven bladeren en met een Nederlandse vertaling volgens de Nederlands-Portugese ritus.
Amsterdam, Santa Companhia de Dotar Orphas e Donzellas, קול ששון וקול שמחה לפ״ק 5775-2015.

Copies: Dotar, private collections.

508 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 2017
שיח יצחק, הוא תרגום הולנדי על ידי דר׳ יצחק דסברג של סדר התפלה לכל השנה ארשת שפתים.
Siach Jitschak Gebed van Jitschak; siddoer, de geordende gebeden voor het gehele jaar. Nederlandse vertaling door Jitschak Dasberg. 8e druk.
Amsterdam, Nederlands-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, 2017-5777.

RV (22). Copy: NIK

509 Shabbat Prayers. Amsterdam. 2018
חמדת הימים, הוא סדור תפילה לשבת קודשך מסודר ע״י ראובן מנחם פיש.
Chemdat Hajamiem; Gebeden, Tefilla voor de sjabbat. Ordening en tekstontwerp Ruben Vis.
Amsterdam, NIK 2018, [5739] תשע״ט.

Copy: NIK

510 Fast Days. Amsterdam. No year
Orden de los cinco ayunos por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados de T.T.
Amsterdam, no printer, no date.

dSR 68. Copies: EH 10G60, 32F31

511 Berakhot. Amsterdam. No year

סדר ברכות.
אמשטרדם,

Copy: EH 35D25/04

A LIST OF BOOKS WITH SEPHARDIC OBLIGATORY PRAYERS IN THE VERNACULAR[1]

The following list is not intended as a census, neither does it claim to be complete but it is tentative, being compiled from bibliographical literature in an attitude that is "both *conservative* and *cautious*".[2] As such it invites additions from further research. It includes the same types of books containing obligatory prayers as in list A and is preceded by some Sephardic editions in Hebrew only that have been used to identify the Sephardic tradition in Hebrew prayer as published in Italy during the first half of the 16th century. Books that were published in Amsterdam are included in both lists to which is refered at the beginning of the references with their number – preceded by R – in list A.

S 1 Comprehensive prayers. Venice. 1519

תמונות תחנות תפלות ספרד ערוכות כשלחן ולאכול מזומן ופיוט ופזמון בתוכו מפורד בסופו תחפש ותמצא מסומן.
[ויניציאה], דניאל בומבירג, רע״ד.

14 cm. 494, (50) ll. (1)-155, (1), 1 l. (1)-155 (gathering 1-20) t/m Shabbat prayers, 1 l. blank, Massechet Avot unnumbered, gatherings numbered 1-3 (Arabic numbers on top, Hebrew at the bottom), continues with gathering 24, folio 191 (instead of 181) t/m 494 (=484).
Copy: ULL 1370 E 33 (Scaliger Collection). . STC 2066 (misdated 1517), V Venice 17.
Collation: (1)-19$_8$, 20$_4$, 1-3$_8$, 24-68$_8$, 69$_4$. Signatures in Hebrew and Arabic numbers, catchwords at the end of each gathering. 17 lines. Modern leather casing, blind tooled by Boekbinderij J.A. Loeber, Leiden, front hinge loose. Ownership inscription by Iustus Scaliger: donum doctissimi Cl. Metallerii Viennnsis provinciae Iuridici.
Drop caps over 2 lines, fully aligned. Size of text, headers and footers: 11 pts, captions 25 pts., gathering mark 9 pts., rubrics 11 pts. Fully vocalised. Diamond colon and upper dot punctuation. This is the first Venice Sephardi prayer book.

S 2 Comprehensive prayers. Venice. 1524

תמונות תחנות תפלות ספרד ... ערוכות כשלחן ולאכול מזומן ופיוט ופזמון בתוכו מפורד בסופו תחפש ותמצא מסומן.
[ויניציאה], דניאל בומבירג יצ״ו, רפ״ד

Colophon: אני קורניי״ליו אדי״ל קי״נד עשיתי ההגהה. (I, Cornelio Adelkind, corrected this.)

STC 2067; V Venice 98. Copies: NLI R 53A433 (incomplete) online; BLO Opp. add. 120. 58
This edition contains the Ashkenazi version of the Tsidduk ha-Din: *Hatsur tamim* instead of *Tsadik Atah*. It does not include *Hanoten Teshua*, the prayer for the King.

[1] The list is preceded by three Sephardic prayer books in Hebrew as a reference for the contents of later editions in the vernacular only. For editions that were published outside the Netherlands, only concise bibliographical references are provided.
[2] Cf. Offenberg, 1990, introduction.

S 3 Comprehensive Prayers. Venice. 1544

תמונות תחנות תפלות ספרד ערוכות כשלחן ולאכול מזומן ופיוט ופזמון בתוכו מפורד בסופו תחפש ותמצא מסומן.
[ויניציאה], נדפס על ידי קורניליין אדי״ל קינ״ד בבית דניאל בומבירג יצ״ו, רפ״ד [=ש״ד].

Colophon:
קורנילייו אדיל קינד ברוך ה׳ שעזרני להגיה ולסדר זה הסדור עם קצת תוספת שהוספתי בו שלא היה בראשונים והוא בתפלת השבוע: תמיד אני מוסיף אי זה דבר של תועלת למתפללים עם רוב יגיעה: ואח״כ עומדים מדפיסי׳ חדשים שאינם יודעים ההפרש שיש בין ימין לשמאל וגונבים יגיעתי כמו שנראה בכל הסידורים שנדפסו בלתי: נשלם בחודש תמוז בין המצרים בשנת ד״ש לפ״ק בויניציאה.

13.5 cm. Title within architectural border. 551, (1 blank) ff. F. 72 misnumbered אב, f. 190 misnumbered 103, f. 261 דסא instead of רסא, f. 263 lacks number, f. 275 misnumbered 249, f. 419 misnumbered 319, f. 448 misnumbered 423, fol. 437 lacks final ז. Deformed ל in numbering of ff. 236, 237 and 331. Copies: EH 20E39; BLO Opp. add. 120. 58 551, (1 blank) ff. STC 2076; V Venice 233. STC 2076; V Venice 233.
$1\text{-}69_8$ Signature mark lacking on f. 20_3. Custodes on the last page of each gathering. Signatures marked in Arabic characters, followed by Roman characters i – iiii. No running titles. Foliation in Hebrew characters ב-תקנא. F. 47_1 lacks i. 17 lines. Later calf, gilt. Presented in November 1855 by Aron Mendes Chumaceiro to Jacob Ferrares (ms. dedication) who bequeathed it to the Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos.
Headings and paragraph openings in large bold font. Fully aligned, paragraph endings mostly centered. Special attention is given to the lay out, poetry and rhyme get special attention. Size of text: 11 pts, captions 24 pts., footers 12 pts., gathering marks 9 pts., rubrics 11 pts. Vocalised. Diamond colon and upper dot punctuation. The inking of the signature marks is sometimes weak. Rubrics in Sephardic cursive font. All rubrics and instructions are in Hebrew, except for the instructions for the Seder Service (ff. 147_v - 161_r) which are in Ladino, printed in cursive Hebrew characters. Headings and paragraph openings in large bold font. Fully aligned, paragraph endings mostly centered. Special attention is given to the lay out, poetry and rhyme get special attention. On verso of the title occurs a poem with end-rhyme. Unlike the preceding Venice editions this one contains the poem *Ana bekhoach*[3] and the repetition of the Amida on Friday night as well as the *berakhah me'ein sheva*[4] and the repetition of the Kedushah.[5]

S 4 Comprehensive Prayers. Venice. 1546*

תמונות תחנות תפלות ספרד ערוכות כשלחן ולאכול מזומן ופיוט ופזמון בתוכו מפורד בסופו תחפש ותמצא מסומן.
[ויניציאה], יושטניאן - קורנילייו אדיל קינד, ש״ו.

V Venice 302, copy BLO. This edition was composed and corrected by Cornelio Adelkind in the house of Marco Antonio Giustiniani who for some years took over Hebrew printing in Venice from the Bomberg firm. I have been unable to compare this edition with those of Bomberg and Bragadin.

S 5 Daily Prayers. Venice. 1552

סדר התפלות מסידור החדש בעברי ובלעז ספרדי

Ordenanca delas oraciones del Cedur del mes Ebraico y vulgar espanol. Copilado por el Doctor Ribi Isac hijo de Don Semtob Cavallero.
Venecia, Alvisi Bragadin, 1552.

(4), 324 ff., numbered 1-123. Copies: BML Res 802435 (the description is based on a PDF scan of this copy), BLO 8^0. P. 127. Th. (incomplete), JTS (reported to contain also an additional engraved title page). Kay 59 ("avant 1583"), STC 2404 ("s.a. [Saec. XVI]. Librum recenset jam Index et Catal. Libr. Prohib. A Quiroga ed. Madr. 1583 f 69 verso"), V Venice 449 (misinterpreting Steinschneider).
Collation: $(.)_4$, $a\text{-}z_8$, $aa\text{-}rr_8$, ss_4. Catchwords at the end of the final leaves with Spanish or Hebrew of each gathering. 15 lines.
In the Hebrew text drop caps over two lines. No running titles. On some pages the drawing of a hand marks cross-reference. Diamond colon. The initial gathering consists of 4 leaves: a title within an architectural border, dated 1552 and bearing the name of the publisher Alvise Bragadin. It is followed by a table of contents, a type specimen, a single Bakashah and ends with the remark: *"Las otras bacasot se Hollaran cada una en su lugar:"* Neither the text, nor the table of contents contain any other Bakashot. The first gathering is followed by a typographical title which is identical with

[3] This is an anonymous Kabbalistic prayer, later attributed to the Mishna Sage Rabbi Nechunyah Ben HaKana.
[4] See p. 105f.
[5] See p. 187f.

the one in the following Shabbat Prayers. The scan lacks f. 216, ee_1 containing part of Ps. 91; ff. 158-159 u_{7-8} and f. 278 nn_4 occur twice in the scan. The work is much more concise than its Bomberg predecessors, especially for Shabbat and the Holydays. This was partly overcome by the special edition of the Shabbat Prayers (see the following entry) and the Selichot. It would be interesting to know if dedicated editions of the Holiday Prayers and those for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur have been intended.
(Incomplete), JTS (reported to contain also an additional engraved title page)

S 6 Shabbat Prayers. Venice. 1552

סדור תפלות כמנהג הספרדים הועתק מלשון עברי ללשון ספרד על ידי הרופה המובהק רבי יצחק ב״ר שם קאבא״לירו טוב

Orden de oraciones segundo el uso ebrèo en lengua ebraica y vulguar español; traduzido por el dotor Isac fijo de Don Sem Tob Cavallero.
Venecia, [A. Bragadin, 1552].

The typographical title in both editions is identical; Ff. (1)-54 are a carefully set line for line reprint of the Comprehensive prayers, but further this edition only contains the Shabbat prayers.

Size: 11.5 cm. 303; 36 ff. (second part lacks ff. 1-4 and unknown number after f. 36). Copies: EH 20I43 (=NLI R 16^0 79A5026), lacking part of the Friday night prayers, BMV 81C239 B.V.S. 11279 (lacking all the Friday night prayers). V Venice 448 (incorrectly describing the EH copy which at the time was kept in the NLI).
Collation: a-z_8; aa-pp_8; B-E_8 (A and an unknown part after E lacking). Catchwords at the end of each gathering both in Hebrew or Spanish; Final fol. Part 1: recto numbered 303, verso blank. 15 lines. 17th century calf, gilt, brass ornamented clasps; gilt and gauffered edges; rebacked ad hinges strengthened in 2000. Book block occasionally slightly cropped, affecting foliation and footers. There is no sign that the lacking parts went missing after the binding was completed (see the gilt and gauffered edges). Provenance: Collection David Montezinos. Paragraphs in both languages indicated by inverse indention; otherwise fully aligned; Caption: 24 pt. Hebrew paragraphs: initial words in large characters. End of paragraphs in Hebrew and translation generally aligned, in Hebrew text sometimes catered, marking a new part of the prayers. Rarely interlinear space between parts. Hebrew: text and footers 12pts, initial words 18 pts. Rubrics in Sefardic cursive type 10 pt. Translation: text and footers 11 pt.; rubrics in Latin type or in italics, 9 pt. Hebrew fully vocalised. Poor registering; in the Alenu prayer (f. 181) instead of the often censored passage a white space is inserted, both in the Hebrew and in the translation. No Kedusha in morning and afternoon prayers; no mention of the repetition of the Amida by the Chazzan.
The typographical title in both editions is identical; Ff. (1)-54 are a carefully set line for line reprint of the Comprehensive prayers, but further this edition only contains the Shabbat prayers.

S 7 Penitential Prayers. Venice. 1552*
Celihot segun la orden del uso español hebraico.
Venecia. [A. Bragadin], 1552.

IB 63592, Kay p. 63. Copies: EH 20E53/02 (missing), BL C.049.a.5

S 8 Comprehensive Prayers. Ferrara. 1552
Libro de oracyones de todo el año traduzido del Hebrayco de verbo a verbo de antigues exemplares por quanto los ympressos fasta a qui estan errados con muchas cosas acrescentados de nueva segun por la siguiente table se muestra.
[Ferrara], Ympresso por yndustria y despesa de Yom Tob Atias hijo de Levi Atias, 5312 (1552).

17 cm. (36), 539, (1 blank missing) = 576 ff. Kay p. 59, V Ferrara 11. Copies: EH 2G37 (SE JS-187) leaf yy1 missing, BL C. 049. a. 1, Talmud Tora Library Livorno (Lost?)
Collation: *-$***_{12}$, A-Z_{12}, AA-YY_{12} (f. YY1 lacking). Custodes at end of gathering, running titles, foliation. 31 lines. 18th century half calf, restored about 2001. Ex libris Bibliotheca D.H. de Castro Mz.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text: 10 pts, rubrics 8 pts, headings, signatures and running titles: 12 pts. Text in black letter, rubrics in italics, foliation in Roman numerals. See f. 306: "por que enel Harbith no se torna a la hamidah …" This is unlike the Dailay Prayers that were published by the same printer in the same year. Interesting is the indication of the way the shofar was blown on Rosh ha-Shanah.[6]

[6] See p. 85, illustration 22.

S 9 Daily Prayers. Ferrara. 1552
Sedur de Oraciones de mes con mucha diligencia visto y enmendado.
(Ferrara), ympreso por yndustria y despesa de Yon Tob Atias hijo de Levi Atias. Enel mes de Sivan de 5312 (1552).

252, [4] ff., final leaf blank. Copies: 20E53/01 (only photocopy available=SE JS-189; the book disappeared from Ets Haim and is now part of a private collection), BMV. dSR 45.
A-Z_8, AA-JJ_8. Foliation: (1-2), 3, 5, 7, 9-186, 171, 188-190, 187, 192-200, 101, 202, 103, 204, 105, 206, 107, 208-226, 228-252, (3), final blank lacking? Ff. A_4, A_6 and A_8 lack foliation. In the photocopy FF_2 verso and FF_3 recto (fol. 227) are lacking. No catchwords; signatures, running titles (except on a page starting with a heading), foliation in Roman characters. 18 lines. Originally belonged to the collection of David Montezonos.
Drop caps over 2 lines, no interspace between paragraphs. Liturgical instructions, references to other folios. Text in black letter. Blessings before and after the reading of the Torah in Hebrew characters, vocalized. Each strophe of the alphabetical Psalm 119 is preceded by the corresponding Hebrew character Throughout the copy described roman folio numbers have been transcribed into Arabic numbers in a contemporary hand, suggesting that the book-owner was unfamiliar with roman numbers or even black letters in general. The difference between a *long s* and an *f* in this photocopy is not easily discerned.
There are significant linguistic differences between this work and the preceding one, produced by the same publisher.[7] However, the liturgical tradition is similar. Like in the Venice 1544 Hebrew edition and unlike the Ferrara Comprehensive prayers, printed by the same publisher in 1552, the Amidah on Friday night is repeated with the *Kedushah*, while also the *Berakhah me'ein sheva* is said.[8]

S 10 Penitential Prayers. Ferrara. 1552*
Orden de silhoth el qual comiença en la luna nueva de elul que responde a agusto.
(Ferrara, Yom Tob Atias hijo de Levi Atias, 5312 [=1552]).

dSR 69, Kay p. 63, V Ferrara 15. Copies: EH 20E53/02 (missing), BL C. 049. a. 5

S 11 High Holidays. Ferrara. 1553*
מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur trasladado en Español y de nuevo emendado por yndustria y delige[n]cia de Abraha[m] Usque ben Selomoh Usque, Portugues.
Ferrara, estampado en su [= Abraham Usque] casa y a sua costa, a 15 de Elul, 5313 (1553).

'Critical edition' by Moshe Lazar, Culver City, CA, 1993.
Kay p. 61, V Ferrara 19. Copies: EH 20E54 (missing), BL (SE JS-295).

S 12 Daily Prayers. Ferrara. 1555*
Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo .S. sin boltar de una á otra parte y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada.
Ferrara, estampado por yndustria y despesa de Abraham Usque, 12. De Setembro 1555.

Kay p. 59, Leoni, 2002. Copy: BL C.049.a.4 ("Imperfect: wanting all between ff. xlviii and clix, and apparently made up from two different editions."), SE JS-297

S 13 Comprehensive Prayers. Venice. 1571*
Orden de las oraciones para todo el año.
Venecia, Jua Gara, 1571.

Copy: BNE R/24200

[7] See an example on p. 87, illustrations 23 and 24.
[8] See p. 187.

S 14 Comprehensive Prayers. Venice. 1582*

סדר תפלות כל השנה.

Orden de oraciones segundo el uso ebreo en lengua ebraica y vulgar Español. Copilado por el Doctor Ribi Isac hijo de Don Semtob Cavallero.
Venecia, (1582).

Copies: BNF, HHL (SE JS-141)

S 15 Daily Prayers. Dordrecht, 1584

Orden de oraciones de mes arreo s. sin boltar de una à otra parte, la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada.
Maguntia (=Dordrecht), [Printed by Peeter Verhagen], [13 Adar 5344] [= February 26, 1584].

Colophon: Acabóse: a loor del Dio la presente orde de Oraciones en Maguntia à 13. De Adar de 5344.

236, (3) ff. the final (blank?) may be present or missing. Copy: BNE R/11178 (SE JS-267). R 1Offenberg, 1987 1.
Collation: A-Z_8, a-f_8, g_4, $*_3$. Catchwords on every page, signatures, running titles, foliation. 24 lines.
Drop caps over 2 lines, fully aligned. The lower part of the title page is missing; the PDF scans do not show conjugate leaves, nor sewing. It is impossible from the reproduction to conclude if the final (blank?) leaf is present or missing. The text is more extensively manually censored than usual.

S 16 High Holidays. Dordrecht, 1584

מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español y de nuevo emendado y añadido el Selihoth el qual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.
Maguntia (=Dordrecht), Estampado por industria y despesa de Yahacob Ysrael [Printed by Peeter Verhagen] a .16. de Yiar de 5344 [=April 27, 1584].

Colophon: Estampado y acabado la presente orden de Roshasanah y Kipur à loor del Dio en Maguntia, a .16. de Yiar de 5344.

327, (1 blank) ff. Copies: Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Mainz XIVb 114 y; BLO Opp. Adds. 8^0 IV.12; BL (SE JS-299); SUL Hamburg; YUL. R 2. Kay 61, Offenberg 1987 2, SBH p. 35-37, V Mainz 2.
Collation: A-Z_8; a-s_8. Catchwords on every page; signatures signed 1-5; running titles; foliation 2-327. 25 lines.
Drop caps over two lines. The contents closely follow the Ferrara 1553 edition but is not identical: e.g. Ps. 81 is left out in the evening prayer of Rosh ha-Shanah and the Selichot are absent from the Ferrara edition.

S 17 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1604

מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español, y de nuevo emendado. Y añadido el Selihoth, el qual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.
[Amsterdam], Estampado por industria y despeza de Franco de Mendoça & compañia a primero de nisan 5364, [= April 1, 1604].

[263 [=264] ff. Copies: EH 23G02; ULA ROS 1895 H 37 (=SE JS-138); ULL 1149 H 2 (incomplete), BLO 8^0. M. 255 Th; JTS. R 3. Kay 61, Offenberg, 1987 3, STC 2430 STCN 112272487.
Collation: A-Z^8, Aa-Kk^8. Title unsigned, followed by A 2, f. 2 Undecided if title and A^8 are conjugates. F. 37 misnumbered 73, 67 misnumbered 66, 87 misnumbered 89, 152 misnumbered 144, 153-154 misnumbered 253-254, 169 misnumbered 269, 178 misnumbered 162, 180 misnumbered 172, 203 unnumbered (added in ms), 204 misnumbered 124, 205 misnumbered 185, 209 misnumbered 190, 226-232 corrected in ms., obliterating original foliation, 248 misnumbered 147, 249-264 misnumbered 248-263. Catch words at the foot of every page. 32 lines. Running titles. Vellum, rebacked. From the collection of David Montezinos.
Drop caps over 2 lines. text, headings, running titles, signatures and custodes: 8 pts; Hebrew characters: 28 pts. At the foot of most pages ink mark of form or furniture. Running titles in italics, headings in small caps.; shofar tones indicated in Hebrew type.

Comparing the recto and verso of the title-pages of the 1584 and the 1604 editions of the prayers for the High Holidays, as shown on the precious page, show that the former set the format for the later. The similarity between both editions is striking, but there are differences, the most important of which is the presence for the first time in the 1604 edition of Keter Malkhut and a number of Bakashot at the end of the book.

S 18 Fast Days. Venice. 1609
Orden de los cinco tahaniot.
Venezia, Giorgio Bizzardo, 1609

Copy: HUCK

Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1612
S 19 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1612
Primera parte del sedur contiene las oraçiones de cada dia, de cada Sabath, y de cada mes. Y de los ajunos del Solo y congregaçion. Y de las fiestas de Hanucha I Purim, I de los diez dias de contriçion. Con muchas cosas acreçentadas que en todo el año se suelen dezir.
Amsterdam, Stampada pro industria y despeza de Yshac Franco, 5372 a los 4 de Addar [= February 7, 1612).

Colophon: Por mano de Iahacob Guadalupe.

16 cm. Size of text: 155 x 83 mm.223 (=224) ff. numbered (1), 2-153, 153-223. Copies: HABA Le 5, (photocopy in ULA RON A5270, BNE (SE JS-268), OSU. R 4a. Offenberg, 1987 7a.
Collation: A-Z_8, Aa-Ee_8 (C_1 lacking), E_5 marked A_5. Catchwords on every page, signatures, running titles, foliation. 32 lines. Provenance: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolffenbüttel.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text 10 pts., running titles 8 pts., footers 10 pts., headings of various parts vary in size between 8-10 pts. Low quality paper, irregular typography and lay out, irregular inking of the form, often affecting the readability of the foliation, different font sizes in the foliation.

S 20 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1612
Segunda parte del sedur contiee las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, Sucoth, y da octao. Con todas las cosas que e nellas se suele dezir en Casa y en la ysnoga.
Amsterdam, Stampada por industria y despeza de Yshac Franco a 4 de Adar ve Adar (= Adar 2) 5372, [=March 8, 1612].

17 cm. Size of text: 156 x 84 mm. 240 ff. numbered 2-240. Copies: EH 9H29, ULA RON A-5271 (SE JS-139), Tresoar, Ya. R 4b. dSR 58, IB 51153, Offenberg, 1987 7b, Seeligmann, 1927 p. 41.
Collation: A-Z_8, Aa-GG_8. Catchwords on every page, gathering signatures 1-5, running titles. 32 lines. 18th century velvet over wooden boards (book block and binding carefully restored c. 2002, book block cropped by the 18th century binder. Provenance: from the collection of David Montezinos.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text, headings, signatures, custodes and rubrics: 9 pts; running titles: 8 pts. Low quality paper, irregular typography and lay out, irregular inking of the form, often affecting the readability of the foliation. Headings and rubrics are printed in the same font ad size as the text. Repetition of the Amidah in Arbit, including Kedushah. Halleel is said both nights of Pesach with Berakhah before Arbit; Remark that portion of Hagada from Ps. 136 onwards is not obligatory (not in edition Bomberg). Montezinos remarked in ms. on some peculiarities, e.g. incorrect translations on the fly leaf.

S 21 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1612
Tercera parte del sedur contiene las thephiloth de Roshasanah y Kipur, con los diez dias de contricion, y el Selicoth que se dize quarenta dias antes del Kipur, en las madrugadas: y el Keter malcuth con todas las Bakasoth nuevas y Viejas.
Amsterdam, Por mandado de Isah Franco à 1e de Siuan 5372, [= June 1, 1612].

Size of tekst: 158 x 84 mm. 244 ff. (final gathering signed 1-4, possible 4 final blank ff. lacking), numbered (1), 1-224, 221, 226, 223, 228, 225, 230, 227, 232-244. Copy: ULA ROK A 1361 (SE JS-140). R 4c.Offenberg, 1987 7c.
Collation: A-Z_8, Aa-Gg_8, Hh_4. In this copy Hh is bound as a gathering but the gutter has been mounted on stubs; it is impossible to establish whether they are conjugates. Catchwords, signatures, running titles and foliation. 32 lines. Modern red morocco, richly gilt. Provenance: Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.
Drop caps over 2 lines. Size of text 10 pts, running titles and captions 9 pts. italics, footers 10 pts. Most of the text is identical with the 1604 edition, except for a number of *Pizmonim* and *Bakasoth* for Kipur which are excluded in this edition and a prayer at the end the last 2 lines of text on f 98v, last line f. 169v, 172v, 181v, 183r, 199v, 201r+v, 123v, ff. 206-211, 214r, 217v and from f. 341v till the end. Typography differs from that of parts 1-2 of the series, but is closer to the 1604 Amsterdam edition of the High Holiday prayers.

S 22 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1617

מחזור Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur trasladado en Español y de nuevo eme[n]dado y añadido el Selihot en qual se dize quare[n]ta dias a[n]tes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas.
Em Amstradama, Talmud Torah Bet Yaahkob. Estampado por industria y despesa de David Abenatar Mello. A primero de sivan de 5377 [= June 4, 1617].

Colophon:
Acabóse à loor del Dio la presente orden de Oraçiones, en Amstradama, a 15. de Iunio de 5378

328 ll., the final leaf blank, numbered 2-327; f. 34 misnumbered 36, f. 54 misnumbered 45, f. 326 misnumbered 327. Copies: HUC Klau RBR E 1617, Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau (Apparently lost). R 5. IB 51154, Kay 61; Offenberg, 1987 12.
Collation: A-Z_8, a-s_8. Catchwords at every page. 25 lines. Provenance: Dr. Louis Grossmann Collection. Dropcaps over 2 lines. Running titles in italics. Minor textual differences with the previous editions of the High Holiday prayers in the vernacular. As indicated on the title the Bakashot are printed in Iberian Jewish dialect and on the opposite page in Romanised Hebrew.

S 23 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1618

Orden de oraciones de mess arreo sin boltar de una á otra parte y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada y las Bakassot al principio en Ladino con la pronunçiacón Hebrayca escrita en Hespannol.
En Amstradama, Impresso a despesza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah del Kahal Kadoos Bet Yaahkob, 15 Elul 5378, [= September 5, 1618].

264 ll., numbered (8), 1-212, (5). Copies: MLR Michel-Crepin 7355c, ULA OTM ROK A-938 (SE JS-141), BL, NLI, SE, SUH, Vat, YB. R 6.IB 51155-6, Kay 60, Offenberg, 1987 13, Simon Diaz v16 2228, V Asd 11.
Collation: (:)$_8$, A-Z_8, Aa-Ii_8. Catchwords on every page. 26-27 lines. Mediathèque La Rochelle.
Drop caps over 2 lines.

S 24 Fast days. Amsterdam. 1618*

Orden de oraciones de los cinquo Ayunos del año, assaber : de Gedaliah, de 10. de Thebet, de Hester, de 17. de Thamus, de Tishabe Ab y las Kinot de Tishabe Ab, todas en verso Hespanhol, muy à la letra de Hebraico con mucha diligencia todo emendado
En Amstradama : impresso à despeza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Thorah, del Kahal Kados Bet Yaahkob, 5378 [1618]

R 7. V Asd11. Copy: BrUL Sp BM675.F3 Z58 1618

S 25 Daily Prayers. Venice. 1618*

Orden de oraciones segun el uso hebreo en lengua hebraica y vulgar Española.
Amsterdam (=Venice), A. Netto, 1618.

Palau, 202331, IB 51157 ("No known surviving copy"). The title suggests that this is a new edition of the 1552 Venice edition with the translation of Cavallero. Netto printed in Venice with P. & L. Bragadin (see below, 1622) and there is no known record of him in this period in Amsterdam.

S 26 Daily Prayers. Venice. 1619*

Orden de oraciones de mes arreo …
Venezia, Pietro & Lorenzo Bragadin, 1619.

IB 51158. Copies: BL, NLI, Vat.

S 27 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1622
Orden de oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y pascuas nuevamente emmendado.
Amsterdam, Stampado en casa de Paulo de Ravesteyn, por industria de Yehudah Machabeu, 5382 a primero de Adar [= February 11, 1622].

R 8. Copies: ULA ROK A-1156 (misdated 1620), UoM BM 660. 067. 1622

S 28 Daily Prayers. Venice. 1622
סדור תפלות : כמנהג הספרדים בלשון עברי ולשון ספרד
Orden de oraciones segundo el uso Ebreo en lengua Ebraica y en Español.
Venetia, (estãpado por endustria de Abraã Netto, hijo de Iosef Netto,) Piet(ro) e Lor(enzo) Bragadin, 1622.

IB 51159, Kay p. 60, Palau 202333, STC 2123, V Venice 1138, CCPB 000 334763-x. Copies: EH 20I49, NLI, RAE, BLO Opp. Add. 8^0. 11.93. Another edition with Cavallero's translation.

S 29 Penitential Prayers. Venice. 1623
סדר סליחות ללילי אשמורות ותפלות ראש השנה וכיפור
Orden de Seliḥot le-lele ashmurot u-tefilot Rosh ha-Shanah ye-Kipur = Orden de Selihoth y Oraciones de Roshasanah y Kipur / tradusido en español, y de nueuo bien reglado: Con añadirle el Harbith de saliente Kipur Cosa mui nesesaria.
Venetia: Gioane Caleoni, 1623.

Copies: EH 29G03, BL 1972.b.2, NLI, van Pelt Library, Philadelphia PA

S 30 Fast Days. Venice. 1623*
Orden de los cinco Tahaniot del anno, arreo commençando del primero del anno quales son el de Taanith de Gedalja y el de dies Tabed y el de Esther yel de decisiete Tamuz y el de nueve de Ab, llamado Tisa beab.
Venetia, 5383 (1623).

Kay p. 63-64. No copy found

S 31 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1625
Orden de Ros Asana y Kipur.
Amsterdam, em casa de Joris Trigg, 5412 (1625).

R 9Copy: EH 05G83
S 32 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1626*
Orden de oraciones de mes arreo y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y pascuas de Pesah.
[Amsterdam], 5386 (1626).

R 10. IB 51160. Copy: BLO Opp. add. 12^0 .107

S 33 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1630
Orden de los cinco Tahaniot del año, sin boltar de una a otra parte, los quales son el Tahanit de Tebet, el de Esther, el de dezisiete de Thamuz, el del Ab y el de Guedalha
(Amsterdam), Estampado por orde(n) de los señores Efraim Bueno y Yona Abravanel en casa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5390 (1630)

R 12. FHT p135 2, Kay 64, STC 2433, STCN 087334429; V Asd 23. Copies: EH 31F49, EH 35F61; ULA ROK A-1229 (Ros. 1899 G 27); BL 1972.bb.29; Google books

S 34 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1630
מחזור Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur. Traduzido en Español y de nuevo emme(n)dado y añadido el Keter Malchut y otras cosa.
Amsterdam, Estampado por industria y despeza de David Pardo y Salom ben Yosseph 5390 en primero de Tamuz (June 11, 1630).

R 13. Kay 61; STC 2131? STCN 102266468. Copies: EH 31F48 (https://www.amazon.de/Orden-Ros-Asaná-Kipur-Spanish-ebook/dp/B07CG959SD Kindle books); ULA ROK A-1217 (Ros. 1899 F 26).

S 35 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1631*
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur.
(Amsterdam), Acosta de David Pardo y Salom ben Yosseph en casa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5390 (1630).

R 15. Kay 61. Copy: BLO Opp. add. 8^0 .II. 104

S 36 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1634
סדור ברכה Orden de Bendicion conformeel uso del K.K. de Sepharad, añadido y acrescentado en muchas cosas a as precedenttes impressiones.
[Amsterdam], Estampado acosta de un zeloso Hebreo e casa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5394 [1634].

R 18. FHT 159, STCN 097767395, V Asd 31. Copies: ULA ROS 20 C 1, BL 1972.a.17, BLO Opp. add. 8^0 .II. 104

S 37 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1636
Orden de las Oraciones del mes con los mas necessario y obligatorio de las tres fiestas del año como tambien lo que toca à los ayunos, Hanucah y Purim.
Amsteredam, por industria y despesa de Menasseh ben Israel, 5397 [1636].

R 20. FHT p. 135 10, Kay 60, STC 2428, STCN 357471555, V Asd 41. Copies: ULA OTM ROK A-1426 (incomplete); BNE R/27290, BL 8^0. M. 31. Th. Seld., NLI.

S 38 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1637*
Orden de oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y Pascuas.
Amsterdam, por yndustria de Yehuda Machabeu, Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, 5397 (1636/7).

R 21. IB51161. Copy: HUC

S 39 Festival Prayers. Venice. 1639*
Orden de oraciones para las fiesas santos.
Venetia, Calleoni, 1639.

Copy: BNE UdG BHR/Caja IMP2-027

S 40 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1640
סדר ברכות Orden de Bendicion conforme el uso del K.K. de Sepharad. Añadido y acrescentado en muchos cosas a las precedentes impressiones
Amsterdam, Estampado en casa de Emanuel Benbeniste, 5400 [1640].

R 22. FHT p. 184 2, Kay 62, STC 3035, V Asd 53. Copy: EH 20K43

S 41 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1648
Orden de oraciones de mes, con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y pascuas nuevamente emendado.
Amsterdam, stampada en casa de Nicolao de Ravesteyn por yndustria del doctor Efraim Bueno y Ionas Abravanel, 5408 [1648].

R 38. IB 51162, Kay 60, Palau202335, STC 7488, STCN 226381269. Copies: EH 23I06, ULA IV L 2B19, BL 1972.a.1

S 42 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1648
Orden de los cinco tahaniot.
Amsterdam. Estampado por orden de los señores Efraim Bueno y Yonah Abravanel por Nic. De Ravestein, 5408 [1648].

R 40. Kay 64, STC 2434, STCN 226847667, V Asd 144, Zedner 489. Copies: EH 34F37, BL 8^{0}. Z. 214. Th; 1972.g.13

S 43 Fast Days. Venice. 1648
Orden de los cinco Tahaniot.
Venetia, Antonio Calleoni, 1648.

dSR 64; IB 83910. Copy EH 18H53 (missing=Tresoar?)

S 44 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1649
Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo s. sin boltar de una a otra parte con el ayuno de solo y las de mas cosas occurentes en todo el año. Y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth; con mucha diligentia emendada. Conforme a lo que se dize en el K.K. de talmud thora de Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, stampada por industtria y despeza de Joana Abravanel y Efraim Bueno en casa Joris Trigg, 5409 [1649].

R 42. IB 51163, Kay 60, Palau 202336, STCN 089407822, V Asd 158, Zedner 486. Copies: ULA ROS 1854 H 14 (online), BL 1972.cc.26 (lacks $2A_{8}$)

Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650
S 45 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650
מחזור de los oraciones del año parte primera contiene las Thephilot cotidianas, de Sabat, Ros Hodesz, Hanuca, Purim y del Ayuno del solo.
Amsterdam, Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

R 45a. dSR 59, 65, FHT p135 19, Kay 60-61, STC 2431, STCN 121347028, V Asd 174. Copies: EH 31F55/01, ULA OTM ROK A-1433-1434 (online), ULL 1150 H 25:1, BL Mar. 320.

S 46 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1650
מחזור de las Oraciones del año. Parte segunda contiene las Thephilot de los cinco ayunos del ano.
Amsterdam, Dirigida al Amplissimo y magnifico Señor Ishac de Pinto. Dispuestas y ordenadas por el Hacham Menasseh ben Israel. Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

R 45b. dSR 58. Copies: EH 31F54, ULA ROK A-1434 online, BL 3366. aa. 1.

S 47 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1650.
מחזור de las Oraciones del año. Parte tercera, contiene todas las Thephilot de las Pascuas con un amostrador circular de Homer, una excelente Parraphrases en los rakim [sic!] y todos los 613 Preceptos Dispuesto y reformado por el Hacham Menasseh ben Israel.
Amsterdam, en la estampa de su hijo Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

R 45c. dSR59, STCN 097724416, V Asd 185. Copies: EH 31F53, ULA ROS 3801 H 14 online, ULL 1150 H 12, BLO

S 48 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1650
Orden de las Bendiciones conforme el uso del K.K. de España. Añadido y dispuesto en mejor forma que las precedentes impreciones
Amsterdam, en la estampa de Semuel ben Israel Soeyro, 5410 [1650].

R 46. FHT p135 20, Kay 62. Copy: ULA online

S 49 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1652
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur. Traduzido en Español y de Nuevo emendado y añidado de Keter Malchut y otras cosas.
Amsterdam, en casa de Joris Trigg, estampado por industria y despesa de Efraim Bueno y Jona Abravanel, 5412 [1652]

R 48. Kay 60-61, Palau 2202415, STC 2432, STCN 090548000. Copies: EH 05G83, ULA 1854 H 12, BL Mar. 251

S 50 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1656
Orden de oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y Pascuas nuevamente enmendado y añedido.
Amsterdam, por industria de Iehudah Machabeu y despeza de Eliau y David Uziel Cardoso, vezinos de Amsterdam, 5416 [1656]

At the end a special title-page: Calendario de las fiestas … del à criacion del mundo 5417 (19 September 1656) hasta 5436 (20 September 1675) y des de 1655 hasta 1675, calculado iustamente por Yehudah Machabeu, vezino de Amsterdam (veteran of Amsterdam) . En Amsterdam, en casa de Iillis Ioosten, a 25 de Tamuz 5416 (17 July 1656). The addition *vezino de Amsterdam* refers to the biography of Jehudah Machabeu (Louis Nuns Dovale) who is reorded as a member of the community in Amsterdam in 1617 and emigrated to Brazil in 1646 and left in 1654 after the Portuguese reconquered that country. He first settled in La Rochelle in France and returned to Amsterdam. (See: Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana Treasures of Jewish Booklore. Amsterdam, 1994 p. 35.
R 51. STCN 226381048 , V Asd 229, Zedner 486. Copies: EH 27F52, ULA OTM ROK A-603 (1), BLO Opp. add. 12^0. 144, BL C.049.a.9

S 51 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1659*
Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo. S. sin boltar de una á otra parte con el ayuno de solo y las de mas cosas occurentes en todo el año. Y la orden de Hanucah, Purim y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth y dia octavo y Osanot; … añadido nuevamente un Calendario de fiestas …. con mucha diligentia emendada. Conforme a lo que se dize enel K.K. de talmuthora [sic!] de Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, Joris Trigg, 5419 [1659].

R 56. Kay 60, STC 2429. Copies: BL; ULG

S 52 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1660
Orden de los cinco Tahaniot del ano.
Amsterdam, Estampado por orden de Efraim Bueno y Yahacob Castello, en casa de Joris Trigg, 5420 [1660].

R 59. Kay 64, STCN 226381390, V Asd 265. Copies: EH 29G31, ULA ROK A 971, BL C.049.a.8, CUL F166.e.5.7

S 53 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1661
Orden de las bendiciones conforme el uso del K.K. de Espana, anadido y dispuesto en mejor forma que las precedentes imprenciones.
Amsterdam, en la estampa de Joris Trigg, 5421 [1661]

R 63. dSR 74. Copy: EH 18G41

S 54 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1662*
Orden de Oraciones de Mez arreo, y la orden de Hanuccah Purim y Pascuas de Pesa Sebuoth Sucoth y ajuno del Solo. Añadido nuevamente la orden de mismara de Ros Hodes, y las Parasioth y Haphtoroth de las dichas Pascuas, y la historia de Antiochos, y mas Cozas occurrentes en todo el año.
Amsterdam, David de Crasta [=Castro] Tartaz, 5422 [1662]

R 65. Kay p. 60, STCN 217884962. Copies: BL 1972.g.17.1, PBU 8B10 69 INV1511.

S 55 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1663
Libro de oraciones de mez y la orden de Hanukah, y Purim. Dispuesto con toda curiozidad.
Amsterdam, David de Crasto [=Castro] Tartaz, 5423 [1663].

R 70. dSR 46, FHT p380 1, STCN 860181855. Copies: EH 02G02, KB 345 G 9, 345 G 10, BL 954. f. 4

S 56 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1663
Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur, traduzido en Español y de nuevo emmendado y añadido el Keter Malchut y otras cosas.
Amsterdam, por despeza de David Fereira y Mosseh Moreno Henriques en casa de David de Crasto [=Castro] Tartaz, 5423 [1663]

R 72. FHT p. 380 2, Kay 62. Copies: EH 10G59; 32E63

S 57 Berakhot. Venice. 1663*
Orden de las Bendiciones, p. Moseh Sacut.
Venezia, Ant. Rezini, 5423 (1663).

Kay p. 62. No copy located. M. Zacuto, a well-known Kabbalist, lived 1625-1698.

S 58 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1666*
Dagelics gebedt der joden, hetwelcke sij alle dagen drie malen staende bidden en des sabbaths of heilige dagen vier malen.
Amsterdam, 5426 [1666]

R 74. Copy: EH 21H31/04 (lost). No further information or references.

S 59 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1666*
Orden de Selihot y lo que se dize en dias de Ayuno y de congregacion.
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5426 [1666]

The prayers for a communal Fast Day are generally included in the Sephardi Daily Prayer book.
R 75. FHT p. 380 10, V Asd 334. Copy?

S 60 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1669*
Orden de Oraciones cotidianas. Por estilo seguido y corriente con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth. A que se añaden las Parasioth que en todas estas fiestas se leen.
Amsterdam, en casa y à costa de David de Castro Tartas, 5429 [1669]

R 78. FHT p. 381 13, STCN 125018800. Copy: UBL 1149 H 1

S 61 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1677*
Orden de las Oraciones del todo el anno
Amsterdam, por industria de Dan. Vaez y Jos. Athias, 5437 [1677]

R 85. FHT p339 5, Kay 60. Copy: ?

S 62 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1679*
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas ... con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del Solo.
Amstterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5439

R 89. FHT p. 381 19. Copy: ?

S 63 Comprehensive Prayers. Amstterdam. 1681*
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente, con las de Hanucah Purim, y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien de las tres Pascuas, de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth.
Amsterdam, David Tartas, 5441 [1681]

R 94. FHT p. 381 26, STCN 226526798. Copy: BL 1972.a.22:1, CUL Syn.9.68.1

S 64 Fast Days. Ammsterdam. 1684*
Orden de los cinco ayunos, que son Tahanith de nueve de Ab. el de Tebeth, el de Ester, el de Thamuz, y el de Guedaliah. Por estilo seguido, y corriente, conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados
Amsterdam, impresso en casa y à costa de David Tartas, 5444 [1684]

R 98. FHT p381 30, STCN 217863027. Copy: BL 1971.ccc.18

S 65 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1684
Orden de Ros Asanah y kipur.
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5444 [1684]

R 99. FHT p. 381 31; STCN 036761702. Copies: EH 20H36; ULA Ros. 1854 H 36 (lacks G7-8); KB 485 L 33 (lacks G7-8); BL C.049.b.6.

S 66 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1687
Orden de las oraciones del año. Contiene las Thephillot cotidianas, de Sabbat, del Ayuno del Solo de Roshodes, de Hanucah, de Purim, de Pesah, de Sebuoth, de Succoth, de Hosaana Rabá.
Amsterdam, En casa de David de Castro Tartas, 5448 [1687].

R 102. Copies: ULA OTM ROK A-935 (1) online (made-up copy, 'fictitious title'), KB, Fcs. Edition: Madrid, 1992

S 67 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1687
'סדר ברכות כן יברך גבר ירא ה, Orden de Bendiciones. Y las ocaziones en que se deven dezir. Con muchas adiciones a las precedentes impreciones, y por mejor methodo dispuestas
[Translated into Spanish by Binyamin Senior Godines].
Amsterdam, en la estampa de Albertus Magnus, 5447 [1687].

R 104. FHT 607, Kay 62, STC 2619b, STCN 217863094, V Asd 550. Copies: EH 20H10, ULA Ros, BL 1972.b.11, 1972.b.12, 1972.b.22, BLO Opp. 8^0. 1010

S 68 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1690
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente, con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas, Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth. Aque se añaden las Parasioth y Aphtaroth que en todas estas Fiestas se leen. Nuovamente corregido
Amsterdam, à su costa impresso por David de Castro Tartas [5450] 1690

R 110. FHT p 382 35. Copies: BL; BNE R/3682 (online)

S 69 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1692
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriete con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas, Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth. Aque se anaden las Parasioth y Aphtaroth que en todas estas Fiestas se leen. Nuovamente corregido
Amsterdam, a sua costa impresso par David Tartas, 5452 [1692]

R 111. dSR 47, FHT p 382 38, STC 2204, V Asd 625. Copies: EH 6H04, 27F53/01 (another state), Tresoar FHT 31-4b orde, BLO Opp. 12^0, 321; ULL Closed Stacks 5854D30. Two states of the work are known with variant titles, one including a privilege and approbation.

S 70 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1693*
Orden de Rosasanah y Kipur
Amsterdam, Davis de Castro Tartas, 5453 [1693]

R 113. FHT p. 382 39; STCN 138869936. Copies: ULL 854 D 31

Comprehensive Prayers. Amstterdam. 1695*
S 71 Daily Prayers.
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5455 [1695].

R 116a. FHT p 382 41, Kay 60, STCN 226381471. Copies: BL C.049.a.10, BLO; NLI; Yivo

S 72 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1695
Orden de los cinco tahaniot
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5455 [1695].

R 116b. FHT p. 382 40, Kay 64, V Asd 626, Zedner 489. Copy: EH 34F38.

S 73 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1695
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados. Nuevamente corregido.
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5455 [1696]

R 116c. Kay 62, STCN 216437253; V Asd 631. Copies: EH 23G01; ULA Ros. Cass. 291, BL 1971.cc.16, 1971.aaa.22

S 74 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1704*
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente, Con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas …
Amsterdam, David de Castro Tartas, 5464 [1704].

R 129. Kay 60, V Asd 778, Zedner 486. Copies: BLO Opp. add. 80. II. 193, BL, Trinity College Dublin

S 75 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1704
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente, Con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas …
Amsterdam, A costa de Yshak de Cordova impresso em casa H. Ackerman y W. Groeneveldt, 5464 [1704].

R 130. Kay p. 60, STCN 317318772. Copies: EH 31F52/01, ULA ROK A-1184:1, BL, BLO Opp. 8^0, 668

S 76 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1705
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido ...
Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Yshac de Cordova, 5465 [1705].

R 136. Copies: EH 21G45/01, BLO Opp. 4^0. 1189 (imperf.)

S 77 Bakasot de Rosasana. London. 1705?
London, 1705?

dSR 61. Copies: EH 15G41/04, KB, UCM, ULAU (online)

S 78 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, y con las Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazaroth, Historia de Hantiochos, todo de letra grande.
Amsterdam, em casa de Yshak de Cordova y a costa de Aharon Hisquiyah Querido, 5466 [1706].

R 138. dSR 49, Van Stralen 152, V Asd 806. Copies: EH 30E71, BL

S 79 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706*
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, y con las Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazaroth, Historia de Hantiochos, todo de letra grande.
Amsterdam, en casa de Yshak de Cordova y a costa de Yshak de Ioseph Cohen Farro, [5466/1706].

R 139. Kay p. 60, STCN 183882717, V Asd 823, Zedner 486. Copies: KB 345 G 11, BL, DSMU

S 80 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de las Oraciones quotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Aiuno del Solo. Y las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazazeroth de Sebuoth.
Amsterdam, en caza y Acosta de Moseh Mendes Coutinho, 5466 [1706].

Format: 18°. Collation: π4 <***>12 <***>1-<***>3812/6 [<***>39]6
R 140. dSR 48, STCN 314761462. Copies: EH 20H35, ULA OTM ROK A-1428, ULL 871 G 11, BNE R/41474, ULAU (Google Books)

S 81 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de las Oraciones quotidianas por estilo siguido y corriente con las de Hanucah, Purim, y Aiuno del Solo. Y las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazazeroth de Sebuoth.
Amsterdam, en caza y Acosta de Moseh Mendes Coutinho, 5466 [1706].

Format: 8°. Collation: π4 3*1-3*434 3*442 [3*45]1 A-2D4
R 141. dSR 48, STCN 172172667. Copies: ULA ROK A-970 (lacks gathering 2D), KB 144 G 35:1, ULL 854 E 30, BL 1972.g.18, 1972.a.23

S 82 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1706
Orden de Rosasana y Kipur nuevamente corr.
Amsterdam, de casa y a costa de Yshak de Cordova, 5466 [1706].

R 146. dSR 60, STC 2266, V Asd 807. Copies: EH 20B64, 32F59, BL 4034. bb. 30, BLO Opp. 8^0. 958

S 83 Bakasot de Kipur. London. 1706
London, 1706.

dSR 61. Copy: EH 15G41/05

S 84 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1716
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas: por estilo seguido con las de Hanucà, Purim, Ayuno del Solo y las tres Pascuas con sus Parasioth, Aphtarot, Asàarot y muchos cosas mas, en esta impression añadidas.
Amsterdam, en casa y costa de Selomoh Proops, 5476 [1716].

R 177. dSR 60, STCN 354984497. Copies: EH 23I40, KB GW A100191 (lacks 2C6)1, BL 1971.ccc.20, BNE,

Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1717
S 85 Daily prayers. Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del solo y las tres Pascuas con sus Parasiot, Aphtarot, Asaarot y muchas cosas mas en esta impress. Añadidas.
Amsterdam, Selomoh Proops, 5477 [1717].

R 179a. Kay 60-61, STCN 317296221, Zedner 487. Copies: EH 23H61/01, ULA RON A 586:1-2 online access, BL 1971.ccc.20, BNE

S 86 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1717
Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco Ayunos: por estilo seguido, y corriente; conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados.
Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Selomoh Proops, 5477 [1717].

R 179b. dSR 66, Kay 64, STCN 31723739X , V Asd 1102. Copies: EH 20K31, 41F47, ULL 1150 H 10, BL C.049.b.6:2, 1972.g.14, BLO Opp. add. 8^0. II. 194, Opp. 12^0. 397, WLH V(Heb) 6645.117*; HHL Gen (Jud 6645.717*)

S 87 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1717
Orden de las oraciones de Ros-Asanah y Kipur … Nuevamente corregido
Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Selomoh Proops, 5477 [1717].

R179c. dSR 62. Copies: EH 31F47, BL 4034. bbb. 36

S 88 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1720

סדר תפלות מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו ... כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים

Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente.
Amsterdam, S. Proops, 5480 [1720].

R 187. dSR 50, STCN 315990295. Copies: EH 27F45, ULA OTM ROK A-1133(1), BL 1972.a.16

S 89 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1723
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente. Con las de las tres Pasquas, Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucot. Con las Parasiyot y Aphtarot que se leen en dhas Fiestas. Corregido exactamente de muchas faltas halladas en las ultimas Ediciones
Amsterdam, en casa y acosta de Hazan de Vatikin, Semuel Teixeira Tartaz, 5483, [1723].

R 193. dSR 67, STCN 317316591. Copies: EH 31F51; ULA ROK A-1133 (lacks title-page, prelims incomplete), Dr. Williams's Library: Jud.D.21, BNE R/10733(1)

S 90 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1723
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente. Con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, y con las Parasioth y Haphtarot y las Hazaroth.
Amsterdam, en casa y acosta de Yshak de Cordova, 5483 [1723].

R 194. dSR 51, Kay 61. Copies: EH 02G03/01, 30E71/01, 31E67/11, EH 31F51/01, ULA OTM ROK A-1133, BNE

S 91 Fast Days. Amsterdam. 1724
Orden de los oraciones de los cinco Ayunos.
Amsterdam, en casa y acosta de Yshak H^{u} de Cordova, 5484 (1724).

R 199. dSR 67. Kay p.64. Copies: EH 21G21(WorldCat: E02G03), BL 4034. bb. 24

S 92 Berakhot. Amsterdam. 1724
Orden de las Bendiciones conforme el uso del K.K. de España.
Amsterdam, Yshac de Cordova, 5484 (1724).

R 200. van Stralen 151, Kay 62, V Asd 1233. Copies: EH 30E71/01, BL 4034. bb. 17

S 93 Festival Prayers. Amsterdam. 1725*
Orden de oraciones para las fiestas fijas solemnes segun costumbre de la Iglesia Española.
Amsterdam, Hisquia Rafael Abraham ben Refael Hizquia Querido, 1725.

R 202. Copy: BNE 2/41583

S 94 High Holidays. Amsterdam. 1726
Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur.
Amsterdam, Aharon Hisquia Querido, 5486 [1726].

R 206. STCN 183884590. Copies: ULA A-365; KB: 486 E 22; ULL 1143 G 22

Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1727*
S 95 Daily Prayers*
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas con las de Hanuca y Purim … con sus Parasiot en sus lugares y orden del Ayuno del Solo
Amsterdam, Acosta de Aharon Hisquia Querido, 5487 [1727].

R 207a. Copy: Paris, mahj 2002.01.0684

S 96 Festival Prayers*
Orden de las tres Pascuas Pesah, Sebuoth, Y Suco con sus Parasioth y aphtarot, la Hagada, y Selihot de Hossana Raba. Nuevamente corregido
Amsterdam, En caza de Aharon Hisquia Querido, en cuya Casa se hallen avender como toda suerte delibros, 5487 [1727].

R 207b. van Stralen 152, V Asd 1305. Copy: BL

S 97 Fast Days*
Orden de los cinco Ayunos por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados.
Amsterdam, Nuevamente corregido y a su costa impresso por Aharon Hisquia Querido en cuya casa se hallan avender como toda suerte de libros, 5487 [1727].

R 207c. Kay 64, STCN 183884833, V Asd 1302, Zed 489. Copies: ULA RON A-421, KB 486 E 23 (Google Books), BL

S 98 High Holidays
Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur. Por estillo corriente y seguido sin bolver de una aotra parte, como se uza en este Kahal Kados de Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, Acosta de Aharon Hisquia Querido, 5487 [1727].

R 207d. STCN 183884590, Van Stralen 152, V Asd 1277. Copies: EH 31D43, ULA A-365, KB 486 E 22, ULL 1143 G 22

S 99 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1728
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente...
Amsterdam, nuevamente corregido y a su costa por David Fernandes y David de Elisa Pereyra, 5488 (1728).

R 209. dSR 53. Copy EH 11D26 (preceded by Bakasot and Calendario)

[MS. Daily Prayers. Altona. 1728
.סדר תפלות Orden de las oraciones cotidianas con las de Janucah (sic!) y Purim … escrito por Abraham Balenzuela.
Altona, 1728.]

WorldCat. Copy: JTS; Ya Mck 526. This is a clear example of the need to use WorldCat diligently: the JTS copy is a manuscript. According to the Beinecke library catalogue this call number belongs to a fragment of a (further unrecorded) Hebrew edition supposedly published by D. Bomberg in 1526.

S 100 Yom Kippur. Vidui. Amsterdam. 1730
Libro de las sacras conficiones de la noche, y dia de kipur
Amsterdam, Yshac Yeuda Leão Templo, 5490 (1730).

R 219. Kay 63; STCN 317885979. Copies: EH 23G45; ULA RON A-518

S 101 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1733
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente, con las de Hanucah ... como tambien las tres Pascuas ... nuevamente corregido ... [Calendario].
Amsterdam, David de Elisa Pereyra, 5493 [1733].

R 223. Kay 61, STCN 301920982. Copies: EH 23G25, KB (Ned. Letterk. Online), UBL 1150 H 1:1, BL 1972.g.15:1, Dr. Williams's Library: Jud.D.20 (1), BNE R/13229

S 102 Comprehensive Prayers. Amsterdam. 1734
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas con las de Hanucah y Purim y Ayuno del Solo, las tres Pascuas …
Amsterdam, Por industria de Mordehay de Ishac Levi, Caza na Ofecina de Ishac Jehudah Leao Templo, 5494 [1734].

R 226. dSR 54. Copies: EH 20I11/01, BLO Opp. add. 8^0. IV. 254

S 103 Daily Prayers. The Hague. 1734
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas
Haya (Den Haag), à costa de Selomoh de Mercado, y Jahacob Castello en la officina de C. Hoffeling, 5494 (1734).

R 228. dSR 55, STCN 239259467. Copies: EH 20K18 (missing); ULA ROK A-290; KB 346 J 17 (on vellum), HvhB HM 105 (incomplete; engraved title-page vellum); NLI

S 104 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1735
Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas … como de Hanuca y Purim con sus Parasiot.
Amsterdam, por orden de Aharon Mendes, 5495 (1735).

R 2239. dSR 56, STCN 31726141X. Copies: EH 12I48 (missing); ULA ROK A- 984; KB; Tresoar Fuks 31-4b orde

S 105 High Holidays. London. 1740
Orden de las oraciones de Rosasanah y Kipur, nuevamente traduzidas conforme el genuino sentido del original Hebraico, por estilo corriente, y facil con todos los pizmonim que se dizen por Ishac Nieto.
Impresso en Londres, en casa de Ricardo Reilly, 5500 (1740).

Kay p. 62. Copies: EH 15H28-29 (SE JS-191), BNE R/12811, KB 485 H31, BL C.049.b.5, General Reference Collection 1112.g.25, ULA OTM ROK A-1366-1367

S 106 Daily Prayers. Amsterdam. 1744
De dagelijkse gebedens der Jooden, in 't gantsche jaar gebruykende. Als meede verscheyde loffelijke liederen. Alles gedicht na de Hebreeusche manier … welke met de overzetting an de Portugeesse Natie wel overeen komt.
Amsterdam, gedrukt voor den auteur, 1744, na 't Joodse getal 5504.

R 250. The first gathering only. Copy: private collection. No references.

S 107 Government. Amsterdam. 1756
Vertaling van het joodsch gebed voor den souverain van dezen lande, mitsgaders de regenten en magistraat dezer stad Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, 5516 [1757].

R 268. Copy: EH 20A10/08

S 108 Comprehensive Prayers. New York. 1766
Prayers for Shabbat, Rosh-Hashanah and Kippur. Translated by Isaac Pinto.
New York 1766.

Copies: EH 15H11, ULA IWO UBM Ros 3803 G13. The first Jewish prayer book published in the US, the first English translation of the Sephardi prayer book.

S 109 Daily Prayers. London. 1771
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas, Ros Hodes Hanuca y Purim nuevamente traduzidos conforme el genuino sentido del original Hebraico, por estilo corriente, y facil, con las Parasiot que se dizen en Ros Hodes, Hanuca, y Purim / por el H. H. R. Ishac Nieto.
Impresso en Londres, con licencia de los señores del Mahamad en casa de la Viuda Moore, año 5531 (1771).

Kay p. 61. Copies: EH 6G50, 12G01 (SE JS-192); ULA RON A-1772 (Google books)

S 110 Daily Prayers. Amserdam. 1772
סדר תפלות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים ... בלשון עברי ולשון ספרדי
Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas en Hebraico y Romance
ע״י יצחק ב״ר אליהו הכהן בלינפנטי בבית ודפוס יוסף, יעקב אברשישץ פרופס כ״ץ.
Reimprimido con toda exactitud, y correccion por orden del Sr. Ishac de Souza Britto. Con licencia de los S.res del Mahamad.
Amsterdam, Abraham, Jacob & Joseph Proops, 5532 [1772].

R 304. STCN 318911736, V Asd 2020. Copies: EH 20F46, 29F43, ULA ROK A-1523, RON A-367, NLI

S 111 Comprehensive Prayers. London. 1772
Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por stilo seguido con Hanucà Purim, ayuno del solo, y las tres Pascuas, con sus Parasitoh, Aphtarot Asaharot, nuevamente traduzidas, conforme el genuino sentido del original Hebraico por stilo corriente facil.
Londres: En Caza de Aaron Nodnarb [=Brandon], año 5532 [1772].

dSR 57. Copy: EH 30D67 (SE JS-193)

S 112 Comprehensive Prayers. Nice. 1772-74
Prières à l'usage des Juifs Portugais ou Espagnols traduites de l'Hebreu, auxquelles on a ajouté des notes elementaires … par Mardochee Venture.
Nice, M. Lambert, 1772-1783. 4 vols.

Copies: EH 22G32-37, BL487. The first comprehensive translation into French

S 113 Daily Prayers. London. 1773.
סדר התפלות : כמנהג קהלות קדושות הספרדים : בלשונינו הקדושה ובלשון ענגילעטער / הועתק על ידי אלכסנדר בר יהודא מלונדן
Seder ha-tefilot: ke-minhag ḳehilot ḳedoshot ha-Sefaradim : bi-leshonenu ha-ḳedoshah uvi-leshon Ḥngileṭer / huʿataḳ ʿal yede Aleksander bar Yehuda mi-London.
London, 5533 (1773).

V Asd 1537. Copies: EH29C22-27; BL 1972.a.5; HUCK. Hebrew with English translation

S 114 Prayers. London. 1777.
Orden de la oracion …
London, 1777.

Copy: EH 29F52

S 115 Government. Amsterdam. 1777
Vertaling van het Joodsch gebed voor den souverain van dezen lande, mitsgaders de regenten en magistraat dezer stad Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, J.S. Proops, 1777.

R 314. STCN 317723197. Copy: Middelburg, Zeeuwse Bibliotheek: KLUIS 1145 B 3459

S 116 Daily Prayers. London. 1788
סדר התפלות : כמנהג קהלות קדושות הספרדים : בלשונינו הקדושה ובלשון ענגילעטער ... / הועתק על ידי אלכסנדר בר יהודה מלונדן ...
Seder ha-tefilot, ke-minhag ḳehilot ḳedoshot ha-Sefaradim : bi-leshonenu ha-ḳedoshah uvi-leshon Ḥngileṭer ... / huʿataḳ ʿal yede ... Aleksander bar Yehuda mi-London.
בלונדן : יהודה ליב בר אלכסנדר, בשנת ל'ק'ח'ת'י London : L. Alexander, 5548 (1788).

Copy: EH 20B53

S 117 Comprehensive Prayers. The Hague, 1791-93
Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden.
's Gravenhage, Lion Cohen, 1791-1793.

R 325. STCN 191623709, V Hague 16. Copies: EH 7G18-21a, 28E30-33a, 36E01-04, ULA RON A-8-11, Band 3 E 22-25, KB 485 E 17-20 (full-tekst: Delpher), NLI. The first Comprehensive translation in Dutch. Two copies with the publishing announcement.

S 118 Daily Prayers. Mantua. 1802
Orazioni Ebraiche di rito Spagnuolo cotidiane, del Sabbato, e de'noviluni / traduzione dall'originale di Samuel Romanelli.
Repubblica Italica [Mantua?], 1802.

Copies: EH 20E41, BL 1971.cc.18. The first translation into Italian

S 119 Daily Prayers. Livorno. 1802
Seder tefilah = Orazioni quotidiane per uso degli Ebrei Spagnoli e Portoghesi ... tradotte, con l'agiunta di qualche poetica versione / da S. Fiorentino.
Basilea [= Livorno], 1802.

Copy: BL 1972.d.4

S 120 Daily Prayers. Paris. 1807
Prières journalières à l'usage des Juits portugais ou espagnols ... traduites de l'hébreu; auxquelles on a ajouté des notes élémentaires ... par M. Venture.
Paris, 1807.

Copy: EH 25F13-17

S 121 Daily Prayers. Vienna. 1862, 1865, 1884*
Wien, 1862, 1865, 1884

Kay p. 61

S 122 Non-traditional prayer book. Curacao. 1878
Oraciones especiales de la Communidad Neerl. Isr. Reformado de Curazao.
[No place], Imprenta del Commerzio, 1878.

Copy: ULA OTM KG 85-167. Spanish and English.

S 123 Fast Days. Amsterdam. No year
Orden de los cinco ayunos por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados de T.T.
Amsterdam, no printer, no date.

R 503. dSR 68. Copies: EH 10G60, 32F31

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library London
BLO	Bodleian Library Oxford
BML	Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon
BMLR	Bibliothèque Municipale La Rochelle
BMV	Bibliotheca Marciana Venice
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de Espagna, Madrid
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationnale de Frace, Paris
BrUL	Brandeis Unniverdity Library
CCPB	El Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico
STC	Steinschneider Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana
CO	Columbia Uniersity, Ner York
DSMU	Dallas Southern Methodist Uniersity
FHT	Fuks Hebrew Typography
HABA	Herzog Augsburg Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
HHL	Houghton Library Harvard
HUCK	Hebrew Union College Klau Library, Cincinnati
IB	Wilkinson, Alexander Samuel. Iberian Books
JTS	Jewish Theological Seminary, New York
Kay	Kayserling Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica
KB	Royal Library, The Hague
KBK	Royal Library Copenhagen
NLI	National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
Offenberg 1987	Offenberg, 1987
OSU	Ohio State Universiity
PBU	Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire Saite Geneviève
R	Rosenberg, list A
RAE	Real Academia Española de la lengua España, Madrid
Ros	Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam
RV	Vis, 2018
SE	Sephardi Editions, 1550-1820 Online
dSR	da Silva Rosa Die Spanischen und Portugiesischen gedruckten Judaica in der Bibliothek des Jüd. Port. Seminars "Ets Haim" in Amsterdam
SUH	Stadt und Universitëtsbibliothek Hamburg
Tresoar	Tresoar Leeuwarden
UCM	Biblioteca da Universidad Complutense de Madrid
UdG	Universidad de Granada
ULA	University of Amsterdam Library
ULAU	University of Lausanne.
ULG	University of Groningen library
ULL	University of Leiden Library
UoM	University of Michigan
V	Vinograd Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book
Vat	Bibliotheca Vaticana, Rome
vP	Van Praag, 2008
W	Waterman, 2017
WLH	Widener Library Harvard
WSB	Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Mainz
Ya	Yale Beinecke Library
YUL	Yeshiva University Library, New York

Appendix 1
CHRONOLIGICAL TABLE

BCE	
721	Assyrian Exile. The lost ten tribes
586	Destruction of the First Temple. Babylonian Exile. Jewish diaspora starts
538	Return to Jerusalem. Construction of the Second Temple Ezra, Men of the Great Assembly
411	Destruction Temple of Elephantine in Egypt
332	Alexander the Great conquers Israel
323	Alexander the Great dies
244	Dura-Europos synagogue built
c. 170 BCE – 30 CE	Zugot
BCE 166-164	Maccabean Wars
10-220 CE	Tannaim
4-39 CE	Herod Antipas
63	Jerusalem captured by Pompey
37-4	Herod
CE	
6-41	Judea a Roman Province
19	Temple reconstructed by Herod Antipas
19	Tiberius expels the Jews from Rome
66	Beginning of the revolt against Rome
69/70	Siege of Jerusalem and Destruction of the Second Temple
132-136	Bar Kokhba Revolt
138	Jews banned from Jerusalem
c. 140	The first Jewish Exilarch appointed in Babylonia
c. 200	Final editing of the Mishnah
200-500	Amoraim
259	Nehardea Academy moves to Pumbedita
321	Jewish presence recorded in Cologne
359	Permanent Jewish calendar committed to writing
390	Jerusalem Talmud completed
c. 499	Babylonian Talmud completed
5th century	Yose ben Yose, the earliest liturgical poet known by name
500-600	Savoraim, the final editors of the Babylonian Talmud
c. 570-632	Muhammed
c. 570-c. 640	Eleazar ben Kalir, liturgical poet
589	First Gaon appointed in Babylonia
6th-7th century	Yannai, liturgical poet
762-67	Anan ben David founds Karaism
c. 860	R. Amram ben Sheshna Gaon compiles an Order of Prayers
875	R. Amram passes away
882(?)-942	R. Saadiah Gaon

906-1006	R. Sherirah ben Haninah Gaon
939-1038	R. Hai ben Sherirah Gaon
c. 990	Oldest known copy of the Order of Prayers by R. Saadiah Gaon
10th cent	Solomon ibn Gabirol. Spanish Paytan
1040	Hezekiah, the last Exilarch, murdered
1040-1105	R. Salomon ben Isaac (Rashi)
1089-c. 1164	Abraham ibn Ezra. Spanish Paytan
11th century	Jews settle on the Malabar Coast and in China
12th-14th cent.	Tosafot. School of Talmudic scholars in Northern France
1135-1204	Moses Maimonides
c. 1200	Beginning of vernacular literature leading to the creation of national languages
1211	Inquisition instituted on diocesan level
1232	Gregory IX places Inquisition under Papal rule. Dominican Order is put in charge
1237	Grey Friars also tasked with the Inquisition
1249-c. 1310	Menachem Meiri. Author of *Beit Ha-Bechirah*.
1250/1258-1327	R. Asher ben Yechiel (*Rosh*). Codifier
1265-1321	Dante Alighieri
1266	Sicilian Vespers
1266-1442	Naples under the rule of the French House of Anjou
1270-c. 1340	Jacob ben Asher (*Tur*). Codifier of codex *Arba'ah Turim* or *Tur*
1286	*Zohar* in its final form completed by Moses ben Shem Tov de Leon
1290	Jews expelled from England
1310	Talmudic Code by Asher ben Yechiel
1322	Jews expelled from the Kingdom of France
1235-1310	R. Solomon Ibn Aderet (*Rashba*)
before 1340	Jacob ben Asher completes *Arba'ah Turim*
1348-1349	Immigration of German Jews in Poland and Lithuania
1391	Massacres and forced conversion of Jews in Spain. *Limpieza de sangre* laws.
1415	Benedict XIII institutes censorship of the Talmud
c. 1420-1480	Joseph Colon ben Salomon Trabotto (*Maharik*). Important rabbinical authority in Italy
1421	Expulsion of the Jews from Austria
1433-1493	Isaac Aboab II. Important rabbinical authority
1442	Naples under Spanish rule
c. 1450	Invention of printing
1453	Constantinople conquered by the Turks; Jews favoured as a valuable trading and crafts community in the Ottoman Empire
1463-1494	Pico della Mirandola
1469	First dated Hebrew book printed
c. 1475	Selichot. Piove di Sacco
1478-1834	Spanish Inquisition
1479	Aragon and Castile united
1481	Tomás de Torquemada appointed Grand Inquisitor

1485-1486	Machsor benei Roma. Casal Maggiore/Soncino
1486	Sidorello, Soncino
1487	Tachanunim, Soncino
1488-1575	Joseph Caro. Author of *Beit Yoseph* and codex *Shulchan Arukh*
1490	Siddur. Naples
1490	Selichot, Barco
1492	Granada conquered, expulsion of the Jews from Spain
1492-1493	Jews expelled from Sicily
1495	Naples conquered by Spain
[1496]	Siddur. Italy. No printer, no date
1496	First expulsion decree Jews of Naples
1497	Jews expelled from Portugal, massacres and forced conversion
c. 1505-1580	Solomon ben Moses Alkabetz. Author of *Lekha Dodi*
1506	Lisbon massacre of New Christians (Conversos)
1510	Expulsion decree Naples renewed
1515	Expulsion decree Naples once again renewed
1516	Palestine conquered by the Turks
1516	Venetian Ghetto established
1517	Martin Luther publishes his 95 theses. Start of the Reformation
1519	First Bomberg edition of the Hebrew Sephardi prayer book
1520-1523	First complete editions of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud by Daniel Bomberg in Venice
1520-1575	Moses Isserles. Important Ashkenazi authority
1522-1570	Jacob Cordovero. Important Kabbalist
1524	Second Bomberg edition of the Hebrew Sephardi prayer book
1524-1525	'Rabbinic Bible' published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice
1527-1598	Abraham Ortelius, cartographer
1533	Expulsion decree Naples renewed for the third time
1534-1575	Isaac Luria Ashkenazi. Ha-Ari ha Kadosh. Influential Kabbalist
1536	Calvin publishes his *Institution Chrètienne*
1536-1821	Portuguese Inquisition
1544	Third Bomberg edition of the Hebrew Sephardi prayer book
1552	Publication of Venetian and Ferrara prayer books in the Iberian vernacular
1554	Censorship of Hebrew books instituted by the Roman Catholic Church
1566	Political revolt of the Netherlands against Spain
1567	Bloedraad (Council of Blood) instituted by Spain
1568-1648	Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Netherlands
1569	Jews expelled from the Papal States
1571	Synod of Emden, first Dutch Calvinistic church order accepted
1576	Sack of Antwerp by the Spanish troops
1579	Union of Atrecht; Southern Netherlands remain under Spain
1579	Union of Utrecht, freedom of conscience in the Northern Netherlands

1580	First extant ruling of the Council of the Four Lands[1]
1580	Phillips II annexes Portugal to Spain
1581	Akte van Verlatinge (Act of Abjuration). Philip II rejected as Sovereign, official Dutch declaration of independence
1583-1645	Hugo Grotius
1584	William I of Orange murdered in Delft
1584	Two Sephardi prayer books published in Dordrecht
1585	Antwerp conquered by the Spanish, alliance England-Northern Netherlands
1585-1625	Maurice Stadholder and commander of the army
1586-1667	David ha-Levi Segal. Author of *Turei Zahav* on Shulchan Arukh, Orach Chaim
1602-1800	Dutch United East-India Company (Limited Company) founded
1604	Bet Jacob founded, first prayer book in Spanish to be published in Amsterdam
1604-1657	Menasseh ben Israel. Printer and Chakham in Amsterdam
1608	Neve Salom founded in Amsterdam
1608-1664	Immanuel Benveniste. Printer
1608/9	Don Samuel Pallache arrives as Resident of the King of Morocco in The Hague
1608/9-1619	Joseph Pardo. Amsterdam Chakham, arrived from Venice
1609	Bikur Holim founded
1609	Jacobus Arminius dies, Remonstrance by Joh. Wttenbogaert
1609	De Mare Liberum by Hugo Grotius
1609-1621	Twelve Years' Truce, against the wishes of many and of the Calvinist church
1610	Remonstrance submitted to Van Oldenbarnevelt
1610-1622	Isaac Uziel. Chakham of Neve Salom
1610-1694	Samuel Aboab. Important Venetian decisor
1612	Amsterdam city government forbids the building of a synagogue but tolerates a house to be built by one of its members and lease it to Neve Salom
1612	A set of three Jewish prayer books printed in Amsterdam
1614	Joseph Shalom Gallego appointed chazzan of Bet Jacob
1615	Santa Companha de Dotar Orphas e Donzellas founded in Amsterdam
Ca. 1615	Hugo Grotius and Adriaan Pauw are commissioned by the States of Holland to write a draft regulation for the admission of Jews in the Republic
1615-1628	Council of the Four Lands attains supremacy over German Jews
1616	Talmud Torah school (since 1637 called Ets Haim) founded in Amsterdam
1617	Prayer book published by Talmud Torah
1618	Johan van Oldenbarnevelt arrested
1618	Venetian Bet Din tries to arbitrate in the Bikur Holim dispute

[1] Great Poland (centre Poznan), Little Poland (Cracow), 'Red Russia' (Lvov) and Volhynia. A special position was held by Lublin and Lithuania (Bresk-Litovsk).

1618	Bet Israel founded, another prayer book published by Talmud Torah
1618-1619	Synod of Dordrecht, Counter-Remonstrants gain supremacy
1618-1648	Thirty Years' War between Sweden and Germany in the German lands; caused an influx of Ashkenazi refugees in the Republic
1619	Johan van Oldenbarnevelt executed
1621-1648	War against Spain resumed
1621-1791	Dutch West India Company (corporate structure) founded
1624	The Dutch conquer Bahia
1627	Menasseh ben Israel produces his first book, a Hebrew prayer book
1627	Daniel de Fonseca publishes two Hebrew books
1627-1715	Uri Phoebus b. Aaron Witmund ha-Levi
1628	Imrei Noam published
1629	Delmedigo's Sefer Elim published by Menasseh
1630-1654	Recife captured, Dutch rule in Brazil
1632	Decree by the Amsterdam city government forbidding Jews to own a shop, even if they possess burghership
1634	The first edition in the Netherlands of an Ashkenazi prayer book by Menasseh
1634	Curacao captured by the Dutch
1635	First Ashkenazi prayer service in Amsterdam
1635-1682	Abraham Gombiner. Author of *Magen Abraham* on Shulchan Arukh
1635-1700	Joseph Athias
1636	Amsterdam Ashkenazim hire a room for their prayer services
1636	Suriname conquered
1637	Ets Haim Fund founded; Talmud Torah renamed Academia y Yesibah Ets Haim
1637	The Staten Vertaling (Bible translation authorised by the States General) published
1639	The three existing Amsterdam Sephardi communities unite into K.K. de Talmud Tora. A public synagogue constructed
1639	Amsterdam Ashkenazi Jews banned from Portuguese services; Ashkenazi community founded
1640	First book published by Benveniste
1640-1672	Jews return to Amsterdam from Brazil and immigrate from Madrid and Seville
1642	Amsterdam Sephardim found Abodat Chesed to support the poor among the Ashkenazim
1642	Amsterdam Ashkenazim open their first official synagogue
1643	Elia Aboab takes over Menasseh's firm
1644-1647	First Amsterdam Talmud edition by Immanuel Benveniste
1645-1669	Turkish-Venetian War, refugees from Venice arrive in Amsterdam
1646-1650	Joseph b. Israel takes over Elia Aboab's firm
1647	Spanish embargo on Dutch trade revoked. Unrest in Germany and Bohemia

1648	Peace of Munster,[2] ending both the 30-years and 80-years wars, opposed by some of the provinces and the Dutch Reformed Church. New political super powers: Dutch Republic, France and Sweden
1648	Death of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, William II succeeds him
1648	Menasseh ben Israel's appeal for exemption from the 1632 decree forbidding Jews to own a shop is rejected
1648	First edition of Shenei Luchot ha-Berit by Isaiah Horowitz posthumously published by Benveniste
1648-1649	Chmielnicki massacres, many refugees from Ukraine to Amsterdam
1648-1652	Partners Judah Leib b. Mordechai Gimpel and Samuel b. Moses ha-Levi active
1649	New Ashkenazi synagogue on Houtgracht opened
1650	Planned siege of Amsterdam by William II
1650	Leon Templo's Libellus effigei Templi Salomonis published by 'The Partners'
1650	Samuel b. Israel Soeiro takes over from his brother
c. 1650c. 1707	Zechariah Menddel ben Arieh Leib. Author of *Baër Heteiv* on the Shulchan Arukh
1650-1713	The culmination of a distinctive European Jewish culture[3]
1650-c. 1730	Nehemiah Hiyya ben Moses Hayyun. Influential Shabtean
1651	Grote Vergadering (Great Assembly)
1651-1654	Act of Navigation, First Anglo-Dutch War, Act of Seclusion
1651	Polish-Russian war and Swedish invasion, many refugees arrive in the Republic
1654	Brazil reconquered by the Portuguese, Jews arrive in New Amsterdam (= New York)
1654	Peace treaty with secret annex by the States of Holland: 'Never again Orange'
1655	Menasseh ben Israel visits Cromwell in London
1655-1660	Swedish-Polish War, many immigrants from Poland and Lithuania arrive in the Republic
1656	Russian invasion in Lithuania, swelling the number of refugees
1656	Spinoza banned from Amsterdam
1656	Publication of the last book with Menasseh's imprint
1657	The States General rule that Jewish residents of the Republic have to be treated as Dutch citizens in other countries as well
1658-1688	Uri Phoebus ha-Levi active in Amsterdam
1658-1714	Joseph Athias active, succeeded by his son Immanuel in 1700
1659	Last book printed by Benveniste in Amsterdam
1659	Jewish congregation in Newport founded by immigrants from Holland
1659-1698	Hezekiah da Silva. Author of *Peri Chadash* on Shulchan Arukh
1660	Amsterdam Ashkenazi educational institution founded
1660-1673	Separate Polish Jewish community in Amsterdam
1660-1728	Solomon Ayllon. Shabtean. From 1701-1728 rabbi in Amsterdam
1661-1715	Louis XIV, aims to establish French hegemony

[2] Also known as the Treaty of Westphalia.

[3] Israel, 1988, p. 151

1662-1695	David de Castro Tartas active
1663	Decree by the States of Holland on prayer for the authorities to be said in the Dutch churches
1666	Shabbetai Tsevi frenzy and his conversion to Islam
1667	The Dutch exchange New York for Surinam with England
1670	Council of the Four Lands condemn Shabbetai Tsevi and 'his mystical following'
1670	Construction of the great Ashkenazi synagogue (Grote Shul) starts
1670	Plan to build Portuguese synagogue, plot of land is bought
1671	Grote Shul inaugurated
1671	Construction of the Portuguese synagogue starts
1672	The Disaster Year
1672-1674	Third Anglo- Dutch War
1672-1678	War between France and the Dutch Republic
1672	Johan and Cornelis de Witt lynched; William III appointed army commander and Stadholder
1673	Amsterdam city government forces Polish and German communities to unite
1675	Portuguese Synagogue Amsterdam inaugurated
1675-1678	Yiddish Bible edition by Uri Phoebus ha-Levi
1676	Yiddish Bible edition by Joseph Athias
1680-1684	Dispute over Amsterdam Polish rabbi David Lida, fruitless arbitration by the Council of the Four Lands
1685	Edict of Nantes revoked, Huguenot immigration in the Northern Netherlands
1685	Obene Shul inaugurated
1686	The Kurant published by Uri Phoebus ha-Levi
1687-1713	Moses Kosman Gomperz and successors active
1688	Glorious Revolution, William III of Orange becomes King of Great Britain
1688-1702	Personal union Great Britain-Dutch Republic
1691	Tartas publishes Peri Chadash by Hezekiah da Silva
1691-1798	Peri Ets Haim published
1692-1703	Caspar Pietersen Steen active, non-Jewish producer of Hebrew books
1695	First Amsterdam Haggadah published by Moses Kosman Gomperz
1698	Third, enlarged edition of the Shenei Luchot ha-Berit by Athias
1698-1710	Moses b. Abraham Mendes Coutinho active
1700	Dritt Shul inaugurated
1701	Bevis Marks Spanish-Portuguese synagogue in London innaugurated
1702-1703	Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, published by Athias, followed by the Lechem Mishneh commentary (vols 1-3)
1706	First edition of Peri Chadash
1711	Regulations of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community printed (Dutch version contains 113 articles, the Yiddish translation 112)
1714	Proops publishes vol. 4 of Lechem Mishneh
1720-1797	Eliyahu ben Solomon Zalman, Gaon of Vilnius
1727-1792	Joseph ben Meir Teomim. Author of *Peri Megadim* on Shulchan Arukh

1730	Neie Shul inaugurated
1730	First public synagogue in New York
1737	New regulations of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community published
1762-1828	Ephraim Zalman Margolioth. Author of *Yad Ephraim* on Shulchan Arukh
1764	Council of the Four Lands abrogated
1776	Declaration of Independance USA
1783-1869	Solomon ben Judah Aaron Kluger. Opponent of Reform Movement
1781	C.W. von Dohm publishes his plea for Jewish emancipation
1789	French Revolution
1789	US Constitution
1790	France assigns citizenship to its Portuguese Jews
1790	All Jews in France given full civic rights
1795-1806	Batavian Republic
1795-1808	Adath Jesurun (Neie Kille) emancipatory Amsterdam Ashkenazi Community
1796	Dutch Jews emancipated
1797	Tanya (Likutei Amarim) by Shneur Zalman of Lyady published
1804	Napoleon crowned Emperor
1806-1810	Kingdom of the Netherlands under Louis Napoleon
1807	French Sanhedrin established
1810-1813	Annexation of the Netherlands by France
1813	William I of Orange, King of the Netherlands
1814-15	Congress of Vienna. Restitution
1816-18	3 prayer books in German published in Berlin
1818	Hamburg Reform Temple consacrated
1819	Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums founded
1819	Ordnung der öffentlichen Andacht für die Sabbath- und Festtage … published
1824	Rabbibical Seminary Metz founded
1832	L. Zunz Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge published
1838-1933	Yisrael Meir Kagan. Author of Mishnah Berurah, important recent codex
1848	Hamburg prayer book controversy
1872	Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums opened in Berlin
1873	Rabbinical Seminari Berlin opened
1875	Hebrew Union College Cincinnati established
1877	Rabbinical Seminary Budapest opened
1886	Jewish Theological Seminary New York established
1898	Union of Orthedox Jewish Congregations founded in the USA
1896	Cairo Genizah discovered

Appendix 2
GLOSSARY OF HEBREW TERMS

Abodat Chesed	Amsterdam Sephardi organization for support of poor Ashkenazim
Av Bet Din	Vice-president of the Sanhedrin
Akdamut	Aramaic piyyut on the giving of the Torah in Ashkenazi Service on the First day of Shavuot
Aleinu	Prayer, in the Ashkenazi rite always consisting of two parts
Amidah	Main part of obligatory prayer, said standing
Amora, pl. Amoraim	Sages of the Talmud
Anshei Kneset ha-Gedolah	Men of the Great Assembly
APaM	The rite of Asti, Fossano and Moncalvo
Arba'ah Turim	Codex by R. Jacob ben Asher
Arbit/Aravit	Sephardi name of the Evening Prayer
Ari, z.l.	R. Isaac Luria
Aron	Ashkenazi name of Holy Ark
Ascamot or escamot	Laws and bylaws of the Amsterdam Portuguese community
Ashmurot	(Kabbalistic) prayers to be said before dawn
Auto da fé	Public burning at the stake
Av	Vice-President of the Sanhedrin
Avodat Bet ha-Mikdash	emple Service
Avodat ha-Lev	Literally: Service of the heart, prayer
Baladi	Oldest Yemenite rite, based upon Maimonides
Baraita, pl. Baraitot	Oral traditions that were not incorporated in the Mishnah.
Berakha, pl. Berakhot	Blessing
Bet Jacob	First Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community
Bet Din	Rabbinical court
Beit Yoseph	Commentary on Tur by Yoseph Caro
Beit ha-Bechirah	1 The Jerusalem Temple 2 Commentary on the Talmud by R. Menachem ha-Meiri (1249-1310)
Bikur Holim	Fraternity to support the sick and bury the dead
Berakhah	Blessing
BT	Babylonian Talmud
Chakham	1 Wise, learned man; 2 Sephardi Chief Rabbi
Chanukkah	Festival of Lights
Chanukiah	Chandelier for Chanukkah
Chasid	Member of a Jewish mystical movement
Chasidei Ashkenaz	Medieval German pietists
Chasidism	Jewish mystical movement
Chatsot	Midnight
Chavurah	Association (there are earlier meanings
Chazzan, pl. Chazzanim	Precentor, (lay) leader of the service
Chebrah, chevrah	Association
Chevra Kadisha	Burial society
Chokhmat Yisrael	Wissenschaft des Judentums
Chol	Weekday
Chol ha-Mo'ed	Intermediate days of Pesach and Sukkot
Choshen Mishpat	Part of Tur/Shulchan Arukh containing financial laws
Conversos	Jews who had converted to Catholicism
Dagesh	Hebrew diacritic

Dardaim or Dor Daim	Adherents of the Yemenite Dor De'ah movement who rejected Kabbalistic influences
Dayan, pl. Dayanim	Rabbinical judges
Dhimmi	Non-Muslims with special protection in Muslim society
Din, pl. Dinim	Laws for Jewish life
Dotar	Fraternity to provide dowries to poor and orphaned girls (full name: Santa Companha de Dotar Orphas e Donzellas
Eleh Divrei ha-Berit	Polemical work against the Reform prayer book
Etrog	Citrus fruit (Citrus medica) used at Sukkot
Ets Haim	1 Fund to provide stipends to the students of Talmud Torah (1637); 2 New name since 1637 of the former Talmud Torah (founded 1616); 3 The Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos
Even ha-'Ezer	Part of the Tur/Shulchan Arukh containing Family Law
Exilarch	Secular head of Babylonian Jewry (c. 140-1040 CE)
Ga'ya	געיא Sephardi name of meteg (stress mark in Biblical Hebrew)
Gaon	Head of the Babylonian Academies of Sura, Pumbeditha and Nehardea
Gematria	Hermeneutical rule based on the cipher value of the Hebrew characters
Geshem	Rain
Geulah	1 In ma'ariv: final berakhah after the Shemah 2 In de Amidah of weekdays: the seventh berakhah 3 In Shacharit: the berakhah before the Barekhu preceding the Shemah
Gezera	1 Persecution of Jews 2 Rabbinical restriction
Great Assembly	1 Ancient Jewish legislative body 2 1651 convention of the delegates of the Dutch United Provinces
Guf	1 the fourth berakhah of the Amidah on Shabbat and Festivals 2 Piyyutim inserted in that blessing
Haggadah	1 Book containing the liturgy for Pesach evening 2 The ceremony itself (Sephardi)
Hakafah pl. hakafot	'Going around' e.g. circling the Bimah on Sukkot
Halakhah	The Jewish legal system
Haskalah	Jewish Enlightenment movement
Haskamah pl. Haskamot	Rabbinical approbation (also written Hascamah)
Heikhal	1 Temple 2 Sephardi name of Holy Ark
Hoshana Rabba	The 7th day of Sukkot, when special Hoshanot are said
Hoshanot	Piyyutim said at the end of Musaph on Sukkot
Iyyar	Second month of the Jewish year
Iyyun	Intention, concentration
JT	Jerusalem Talmud
Kabbalah	Jewish mysticism
Kaddish	Aramaic prayer, various compositions
Kavvanah	Intention, meaning
Kedushah	Holying, formula including Isaiah 6: 3. Specifically: the extension of the third blessing of the Amidah in its repetition
Kedushat ha-Shem	1 Third blessing of the Amidah 2 Martyrdom
Kedushat ha-Yom	Fourth blessing of the Amidah on special days
Kerug	Final strophe of the Magen piyyut
Ketubbah	Marriage contract
Kinot	Lamentations, dirges
Lag ba-Omer, Lag la-Omer	Day 33 of the Omer period

Lechem Mishneh	Commentary on Mishneh Torah
Limpieza de sangre	Spanish statutes on the purity of blood
Lo'azim	Ashkenazi immigrants to Italy
Ma'amadot	A collection of texts for each day of the week, recited after Shacharit
Ma'ariv, Arbit	Evening Prayer
Ma'aseh Bereshit	Creation
Ma'aseh ha-Merkavah	The Divine Throne as described by Ezekiel
Ma'aseh Shabbat	Shabbat product solely or mainly for Jewish use
Machsor	1 Cycle 2 Series of books containing the (Ashkenazi) festival prayers 3 prayer book
Magen Abraham	Commentary on Shulchan Arukh Orach Chaim by R. Abraham Gumbiner (1635-1682)
Mahamad	Board of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community
Malkhuyyot	Addition to the fourth blessing of the Rosh ha-Shanah Musaph
Maqaf	Hebrew hyphen (in upper position)
Marrano, pl. Marranos	Derogatory name for conversos
Maskil, pl. Maskilim	Members of the Haskalah movement
Masorah	Early medieval notes on the canonic Biblical text
Matnat Yad	1 Personal offering at the occasion of a festival 2 Dutch Ashkenazi moniker for the last day of the 3 Festivals
Medianos	Sephardi name of the intermediate days of Pesach and Sukkot
Mekhilta	Oldest halakhic Midrash
Merkavah	The mystical chariot, referring to Ezekiel 1
Meteg	Name of a stress mark in Biblical Hebrew
Mevi la-defus (le-veit ha-defus)	Yet undefined function in the production of a book
Midrash, pl. Midrashim	Homiletic and didactic rabbinical texts
Minchah	Afternoon Prayer
Minhag	Custom, rite
Minyan	Quorum of 10 grown up males from 13 years and older
Mishnah	Rabbinical work, containing the Oral Law, edited by R. Judah ha-Nasi
Mishneh Torah	Halakhic work by Maimonides
Mo'ed, pl. Mo'adim	(Pilgrimage) Festivals
Musaph	Additional prayer, following the Morning Prayer on special days
Nasi	President of the Sanhedrin
Ne'ilah	Fifth, final prayer on Yom Kippur
New Christians	Converted Iberian Jews
Nisan	First month of the Jewish year
Nohag	Unbinding custom
Nusach	1 Traditional melody 2 Synonym for minhag, binding custom
Nusach achid	Union Rite
Omer	1 Measure of grain 2 The 49-day period between Pesach and Shavuot
Orach Chaim	First part of Tur/Shulchan Aruch, containing Ceremonial Law
Otiyot tsur	Ashkenazi cursive type, exclusively used for Yiddish (*vaybertaytsh*)
Parochet	Ashkenazi name of curtain covering the Ark
Paytan, pl. Paytanim	Composers of liturgical poetry (Also written as Paytan)
Perat	Chronogram
Peri Chadash	Commentary on Yoreh De'ah by R. Hezekiah da Silva
Pesach	Passover

Piyyut, pl. Piyyutim	Liturgical poetry
Pizmon, pl. pizmonim	Song, poem
Ponte(i)ro	Sephardi name for the Torah pointer
Psak, pl. Psakim	Halakhic decisions
Purim	Festival of lots
Reconquista	Recapture of Spanish territories from Muslim rule
Regel, pl. Regalim	The Pilgrimage Festivals Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot
Reshut 'Permission', an 'excuse' to insert piyyutim in Keriat Shemah and Amidah	
Rosh Chodesh	New Moon, first day of the month
Rosh ha-Shanah	New Year
Sanhedrin	Rabbinical High Court
Savora, pl. Savoraim	Editors of the Talmud
Seder	1 Order 2 Home liturgy on Pesach evening 3 Prayer book
Sefer	1 Book 2 Torah Scroll
Segullah, pl. segullot	1 Talmudic term for medicine 2 Mystical term for anything with special spiritual power
Selichot	Penitential prayers
Sfard	Chasidic rite
Shachar	Morning
Shacharit	Morning Prayer
Shami	19th century Yemenite rite, containing many mystical elements
Shavuot	Festival of Weeks
Shemah	The standard Jewish declaration of faith
Shemini Atseret	8th day of Sukkot
Shenei Luchot ha-Berit	Two Tablets of the Law, work by Isaiah Horowitz
Shevarim	Three-fold tone on the shofar
Shimush	To be used by, usage
Shofar, pl. Shofarot	Ram's horn
Shofarot	Sixth blessing of the Rosh ha-Shanah Musaph
Shovavim (Tat)	The period when the first 6 (in leap-years 8) pericopes of Exodus are read, in kabbalistic circles special Selichot are said and individuals fast on Mondays and Thursdays. The Pericopes are: *Sh*emot, *V*a'era, *B*o, *B*eshalach, *Y*itro, *M*ishpatim, *T*erumah and *T*etsaveh.
Shulchan Arukh	Codex by Joseph Caro
Siddur	1 order 2 book containing the daily prayers
Sidorello	Women's prayer book in the Romance vernacular
Sifra	Halakhic Midrash on Leviticus
Sifrei	Halakhic Midrash on Numeri and Deuteronomy
Siluq	Last piyyut of the Meshallesh
Simchat Torah	The final day of Sukkot ('Rejoicing of the Law')
Sivan	Third month of the Jewish year
Sofer	Scibe
Sotah	Tractate of Mishnah and Talmud
Status absolutus	Morphology of Hebrew noun standing alone
Status constructus	Morphology of Hebrew noun connected with another noun
Sukkah, pl. Sukkot	Tabernacle, shed
Sukkot	Festival of Tabernacles
Ta'anit, pl. Ta'aniot	Fast day (collective or individual)
Tachanun	Ashkenazi name for daily supplicatory prayers
Takkanah, pl. takkanot	Rabbinical obligation, caused by new situations

Takkanot beit ha-Knesset	Rules for the ceremonial order
Tal	Dew
Talmud	Exponential discussions on the Mishnah
Tammuz	The fourth month of the Jewish year
Tanakh	Acronym for the Jewish Bible
Tanna, pl. Tannaim	Sages of the Mishnah
Tebah	1 Ark (Noah) 2 Box (Moses) 3 Sephardi name for podium
Techinot	1 Sephardi name for daily supplicatory prayers 2 special voluntary supplicatory prayers
Tefillah, pl. Tefillot	1 prayer 2 Amidah 3 Ashkenazi name for siddur
Tefille	Yiddish name for siddur
Tefilot	Sephardi name for prayer book
Tefillin	Phylacteries
Teki'ah	First and final tone on the Shofar
Tekufah, pl. Tekufot	Season (starting in Nissan, Tammuz, Tishrei and Tevet)
Teru'ah	Broken tone on the shofar
Tikun, pl. tikunim	1 repair (Kabbalah) 2 book containing voluntary prayers for special occasions 3 book with unvocalised text of the Pentateuch (sometimes including the Book of Esther)
Torah	Pentateuch
Tosafot	Medieval school of halakhic authorities in Northern France and Germany
Tosefta	Parallel collection to the Mishnah
Turei Zahav	Commentary on the Shulchan Arukh by R. David ha-Levi Segal (c. 1586–1667)
Uhrtext	Supposed original text
Waybertaytsh	Ashkenazi cursive type, exclusively used for Yiddish (Otiyot tsur)
Yad	Ashkenazi name for the Torah pointer
Yom Kippur	Day of Atonement
Yom Kippur Katan	Fast day on the eve of the new moon
Yoreh De'ah	Second part of the Shulchan Arukh
Zemirot	1 Songs 2 Sephardi name for 'pesukei de-zimrah' 3 Ashkenazi name for the table songs for Shabbat
Zikhronot	Fifth blessing of the Rosh ha-Shanah Musaph
Zohar	Medieval mystical work, the leading source of subsequent Kabbalah
Zugot	Pairs of Mishnaic Sages

Appendix 3
HALAKHIC SOURCES ON THE USE OF HEBREW IN PRAYER

The Talmudic sources are quoted in a logical order as is usual in halakhic discussion where the order of the tractates as well as the order of chapters within a certain tractate is disregarded. This is common practice in rabbinical literature and may partly be explained by the fact that the order of the Talmudic tractates was only established centuries after its final editing, as is demonstrated by comparing various printed editions of Mishnah and Talmud. The tractates were mostly sold unbound and it was the client who decided in which order they were bound. Only later, when editions came to be sold in a publishers' binding, did the order become fixed, especially after the 1861 Vilnius edition by the Widow Romm & Sons.[1]

In the following survey post- Talmudic rabbinic sources will be quoted chronologically[2] and include commentaries, codes of Halakhah, responsa and later halakhic decisions and reflect various periods: Geonim (c. 600-1000 CE), Rishonim (the rabbis preceding the Shulchan Arukh, 1000-1565) and Acharonim (halakhic authorities after the publication of the Shulchan Arukh).[3]

The oldest and perhaps most important source for the subject of language is given in Mishnah Sotah 7, 1-2:

אלו נאמרין בכל לשון, פרשת סוטה, וידוי מעשר, קריאת שמע, ותפלה, וברכת המזון, ושבועת העדות, ושבועת הפקדון׃
ואלו נאמרין בלשון הקדש, מקרא בכורים, וחליצה, ברכות וקללות, ברכת כהנים, וברכת כהן גדול, ופרשת המלך, ופרשת עגלה ערופה, ומשוח מלחמה בשעה שהוא מדבר אל העם׃

These texts may be said in any language: the chapter on the woman suspected of adultery,[4] the tithe declaration,[5] the Shemah[6] and the Tefillah [i.e. Amidah],[7] the Blessing after the Meal,[8] the oath of the witness [in the cases that are stated in the Torah][9] and the oath of somebody who received a collateral [but states he no longer has it].[10] And these texts may only be said in the Holy Language [i.e. Hebrew]: the declaration of the firstlings,[11] the chalitsa,[12] the Blessings and

[1] Until today the order of study in the Yeshivot does not follow the accepted general order of the tractates.
[2] The sources are quoted in the original Hebrew/Aramaic, followed by an English translation. Biblical quotes are provided in the translation in JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh, Philadelphia, 1999. Rabbinical sources have been translated by the author.
[3] With the exception of some relevant explanatory comments by early halakhic authorities on certain Talmudic quotations.
[4] What the priest has to read to her before she takes the oath on being innocent, Num. 5: 19-22.
[5] In the third and sixth year of every seven year-cycle one has to remove all his tithes from his house and give them to whom is entitled to them: Levites, the poor and the 'second tithe' which one is obliged to bring to Jerusalem but remains still in the house. After removing all of such he has to declare in the Temple that he fulfilled all those obligations, see Num. 26: 12-19.
[6] Num. 6: 4 says: Hear, Israel, interpreted as hear in a language you understand.
[7] As the tefillah (=Amidah) is in fact asking for mercy it can be done in any language.
[8] According to the obligation of Deut. 8: 10.
[9] When witnesses promise under oath to appear before the Court (see Lev. 5: 1; 5-13) and fail to do so, the language of their oath is irrelevant for their transgression.
[10] He who accepts a collateral from a relation and afterwards denies having received it, has to confirm his declaration with an oath, see Lev. 5: 21-25.
[11] Deut. 26: 5-11.
[12] The ceremony of removing the shoe of a widow's brother-in-law to avoid levirate marriage, Deut. 25: 7-9.

Curses,[13] the Blessing of the Priests,[14] the Blessing of the High Priest [on the Day of Atonement],[15] the declaration of the calf with the broken neck[16] and the call of the Anointed Priest mobilising the people for an obligatory war.[17]

On the Shemah we read in the BT Berakhot 13a:

מצות צריכות כוונה מאי אם כוון לבו - לקרות. לקרות? ... תנו רבנן: קריאת שמע ככתבה, דברי רבי וחכמים אומרים: בכל לשון. ...

The fulfilment of the commandments require the intention [of complying with the law, and must be repeated if performed without such intention].[18] … The Sages of the Mishnah [also][19] teach: the Shemah should be said as it is written [i.e. in Hebrew] according to the opinion of Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi] but [the majority of] the Sages decided that it may be said in any language. …[20]

BT Sotah 33a discusses the use of the vernacular in the Tefillah[21]:

תפלה. רחמי היא, כל היכי דבעי מצלי. ותפלה בכל לשון? והאמר רב יהודה: לעולם אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמית, דאמר רבי יוחנן: כל השואל צרכיו בלשון ארמי - אין מלאכי השרת נזקקין לו, לפי שאין מלאכי השרת מכירין בלשון ארמי לא קשיא: הא ביחיד, הא בצבור. ואין מלאכי השרת מכירין בלשון ארמי? והתניא: יוחנן כהן גדול שמע ב״ק מבית קדש הקדשים שהוא אומר נצחו טליא דאזלו לאגחא קרבא לאנטוכיא ושוב מעשה בשמעון הצדיק, ששמע בת קול מבית קדש הקדשים שהוא אומר בטילת עבידתא דאמר שנאה לאייתאה על היכלא ונהרג גסקלגס ובטלו גזירותיו, וכתבו אותה שעה וכיוונו, ובלשון ארמי היה אומר אי בעית אימא: בת קול שאני, דלאשמועי עבידא. ואי בעית אימא: גבריאל הוה, דאמר מר: בא גבריאל ולימדו שבעים לשון.

Why [is it allowed to say] the Tefillah [in any language]? It is asking for mercy and as a consequence it may be said in any language. But Rav Yehuda said: no man should ever ask for his needs in Aramaic, as R. Jochanan said: Everyone who asks for his own needs in Aramaic will not be assisted by the 'ministering angels' because they do not understand Aramaic. This does not pose a problem, as it only concerns an individual, not the community. How can you say that the ministering angels do not understand Aramaic when we learn (JT Sotah 9: 13; cf. Flavius Josephus, Antiquities XIII, 5): The High Priest Jochanan heard a heavenly voice from the Holy of Holiest: The children, the youngsters who fought Antiochus gained the victory [this quote is in Aramaic]. Another baraita (JT Sotah 9: 13; Megilat Ta'anit Ch. 11) tells of Shimon the Just who heard a heavenly voice from the Holy of Holiest: The decree of Caligula [to place his statue in the Temple] was undone through his demise and his decrees became void and it happened the same

[13] Said by the Levites when the Jewish People entered the Holy Land after spending 40 years in the desert, Deut. 27: 12-26.

[14] Num. 6: 23-26.

[15] After the service of atonement, the High Priest would sit in the Temple court, read various periscopes from the Torah and say eight berakhot. This is not a Torah commandment but is explained in Mishnah Yoma 7: 1 and in Mishnah Sotah 7: 1.

[16] When a murder had been committed in between two towns and the identity of the murderer was unknown, according to Deut. 21: 1-9 representatives of both towns had to convene to break the neck of a heifer. On that occasion the eldest of the town that was nearest to the crime site had to declare: 'Our hands did not shed this blood …'

[17] See Deut. 20: 2-3.

[18] Translation: Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. New York, 1950, 622.

[19] Sotah 7, 1 as quoted and discussed in BT Sotah 32b.

[20] The opinion of the Sages became Halakhah, and as a consequence the Shemah can be said in any language that one understands, but the order of the paragraphs may not be changed.

[21] Here meaning the Amidah or Shemoneh esrei, the main obligatory prayer.

moment the voice was heard. And it spoke in Aramaic! You could argue that in both cases it was the Angel Gabriel because one [Sage] said: The Angel Gabriel came and taught him seventy languages.[22]

Rashi's[23] comment on this statement is as follows:

תפלה - דקתני מתני׳ בכל לשון לא צריך קרא דהא רחמי נינהו וההוא לישנא דידע לכוון לבו ליצלי. **יחיד** - צריך שיסייעוהו מלאכי השרת ציבור לא צריכי להו דכתיב (איוב לו) הן אל כביר לא ימאס אינו מואס בתפלתן של רבים.

Prayer, as we learn in the Mishnah: in any language. For this we do not need the evidence of a biblical verse as it [i.e. prayer] is asking for mercy and the only requisite for that purpose is the use of a language which enables a person to concentrate on his intention to pray. **The individual**, [this is a restriction to ensure] that the ministering angels may help, but the community does not need their assistance as it is written: See, God is mighty, He is not contemptuous[24] meaning that He is not contemptuous of the prayer of the masses.

Tosafot[25] remark with their usual acumen:

שאין מלאכי השרת מכירין בלשון ארמי. לבד מגבריאל, כדאמר בסוטה בריש ׳אלו נאמרין׳ (לג: א): דאמר מר, בא גבריאל ולמדו שבעים לשונות ליוסף. ותימה: דאפילו מחשבה שבלב כל אדם יודעים, ולשון ארמי אין יודעין?

Because they do not understand Aramaic. Except for Gabriel as is said at the beginning of the chapter These texts are said …' (Sotah 33a) where one of the Sages says that Gabriel came and taught Josef seventy languages. This is strange, as they even know every man's deepest thought, and then they should not understand Aramaic? [This remark is taken to mean that Tosafot explain R. Yehuda considered Aramaic to be unsuitable for private prayer.][26]

In BT Shabbat 12b it is stressed that when visiting the sick on Shabbat, it is necessary to adapt the formulation of one's wishes for a speedy recovery to stress the difference between Shabbat and weekdays, and a few wishes are quoted:

זימנין אמר המקום יפקדך לשלום וזימנין אמר (ליה) רחמנא ידכרינך לשלם. היכי עביד הכי? והאמר רב יהודה: לעולם אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי ואמר רבי יוחנן: כל השואל צרכיו בלשון ארמי - אין מלאכי השרת נזקקין לו, שאין מלאכי השרת מכירין בלשון ארמי - שאני חולה, דשכינה עמו. דאמר רב ענן אמר רב: מנין ששכינה סועד את החולה - שנאמר (תהלים מא) ה׳ יסעדנו על ערש דוי.

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[22] Refers to a Midrash on Joseph in Egypt which is quoted in Sotah 36b; the seventy languages refer also to the translation of the Bible (Septuagint) in Alexandria into seventy languages, the first of which was Aramaic, known as the Targum.

[23] Acronym for **Ra**bbi **Sh**elomo ben **I**saac, Northern France, 1040–1105. His comments on the Bible and Talmud concern the most difficult passages and remain normative in Jewish studies until today on account of its didactic strength.

[24] Job 36, 5.

[25] The Sages of the School of Rashi (12th-14th centuries) in Northern France.

[26] The agadic position of R. Jochanan that the Angels do not know Aramaic may at first sight not seem to affect the halakhic decision that the prayer may be said in any language, as long as it helps us to give our prayer the right intention. As the earlier halakhic authorities stress the importance of understanding the meaning of our prayers, it gave rise to many discussions, especially in later times. The need for angels to bring the prayers of an individual before the Almighty is discussed in Tractate Chagigah and is of no further relevance to our discussion of the vernacular. The idea that Aramaic is considered inappropriate is explained on the basis of its strong resemblance to Hebrew. Somewhat similar is the rejection of Yiddish, a descendant of an old German dialect mixed with elements of other languages, in modern times on the argument that Hebrew has been restored as the national Jewish language.

Sometimes one says [to a sick person]: May the Almighty visit you and heal you.[27] Sometimes one may say: May the Merciful One remember you and heal you.[28] How could he do so, as R. Yehuda said: One should never ask for one's needs in Aramaic? R. Jochanan said: Whoever asks for one's [own] needs does not get the help of the ministering angels[29] as they do not understand Aramaic. [The answer is that] the position of a sick person is different as he is in the presence of the Divine Majesty as R. Anan said, quoting Rav: 'The Lord will sustain him on his sickbed (Ps. 41: 4).'

Rashi comments on this passage of the Talmud:

זימנין אמר לה - בלשון קדש, וזימנין אמר לה בלשון ארמי, והא לאו לענין שבת נקט.

Sometimes one may say: sometimes in Hebrew, sometimes in Aramaic but this does not belong to the subject of Shabbat.

That R. Yehuda's position on Aramaic is not generally accepted is documented also by BT Berakhot 3a:

... בשעה שישראל נכנסין לבתי כנסיות ולבתי מדרשות ועונין יהא שמיה הגדול מבורך הקדוש ברוך הוא מנענע ראשו ואומר: אשרי המלך שמקלסין אותו בביתו כך, מה לו לאב שהגלה את בניו, ואוי להם לבנים שגלו מעל שולחן אביהם.

When Jews enter the synagogue or the house of study they answer [the chazzan in the Kaddish] three times a day:[30] May His great Name be praised and then the Holy One, praised be He, nods His head and remarks: happy is the King who is greeted in His home in this manner, how should a father react who has banished his children and woe to the children who were banished from their father's table.

The comment of Tosafot is as follows:

לכך אומרים קדיש בלשון ארמית – לפי שתפלה נאה ושבח גדול הוא, אל כן נתקן בלשון תרגום שלא יבינו המלאכים ויהיו מתקנאין בנו. וזה אינה נראה, שהרי כמה תפלות יפות שהם בלשון עברי! אלא נראה כדאמרינן בסוף סוטה: אין העולם מתקיים אלא אסדרא דקדושתא ואיהא שמיה רבא דבתר אגדתא, שהיו רגילין לומר קדיש אחר הדרשה. ושם היו עמי הארצות ולא היו מבינים כולם לשון הקודש, לכך תקנוהו בלשון תרגום שהיו הכל מבינים שזה היה לשונם.

As a consequence Kaddish is said in Aramaic because it is a becoming prayer, giving great praise, which is the reason that it is coined in the language of the Targum [i.e. Aramaic] which is not understood by the Angels so that they cannot be jealous about us, but that does not seem right as there exist a number of agreeable prayers that are written in Hebrew. But we may understand it from what is said at the end of Sotah:[31] the world cannot exist without the order of Holiness, which is mentioned after each homily (or Bible exegesis) 'may His Name be praised' which is said for the illiterate who mostly do not understand Hebrew. So they formulated [the prayer] in the language of the Targum which was understood by all because it was the vernacular. [Here Tosafot explicitly mention the status of Aramaic as the lingua franca.]

[27] The wish is formulated in Hebrew.

[28] As this wish is said in Aramaic, we learn from precedent that the use of Aramaic in this case is accepted practice.

[29] Jastrow, Dictionary p. 1635.

[30] In the Aramaic Kaddish prayer.

[31] This sentence is not present in the printed tekst of Sotah, neither in BT, nor in TJ.

The later codifiers and decisors in their discussions on prayer in the vernacular had to deal with the special position of Aramaic. First they decided that the statement in BT Megilah 18a has to mean that the Esther Scroll on Purim should be read in Hebrew only. The Talmud mentions explicitly that Aramaic in this context stands for any vernacular, but that this is not the case when prayer is concerned.

Maimonides (Spain/Egypt, 1135-1204) deals with the subject at the beginning of the Laws of Blessings (Hilkhot Berakhot, 1: 6) as the Tefillah[32] consists of berakhot:

וכל הברכות כולן נאמרין בכל לשון והוא שיאמר כעין שתקנו חכמים, ואם שינה את המטבע הואיל והזכיר אזכרה ומלכות וענין הברכה אפילו בלשון חול יצא.

All berakhot are said in any language, as long as one says what the Sages prescribed. In case one changes the [original] formulation, one nevertheless fulfils one's obligation on the condition that the Divine Name and His Kingship is mentioned as well as the core of the Blessing, even if it is said in a profane language. With this Maimonides rests his case.

Jacob ben Asher (Cologne 1270–Toledo, Spain, c. 1340) states in his codex Tur Orach Haim 101: 4 on the Tefillah:

ויכול להתפלל בכל לשון שירצה ופירש רב אלפס דוקא בציבור אבל ביחיד לא יתפלל אלא בלשון הקודש. ויש מפרשים דהא דאמרינן יחיד לא יתפלל אלא בלשון הקודש דוקא כששואל צרכיו אבל כשמתפלל תפלה של ציבור אפילו יחיד יכול לאמרה בכל לשון. ואדוני אבי הרא״ש ז״ל כתב דאף יחיד כששואל צרכיו יכול לשאול בכל לשון שירצה חוץ מלשון ארמי.

One can say the prescribed prayer in any language of his choice and Rav Alfas [Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi ha-Cohen (Algeria/Morocco 1013-1103), commonly known under his acronym Rif] says: Especially in communal prayer, but in private one is allowed to say it only in Hebrew. But there are authorities who explain that the dictum 'the individual should only pray in Hebrew' only relates to asking for one's own needs but when praying the communal prayer, even the individual is allowed to say it in any language.[33] My revered father [R. Asher ben Jehiel Ashkenazi (1250 or 1259–1327, known under his acronym Rosh] the Rosh of blessed memory wrote that even an individual who is asking for his own needs is allowed to say it in any language of choice, except for Aramaic.

Isaac Aboab II (1433–1493) in his commentary on Tur Orach Chaim 101, 4 writes:

ויכול להתפלל בכל לשון שירצה וכו׳ כך הוא מבואר בגמרא דאמרינן אלו נאמרים בכל לשון: תפלה כו׳. ותמהו הפוסקים על ההיא דאמרינן אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי, היאך הוא סותר לזה. והזה הצד פי׳ ריי״ף שזה דוקא בצבור, שהצבור אין צריכים מליץ שאל כביר ולא ימאס, ותפלתם עולה לפני הב״ה, אבל יחיד שצריך לו מליץ בזה אמרינן אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי שהמלאכים אינם מבינים הלשון ואינם מליצים עליו. ומפרשים אחרים אמרו דאמרינן אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי, הוא דוקא כששואל דבר מיוחד לו, אבל כששואל תפלה של צבור מהטעם שאמרנו, יכול לאומרה. כל אלו הפסוקים סוברים שמ״ש ארמית לאו דוקא ארמית, אלא כל לשון אחר חוץ מלשון הקדש. ומזה הצד ג״כ תמה ריי״, הנשים היאך מתפללים בלע״ז ביחי׳, שהרי לדעת ריי״ף לא היה להם להתפלל, אלא שיש לנו לומר שסמכו על חלוק האחר. והרא״ש כתב שאין הקפידהא אלא בלשון ארמי דוקא, אבל בשאר לשונות יכול לישאל, ולפ״ז אינו קשה במנהג הנשים.

[32] The prescribed prayer.

[33] Generally these terms relate to the silent prayer by the individual and the loud repetition by the precentor, but grammatically one could also understand the terms to relate to prayer in private as opposed to prayer in a quorum of at least ten adult males, even including the silent individual prayer in such situations, as is the interpretation of some of the more recent decisors.

One may say his prayers in any language of his choice etc. As is explained in the Gemara where it says: 'These may be said in any language: prayer etc.', but the decisors were surprised by this because we learned that one should not ask for his needs oneself in Aramaic, which seems to contradict the former. On this particular point the Rif explained that this refers especially to the community, as it does not need an advocate as [God] is mighty and not contemptuous (Job 36: 5) and the prayer is sent straight to the Holy One, blessed be He, but with regard to the individual who needs an advocate we said that he should not ask for himself in Aramaic as the angels do not understand that language and so will not plead on his behalf. But others explain that 'one should not ask for oneself in Aramaic' applies only in case one asks something that is specific for oneself, but when one asks in a communal prayer one may do so, as we have proved. All the decisors mentioned agree that the term Aramaic refers to all languages other than Hebrew. Also for this reason [the Tosafist] R. Isaac asks how it is possible that women pray privately in the vernacular as according to the Rif they are not obliged to pray. On this subject we have to answer that it stems from another discussion [between the Sages of France and the Tosafist R. Isaac as they pray as a community]. The Rosh wrote that the emphasis only falls on Aramaic proper but that one is allowed to pray in other languages and therefore there is no contradiction with regard to women's custom.

R. Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (1488-1575) wrote in his monumental commentary Beit Joseph on this paragraph of the Tur:

ויכול להתפלל בכל לשון שירצה. במסכת סוטה ריש פ״ז (לג.) תנן ואלו נאמרין בכל לשון פרשת סוטה וידוי מעשר וקריאת שמע ותפילה וכתב הרי״ף בריש פרק היה קורא (ברכות ז.) והא דקתני תפילה בכל לשון הני מילי בציבור אבל ביחיד לא דאמר רב יהודה אמר רב (שבת יב:) לעולם אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי ואמר רבי יוחנן כל השואל צרכיו בלשון ארמי אין מלאכי השרת נזקקין לו לפי שאין מלאכי השרת מכירים בלשון ארמית. **וכתב** ה״ר יונה (שם ד״ה גמ׳) כיון דאסיקנה דתפילה ביחיד אינה נאמרת אלא בלשון הקודש תימה הוא על המנהג שנהגו בכל העולם שהנשים מתפללות בשאר לשונות שכיון שחייבות בתפילה לא היה להן להתפלל אלא בלשון הקודש ורבני צרפת רוצים לתת טעם למנהג ואומרים שכשיחיד מתפלל התפילה בעצמה שמתפללין אותה הציבור כמו תפילת הציבור דיינינן ליה ויכול לאמרה יחיד בלשון אחרת ומאי דאמר רב יהודה לעולם אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי זהוא כששואל צרכיו כגון שמתפלל על החולה או על שום צער שיש לו בביתו וכיוצא בזה אבל תפילה שהיא ידועה לציבור אפילו כשמתפלל אותה בביתו כמתפלל בציבור דמי ואם אינו יודע לשון הקודש יכול לצאת בכל לשון והטעם שצרכי ציבור שואלין בכל לשון מה שאין כן בצרכי יחיד מפני שהציבור אינם צריכים מליץ לפני הקב״ה אבל היחיד צריך אליו כענין שנאמר (איוב לג: כג) אם יש [עליו] מלאך מליץ וכו׳ ומלאכי השרת אינן נזקקין אלא ללשון הקודש ע״כ:
והרא״ש (ברכות פ״ב סי׳ ב) כתב כל זה ואח״כ כתב ולי נראה דאינו קשה דדוקא בלשון זה קאמר רב יהודה דלא ישאל אדם צרכיו וכן הקשו בתוספות (שבת שם ד׳ה שאין) הא דקאמר שאין מלאכי השרת מכירין בלשון ארמית והלא אפילו מחשבות לב האדם יודעים ומכירים אלא לשון זה מגונה בעיניהם להזקק לו עכ״ל הרא״ש כלומר דלא אתא רב יהודה למעוטי אלא לשון ארמי בלבד לפי שהוא מגונה בעיני המלאכים ולפיכך אין נזקקין לו אבל שאר לשונות אינן מגונים בעיניהם ונזקקין להם הילכך שפיר דמי לשאול אדם צרכיו בהם:

One is allowed to pray in any language of his choice: In Tractate Sotah at the beginning of chapter 7 (BT Sotah 32a) we learn that those texts that may be said in any language are the chapter of the woman that is suspected of adultery, the tithe declaration, the Shemah and the Tefillah [i.e. Amidah]; the Rif wrote at the beginning of the chapter 'Who is reading' (BT Berakhot 7a) that when we learn one can say the Tefillah in any language, this only pertains to the communal prayer, but not to the individual prayer. R. Yehuda quoted Rav (Shabbat 12b): Never should one ask for one's own needs in Aramaic and R. Jochanan said: Anyone who asks on his own behalf in Aramaic, the angels will not attend to his prayers because they do not know Aramaic.
And R. Jonah [ben Abraham Gerondi, c. 1200–1263] commented on this passage: This is because we are dealing with individual prayer which should be said in Hebrew only, but it is an astonishing custom all over the world that women pray in other languages. As they are obliged to pray, it would be impossible for them [i.e. the women] to pray in another language than in

Hebrew. But the rabbis of France try to explain this custom by saying that in this case individuals pray the Tefillah proper [i.e. the Amidah] when the community says it and on this condition even the individual can say it in any language.
The remark of R. Yehuda that one should never ask for one's own needs in Aramaic applies only to a request for the healing of a sick person or any trouble befalling him at home or the like, but a prayer that is well known to the community is considered to be a communal prayer, even when said at home, and when one has no command of Hebrew, the obligation can be fulfilled in any language. The reason one may ask on behalf of the community in any language, as opposed to asking on behalf of an individual is, that the community does not need an advocate before the Almighty but the individual does, as is said in Job 33: 23[-24]: If he has a representative, one advocate against a thousand to declare the man's uprightness, [then He has mercy on him and decrees: Redeem him from descending to the Pit, for I have obtained his ransom.] The angels will not attend to his prayers unless he uses Hebrew.
The Rosh (Berakhot, chapter 2, paragraph b): copied this and continued and I reason that this does not pose a problem because it is the exact formulation of R. Yehuda that one should not ask for oneself, as Tosafot (Shabbat 12b) argue: 'Why it is said that the angels do not understand Aramaic' as even man's innermost thoughts are well known? The right answer should be that that language [i.e. Aramaic] is inferior in their eyes to assist him [who prays]. Meaning to say that R. Yehuda only intended to exclude Aramaic because that language is inferior in the opinion of the angels and that they as a consequence will not assist the supplicant, but all other languages are not considered inferior by them and they will assist man when he asks on his own behalf.

Caro summarizes his decision from Beit Joseph in Shulchan Arukh 101, 4 (editio princeps 1565):

ויכול להתפלל בכל לשון שירצה וה״מ בצבור אבל ביחיד לא יתפלל אלא בלשון הקודש וי״א דה״מ כששואל צרכיו כגון שהתפלל על חולה או על שום צער שיש לו בביתו אבל תפלה הקבועה לצבור אפי׳ יחיד יכול לאומרה בכל לשון ויש אומרים דאף יחיד כששואל צרכיו יכול לשאול בכל לשון שירצה חוץ מלשון ארמי.

One may say his prayers in any language of choice when in public, but when in private one may do so only in Hebrew, however, there are authorities who decide that this restriction only relates to praying for one's own needs, e.g. for a sick person or for any problem suffered in one's house, but the prayer that is prescribed for the community, even the individual is allowed to pray in any language of choice, except in Aramaic.

Moses Isserles (1520-1572), Darkhei Moshe on Tur Orach Chaim 101: 4:
וכן הוא בזוהר פרשת לך לך (פח:).

But in Aramaic. So it is written in the Zohar, chapter Lekh lekha.

David ha-Levi Segal (c. 1586–1667), Turei Zahav (also known under its subtitle Magen David) on Shulchan Arukh Orach Chaim 101, 4:

אלא בלה״ק, לפי שאין מ״ה נזקקין ללשון ארמית וה״ה לשאר לשונות חוץ מלה״ק אבל צבור א״צ מליץ.
חוץ מלשון ארמי, כ״כ התוספות פ״ק דשבת שהקשו והלוא אפילו מחשבות האדם יודעים המלאכים ואמאי אמרו אין מכירין בלשון ארמי אלא ודאי שמבינים הכל אלא לשון זה של ארמי דוקא מגונה בעיניהם ולא שאר לשונות

These may be said in Hebrew only, because the angels do not help when Aramaic is used and the same holds for languages other than Hebrew, but the community does not need an advocate.
Except for Aramaic. On this Tosafot wondered in the first chapter of Shabbat where it is objected: But the angels even know the mind of man and nevertheless they state that they do not

know Aramaic and asked but the angels know even the thoughts of man, so why should they not understand Aramaic? But they reason that only Aramaic is considered unsuitable by them, but not other languages.

Samuel Aboab (Venice, 1610-1694) writes an interesting responsum [Responsa Devar Shmuel 302] to Solomon Ayllon who at that time was rabbi in Livorno:

שאלה שכא לכמוהר״ר שלמה אאיליון לל״יגורני[34] זאת שנית דרש מר על עשרה יהודים לועזים שאינם יודעם לשון הקדש ועומדים במקום שאין מי שיודע בלשון הקודש להוציא אותם ידי חובתם אם יכולים להתפלל בציבור בלשון לעז ולומר קדיש וקדושה בלשון לעז.

תשובה נראה שאף על פי שכמו זר נחשב הדבר ההוא ותמוה הוא בעיני העם לפי סברת רוב הפוסקים המתירים להתפלל יחיד תפילתו בצבור בכל לשון, לא מצינו מי שחילק אם הוא דווקא לצאת אותו יחיד ידי חובתו או אפילו להוציא אחרים לועזים כמו כעין הנהוג בברכת המזון להוציא זה את זה בלשון לעז, וראיה לדבר מלשון הקדיש שהוא בלשון ארמי ולפי דעת רוב הפוסקים הוא גרוע משאר לשונות לעז כדכתיב מוהרר״יק ז״ל בטא״ח סימן קא, ודין זה של קדיש רמזוהו בעלי התוספות בריש מ׳ ברכות דף ג׳ ונוסח שאלת מע״כת אם יכולים לומר קדיש היא תשובתו בצדה וגם יש כמין הוכחה. לזה ממה שמעט הכתוב במצות ברכת כהנים בלשון כה תברכו, ללמד כה תברכו בלשון הקדש כדדייקי׳ מינה, ואם לא בא המקרא ללמד אף היא היתה נאמרת בכל לשון כקריא׳ שמע ותפילה, וברכת המזון, והרי אין לך דבר שבקדושה חמורה ממנה שצריך לאומרה בתוך עדת בני ישראל בעשרה ומפני מגידי אמת הוגד לנו שבעיר הגדולה של שאלוניקי יש חזן קבוע לנשים שאינן יודעות לשון הקדש ומוציא עצמו ואותן בתפילת לעז ׃

The second **question** of this Rabbi concerns the case when ten foreign Jews [i.e. Conversos] who do not know Hebrew and stand [for prayer] in a place where nobody knows Hebrew to relieve them of their obligation [of prayer], if in such a case they are allowed to pray as a community in the vernacular, as well as to say Kaddish and Kedusha in the vernacular.

Answer: It seems that, although the case may be considered improbable and astonishing in the eyes of the people, as most authorities argue who allow an individual to say his prayer in a quorum in any language, and we did not find anybody who makes a distinction between an individual who fulfils his duty [and therefore is only allowed to pray in Hebrew, or when he prays] to absolve from its obligation[35] a community that does not master Hebrew' as is the case with the berakhot after the meal where one can absolve another from his obligation in the vernacular. A reference to the case follows from the language of the Kaddish which is written in Aramaic although most decisors consider it worse than all other vernaculars as Maharik of blessed memory wrote on Tur Orach Chaim 101[36] and this Law concerning Kaddish was hinted at by Tosafot at the beginning of Berakhot 3a. Your question, whether one may say Kaddish [in the vernacular] can also be answered likewise and even there is a kind of proof based on the terse formulation in the Torah on the Blessing of the Priests 'So you must bless', meaning that one must say the blessing in Hebrew exactly as it is formulated there and without this specification the verse would have implied that [this blessing] may be said in any language as is allowed for the Shemah, the prayer and the blessing after the meal. The reason is that nothing is holier than this [i.e. the Priestly Blessing] as it may only be said in the community, i.e. with a quorum of at least 10 [males over 13 years]. However, it was reported to us that in the large town of Salonika there

[34] The translitteration of the V or W into the Hebrew character ג is not only encountered here in the name *Livorno*, but also sometimes in the case of Worms (*Vermaiza*): גרמייזה.

[35] The term refers to the chazzan who through his repetition of the prayer absolves from their obligation all those present who do not know how to pray.

[36] The printed collections of the decisions of R. Joseph Colon ben Salomon Trabotto [c. 1420-1480, also known as Maharik] do not contain this decision. In his time Maharik was the foremost rabbinic authority of Italy.

is an official chazzan for the women who do not know Hebrew, to not only absolve them but also himself from the obligation [of daily prayer].[37]

R. Abraham Gombiner (1635-1682) writes in Magen Avraham, his commentary on the Shulchan Arukh:

בכל לשון. כתב בסי״מ דמוטב להתפלל בלשון שמבין אם אינו מבין לשון הקודש וכ״כ בס״ח סי׳ תקפ״ח ותשפ״ח: **ביחיד**, שאין מלאכי השרת נזקקין לשאר לשונות אבל בצבור הקב״ה בעצמו מקבל תפלתם. **דאף יחיד**, דס״ל דהמלאכים מכירין בכל לשון רק שאין נזקקין לארמית שמגונם בעיניהם.

In any language. In paragraph 40 [of the Shulchan Arukh] he wrote that it is preferable to pray in a language one understands in case one does not understand Hebrew as it is also stated in Sefer Hassidim paragraphs 585 and 788. **Individual**. As the angels assist him in other languages, but within a community the Almighty Himself accepts man's prayer. **But even an individual**. As he reasons that the angels understand all languages but do not assist him when praying in Aramaic because they consider that language to be unfitting.

R. Zechariah Mendel ben Aryeh Leib (Poland c. 1650- c. 1707) states in his commentary Ba'er Heitev on the Shulchan Arukh:

בלה״ק. שאין מלאכי השרת נזקקין לשאר לשונות אבל בצבור הקב״ה בעצמו מקבל תפלתם. ארמי. דאין נזקקין לארמית שמגונ׳ בעיניהם:

In Hebrew. As the angels do not assist in other languages, but when in a community the Almighty Himself accepts their prayer. **Aramaic**. They do not respond to Aramaic which is unsuitable in their eyes.

Hezekiah da Silva (1659–1698), Peri Chadash on Shulchan Arukh Orach Chaim 101, 4:

... ומתמיהין העולם על המנהג שנהגו שהנשים מתפללות בשאר לשונות וכיון שחייבות בתפלה לא היה להן להתפלל אלא בלשון הקודש והרא״ש ז״ל כ׳ על זה ול״נ דאינו קשה דדוק[א] בלשון זה קאמר רבי יהודה דלא ישאל אדם צרכיו לפי שלשון זה מגונה בעיני המלאכים ואין זה נזקקין לו ע״כ ובזוהר בסתרי תורה בפרשת לך לך מבואר כדברי הרא״ש ומיהו מש״ס לא משמה הכי דא״כ מאי פרכינן מההיא דכ״ג דבית ק״ק הא החילוק מבואר שכיון שאין מכירין כלל היאך השמיעו בל׳ ארמי ומשני דבת קול הוה ולא מלאכי השרת ועוד שינוי בתרא דמשנינן גבריאל הוה וכו׳ משמע ודאי הפך דעת הרא״ש דדוקא גבריאל מכיר אבל שאר המלאכים אינם מכירין והעיקר הוא כדרבי הרא״ש שיכולין להתפלל בכל לשון זולת ל׳ ארמי לפי שלהיותו מגונה לא נתנו לב להבין אותו ולהכירו ולעולם שאין מכירין אותו כלל ודע דאמרי׳ שיכולין להתפלל בכל לשון דוקא שיבינו אותו קצת ואפי׳ שהוא בלשון הקדש וכדאמרי׳ לקמן סי קצ״ג וכ״כ התו׳ ז״ל בריש ואלו נאמרין וכמו שכתבתי סימן ס״ב ס״א יע״ש:

… And the world is wondering why the women who have been used to praying in any vernacular and as they are obliged[38] to pray they ought to have prayed exclusively in Hebrew. And the Rosh of blessed memory commented on this but to me it does not seem difficult as this was answered

[37] This is an important precedent as at the beginning of the 17th century the first Sephardic Chakham (Chief Rabbi) Josef Pardo originally came to Amsterdam from Salonika, from where chazzan Joseph Gallego somewhat later directly arrived.

[38] This passage is unclear: either the author accepts women's prayer as obligatory (once a day) and is referring here to women praying in private, or the text is corrupted here and the word *not* is lacking. Although the first option seems preferable, such a corruption is not without precedent as is shown in a responsum of R. Tsevi Hirsh Ashkenazi after a notorious discussion on a sermon on Divine Providence by David Nieto in London. The responsum, which was repeatedly reprinted in Hebrew with a Spanish translation, exonerated Nieto by stating that his opinion was *not heretical*. In the collection of responsa Shut Chakham Tsevi, Warsaw 1861, responsum 18, the word *not* is lacking.

by R. Yehuda … In the Zohar and Sitrei Torah,[39] chapter Lekh lekha the explanation follows the Rosh but it does not follow from the Talmud … but the principle is like the Rosh, that one may pray in any language one chooses except for Aramaic … but know that when we say one can pray in any language only on the condition that one understands it a little, even in Hebrew as we write further on in paragraph 193, as Tosafot stated and as I wrote in paragraph 62, 1, see there.

Chidushei Hagahot, an 18th-century German commentary on the Tur by the brothers Joseph and Michael May, says:

מה שכתב כן רבינו בשם הריף ולא כתב כן בשם הגמרא דסוטה (לג.) דפריך ממתניתין דואלו נאמרין בכל לשון אדרב יהודה אמר רב דאמר לעולם אל ישאל אדם צרכיו בלשון ארמי ומשני דהא דרב יהודה אמר רב מיירי ביחיד ע״כ הרי להדיא דמחלק בין יחיד לציבור יש לומר בגמרא היה אפשר לפרש דלא אסרו ליחיד אלא בלשון ארמי וכמו שכתב רבינו בסמוך בשם הרא״ש אבל הרי״ף כתב דאף בשאר לשונות אסור ליחיד להתפלל רק בלשון הקודש לכן כתבו רבינו בשמו (מהרל״ח).

Why does the author here quote the Rif instead of the Gemara Sotah (33a)? Because one might infer from the difference between the formulation of the Gemara and the preceding Mishnah that R. Yehuda always forbids praying in another language for one's own needs, and that the use of Aramaic is always forbidden, but here it becomes clear that he differentiates between private and public prayer and that in the last case only the use of Aramaic is forbidden, but the Rif explains that any other language than Hebrew is forbidden in private prayer and that is the reason the author (Jacob ben Asher) quotes quotes him [i.e. R. Levi ibn Habib (c. 1483-1545)].[40]

R. Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (the Gaon) of Vilnius (1720-1797) asks[41] from where Tosafot derive the idea that the angels understand the thoughts of man and refers to the Zohar for the answer.

ותמהו על תוס׳ מנין להם שמכירין מחשבות שבלב ונראה שלמדו ממ״ש ג׳ דברים מזכירין כו׳ ועיון תפלה ועתוס׳ שם אבל בזוהר ח״א ק״א ב׳ לא ידעו בהאי עלמא אלא מה כו׳ ואע״ג דבגמ׳ ב״ת פ״ז א׳ אמרו יודעין היו כו׳ מ״מ אמת הוא אף להגמ׳ וכן לשון אין מכירין מ׳ אין מבינין ולכן לא אתמסר להון וז״ש אין נזקקין׃

… And [some authors] asked what was the source of Tosafot [on BT Shabbat 12b] that the ministering angels know the mind of man and apparently they derived this from what is written 'Three subjects are mentioned … including praying with concentration', see Tosafot ad loc. But in the *Zohar* I, 101b (on Ex. 35-38: 20) is said: 'they do not understand in this world, except for …' and so one should conclude that they [i.e. the angels] do not understand and for that reason they do not assist man.

Joseph ben Meir Teomim (1727–1792) in Peri Megadim (Mishbetsot Zahav) ad loc.:

... וי״א תפלת הציבו׳ אפילו שלא בזמן שהציבור ... אפילו ליחיד פונה הקב״ה בעצמו לא ע״י מליץ כשהיא תפלת הציבור משום דלא בזה את תפלתם. ... ולפי י״א שני י״ל דאין לחלק בין יחיד לציבור וארמי אף בציבור אסו׳ וז״א דתפלה נאמרת בכל לשון משמע אף ארמי וודאי דצריך לחלק בין יחיד לציבור אלא ביחיד גופא ארמי דווקא הא שאר לשונות שרי ומש״ה מתפללין הנשים בשאר לשונות וא״ש דאומרים יקום פורקן ובריך שמיה בציבור וכדומ׳ ועא״ר׃

What Taz (Turei Zahav) says… And there are some that hold that an individual who prays in a community at a time that the community is not saying the Amidah does need an advocate … [as

[39] Sitrei Torah is an anonymous collection of remarks on some portions of Genesis that were printed parallel to the Zohar texts.

[40] He was born in Zamorra, Spain, forcibly baptized and later became a rabbi in Jerusalem.

[41] On Shulchan Arukh, OH 101.

the Almighty does not neglect their prayer but it is my opinion that] the individual can apply to the Almighty personally, without an advocate when he stands with the community because it is then considered to be communal prayer and He [the Almighty] does not despise their prayer. … And according to the second opinion, that one needs not distinguish between individuals and the community and between Aramaic and other languages, one has to decide that such a distinction certainly has to be made in the case of someone who is praying on his own [i.e. not in the presence of a quorum] and Aramaic proper [i.e. excluding other languages], as we witness that women pray in other languages, and like one says e.g. Yekum Purkan[42] and Berikh Shemei[43] in public.

Ephraim Zalman Margolioth (also Margolis, 1762 – 1828) introduces a new view in his commentary Yad Ephraim[44] on Shulchan Arukh 101,4 commenting on Magen Avraham:

מג״א ס״ק ה׳. כ׳ בס׳ יו״ד מאמרות כצ״ל ומ״ש דמוטב להתפלל כו׳ מ״מ פשיטא שיוצה בל״ה קא ע״פ שאינו מבין כמבואר במג״א ס״ק נ״א ובסי׳ ס״ב ס״ק א׳ ושם מבואר ברמב״ם וש״ע שיזהר מדברי שיבוש שבאותו לשון וידקדק בו כמו בלה״ק כו׳ ולכן בזמנינו זה שאין מי שיודע בפתרון לה״ק על בוריו המיקל לעצמו לו׳ שיוצא בלשון לעז גוערין בו בנזיפה שלא יפרוש מדרכי צבור שנהגו בכל תפלות ישראל מאז מעולם לו׳ נוסח התפלה בלשון הקודש שיוצא אף שאינו מבין והבא לחוש למ״ש בס״ח בקל יוכל ללמוד פתרון הענין עכ״פ וכיון שמבין פתרון הענין הרי הוא יודע מה הוא מבקש ומתפלל ואע״פ שיהי קשה לו לקבל פתרון כל תיבה בפ״ע אין בכך כלום ואין לו לעזוב מקור מים חיים לחלוב לו בורות נשברים וגם כי אם לא ירצה להטריח עצמו אף בלימוד פתרון הענין הרי סיפוק בידו לעשות להתפלל עם הצבור בלש״הק אח״כ מי מעכב על ידו שמקרי התפלה אח״כ בלשון לעז ג״כ כדת שנוהגות להתפלל עם הצבור וחוזרים וקוראים לעצמם הפירוש המודפס בלשון לעז והארכתי בזה בתשובה בעזה״י. ומ״ש בשם ס״ח סי׳ תקפ״א ותשפ״ה כצ״ל:

Magen Avraham par. 5. … From his statement that it is preferable to pray [in a language that one understands] it is clear that one fulfils one's obligation when one prays in Hebrew, even when one does not understand it as is explained in Magen Avraham par. 51 and 62, 1 where it is explained on the basis of Maimonides and Shulchan Arukh that one should beware of corrupting the language and should be as careful as in Hebrew etc. As a consequence in our time when nobody even properly understands Hebrew, any man who makes it easier for himself by saying that one fulfils his obligation even in the vernacular needs to be severely censured to prevent him from distancing himself from the community as throughout the generations the Jews have always said the prayers in Hebrew and that one fulfils his obligation even without understanding. He who starts to search for the meaning of what is written in Sefer Hassidim will easily find the solution as in any case the supplicant knows what he is asking for in his prayer. Even if it is difficult for him to understand every word, that is not hindering his prayer. Therefore one should not leave the source of living water to try to drink from a broken well and even when one does not want to exhaust oneself by trying to study the meaning, one gets the satisfaction of praying with the community … and who will prevent him afterwards to repeat his prayer in the vernacular as was the practice to pray with the community and afterwards to read the printed explanation in the vernacular. On this with the help of the Almighty I have written extensively in a responsum. And the reference to Sefer Hassidim is to paragraphs 581 and 785.

The Chatam Sofer (Moses Sofer or Schreiber, 1762–1839) rose to become the most important leader of European Ashkenazi orthodoxy in his time. In his commentary on Shulchan Arukh OH 85, dealing with places that are not clean and for that reason are unfit for prayer, he comments:

[42] An Aramaic prayer for the welfare of the leaders of the Babylonian Academies. See Danzig, 2002.

[43] A chapter from the Zohar on Ex. 35-38: 20, which is said before the Torah Scroll is taken from the Ark for reading.

[44] First edition: Dubno, 1820.

ונראה לי דמשום הכי הנהיגו אבותינו את בניהם מבלי לספר בלה״ק ונשכח מאתנו לגמרי בעוה״ר משום שגלו לבבל שהיתה מלאה גילולים.

It seems to me that for this reason our forefathers accustomed their sons not to speak in Hebrew – and so we completely forgot Hebrew because of our many sins – because the Babylonian diaspora was full of graves. It was clearly as a reaction to the academic study of Judaism and Jewish history in his time that this author wanted to provide a religious reason for the fact that Aramaic had become the Jewish lingua franca during the Babylonian Exile.

Abraham David Wahrmann from Buczacz (1771-1840) in his supercommentary Eshel Avraham on R. Abraham Gombiner's Magen Avraham on Shulchan Arukh OH 101, 4 says:

בכל לשון, עמ״א דטוב יותר להתפלל בלשון שמבין ובציבור וודאי עדיף טפי ועסי׳ ס״ב במ״א אות א׳ וקצ״ג אות ב׳ דבלה״ק אע״פ שאין מבין יוצא כשאומר בעצמו ובשאר לשונות אם אין מבין א״י בק״ש ותפלה ובהמ״ז ומדכתב דמוט״ב משמע שיוצא בלה״ק כשאומר אע״פ שאין מבין ואי״ה בצ״ג וקצ״ט יבואר עוד: **וביחיד**. עמ״א ציבור היינו עשרה והא דאין הקב״ה מואס בתפלה של רבים אע״ג בעלמה רבים שנים כאן עשרה ועסי׳ צ׳ ס״ט.

In any language. On [the statement of] Magen Avraham that it is preferable to pray in a language that one understands [should be said that this is the case] especially when praying with the community, but cf. what Magen Avraham wrote in his commentary on the Shulchan Arukh OH 62, 1-2[45] that it is preferable to use Hebrew, even though one does not understand it, one nevertheless fulfils one's obligation when praying in private. The provision that one may pray in other languages when one does not understand [Hebrew] is restricted to the reading of the Shemah, prayer [i.e. Amidah AWR] and the blessing after meals. And when he says 'it is preferable' he wants to stress that one fulfils one's obligation when using Hebrew even without understanding and God willing this will be further explained in par. 93 and 199. **In private**. When Magen Avraham mentions 'community' he means ten people as the Almighty does not reject the prayer of many. Although normally 'many' means [at least] two, in this case it means ten. Cf. par. 90, 9.

Solomon ben Judah Aaron Kluger (1783–1869) (Hebrew: שלמה קלוגר) in his commentary Chokhmat Shelomo writes on Shulchan Arukh OH 101, 4:

סעיף ד׳ **יכול להתפלל בכל לשון** וכו׳. נ״ב הנה בש״ס נתן טעם שאין מלאכי השרת נזקקין ללשון ארמי והתוס׳ הקשו על זה וכו׳. ולפענ״ד נראה לפרש הכוונה ויובן נמי מ״ש כי אתה שומע תפלת כל פה מה רבותא הוי בזה לפניו ית׳ יש חילוק בין אדם לאדם. אך הכוונה דהנה הוא ית׳ חלק את האוה״ע לשבעים אומות וכן חלק לשבעים לשונות ולכך כמו דהאומה מלמטה מדבר בלשונה שנחלק לה ממנו ית׳ כן השר שלה מדבר כלשונה זה בכה וזה בכה וכשהשר בא לבקש רחמים מלפניו ית׳ על עמו מדבר נמי לפניו ית׳ כלשון האומה. ולכך אמר שומע תפלות כל פה כל שר ושר כלשונו והקב״ה שומעו. והנה לישראל נחלק לשון הקודש ולכך השר שלנו היינו מיכאל שר הגדול נמי אינו מדבר רק לשון הקודש וגם יתכן שהוא אינו יודע רק לשון הקודש ולכך היחיד אינו רשאי להתפלל רק בלשון שמדבר השר שלנו למעלה ולכך החיוב ליחיד להתפלל רק בלשון הקודש. ובפרת אם מתפללין בלשון אחר שלא נתייחד לנו זה גורם קטרוג שהשרים של מעלה כל אחד מדבר בלשונו שחלק לו הקב״ה ואנחנו נבקש בלשון אחר שלא נחלק לנו רק בציבור לא הוי קטרוג דיש לומר שאני השר דהוי רק יחיד ואנחנו הרבים ולא הוי קטרוג כל כך אבל היחיד אינו רשאי להתפלל בלשון אחר דהוי קטרוג מן השרים של מעלה שנתפלל בלשון שלא נחלק לנו. לכך תתפח רוחן ויקולל חלקם אשר תקנו התפלה בלשון אחר ימ״ש וזכרם ועלינו יערה רוח הבורא במחרה אמן כי״ר: (שם) בסעיף הנ״ל וי״א דאף יחיד כו׳. נ״ב הנה פלוגתתם תלוי בפירוש הגמרא בפ״ק דשבת מה דאמרינן דאין מה״ש נזקקין ללשון ארמי

[45] **בכל לשון**. דוקא כשמבין הלשון וה״ה בתפלה וב״ה אבל קידוש וברכת הפירות וברכת המצות והלל יוצא אפילו אינו מבין הלשון [תו׳ רפ״ז דסוטה] וע׳ מ״ש ר״ס קצ״ג.
In any language. Especially when one understands the language and that is the rule for the prayer and the Blessing after Meals but regarding the Kiddush [i.e. the blessing of Shabbat and Festivals], the berakhot over fruits and before the fulfilling of a precept and Hallel [i.e. Ps. 113-118 to be said at prescribed occasions] one even fulfils one's obligation without understanding the language [by saying them in Hebrew].

אם הכוונה דאין מבינים כלל הלשון או דמבינים רק שמגונה בעיניהם. ולדעתי דיעה זו דס״ל שמבינים הכל רק שמגונה בעיניהם תמוה מאד מן הש״ס דסוטי (דף ל״ג ע״א) דפריך שם ואין מה״ש מבינים בלשון ארמי והתניא יוחנן כה״ג שמע בת קול וכו׳ ובלשון הארמי היה אומר ומשני שאני בת קול דלאשמועי עבידא ואבע״א גבריאל הוי דאמר מר בא גבריאל ולמדו שבעים לשון. וקשה טובא בשלמא להסוברים שאין יודעים כלל הלשון שפיר משני דגבריאל הוי והוא מבין הכל וראיה דהרי אמר מר בא גבריאל ולמדו שבעים לשון מוכח דמכיר הכל. אבל להך לישנא דמכירין הכל רק שמגונה בעיניהם א״כ בע״כ מה הפריך מברייתא דבלשון ארמי היה אומר היינו כיון שמגונה בעיניהם לא הו״ל לומר בלשון זה וא״כ מה דמשני שאני בת קול דלעשמועי עבידי היינו ניהו דהוה מגונה בעיניהם מ״מ היכי דהוה הכרח כגון שצריך להשמיע מוכרח לספר בלשון ארמי א״כ מה קאמר אח״כ אבע״א גבריאל הוה דאמר מר בא גבריא׳. ולמדו שבעים לשון דלפי דיעה זו מוכרח לפרש דמשני דגבריאל איו לשון ארמי מגונה בעיניו וא״כ מה ראיה מייתי מהא דבא גבריאל ולמדו שבעים לשון הרי שם הוי הכרח לכך לצורך יוסף ומה ראיה להיכי דלא הוי הכרח להם שלא יהיה מגונה בעיניהם דהרי שם בע״כ היי הכרח לכך דאל״כ למה לא למדו עד הנה גם לא עביד הקב״ה ניסא לשקרא ובע״כ דהוי צורך שעה בכך א״כ מה ראיה זה לבעלמא. ולכאורה מוכח מזה בע״כ כהסוברים דאין מכירין כלל הלשון והסוברים שמכירין אלא שמגונה בעיניהם י״ל דהם מפרשים הסוגיא דזה הוי תירוץ אחד ממש דכוונתו כך דאבע״א שאני בת קול דלאשמועי עבידי והיכי דהוי הכרח לכך אינה מגונה בעיניהם ואת״ל דאף היכי דהוי הכרח לכך נמי מגוני בעיניהם אז מוכרח לומר דגבריאל הוי שאינו שנוי בעיניו דהרי אמר מר בא גבריאל ולמדו שבעים לשון וא״כ ממ״ג עכ״פ חזינן גבריאל סיפר בלשון ארמי וא״כ אם נימא דלכך סיפר מכח דהוי צורך שעה א״כ נשאר התירוץ הראשון שאני בת קול דלאשמועי עבידי ואם נימא דאף היכי דהוי צורך שעה מאוס בעיניהן א״כ שוב מוכרח דלגבריאל אינו מאוס וא״ש ממנ״ג כנלפענ״ד נכון ודו״ק היטב׃

Paragraph 4, one may pray in any language etc. In addition [I say that] the reason given in the Talmud is that the angels do not respond to the Aramaic language and Tosafot object to this etc. According to my humble opinion one should explain their intention which is also understood from the saying: 'You answer to every prayer one utters' and what would be more for Him, praised be He? There are differences between all humans, but the intention is that the Almighty divided the peoples of the world in 70 groups with, accordingly, 70 languages; hence when a people speak in the language that it is given by Him, praised be He, in that case the most important angel that is appointed to them will further their prayer in their language and as the angel approaches Him asks for mercy. When the foremost angel comes to ask the Almighty to have mercy on His own people he too speaks before the Almighty in their national language. That is the reason it is stated 'He answers everyone's prayer', referring to every leading angel who speaks the language that is appointed to him and is answered by the Almighty. The Jewish people received Hebrew as their national language, so our special angel, i.e. Michael, the greatest of those angels only speaks Hebrew and so it is obvious that he only understands Hebrew. Hence an individual is not allowed to pray in another language but only in the language spoken by our appointed angel and so the individual is exclusively allowed to pray in Hebrew. And especially when we pray in another language than is appointed to us it will work adversely as each of the heavenly princes [i.e. the angels] speaks the language appointed to him by the Almighty and so if it happens we should pray in another language than is appointed to us, only for the communal prayer it will not turn into an reproach. There is a difference as the angel only serves the individual but when there are many of us it does not turn completely into an accusation, but the individual is not allowed to pray in another language as it would result in an accusation on the part of the heavenly princes when we pray in a language that is not given to us. Hence may the breath shrivel and be cursed of those who arranged the prayers in another language, may their names and remembrances be extinguished and let the inspiration of the Creator soon enlighten us. … The author continues with an extensive novella on the question of the angels and their understanding of Aramaic or whether they consider it a language unsuitable for prayer.

R. Yisrael Meir Kagan (1838-1933) writes in Mishnah Berurah, Orach Haim 101, 4:

בכל לשון. ומצוה מן המובחר הוא דווקא בלשון הקודש ועיין בסימן ס״ב ס״ב ובמשנה ברורה שם מה שכתבנו בשם האחרונים בזה וגם עיין בתשובות ח״ס או״ח סי׳ פ״ד ופ״ו שהאריך בכמה ראיות דמה שהתירו להתפלל בכל לשון היינו דוקא באקראי אבל לקבוע בקביעה תמידיד ולהעמיד ש״ץ ולהשכיח לה״ק

לגמרי זה א״א בשום אופן עי״ש ועוד מחמת כמה וכמה טעמים נכוחים האריכו כל גאוני הזמן בספר דברי הברית והסכימו שאיסור גמור הוא לעשות כן ולאפוקי מכתות חדשות שנפרצו מחוץ למדינה בזה והעתיקו את כל נוסח התפלה ללשון העמים ועבירה גוררת עבירה שדלגו הברכה של קיבוץ גליות וברכת ולירושלים עירך וכשם שרוצים להשכיח זכרון ירושלים כן רוצים להשכיח לשה״ק מישראל פן יגאלו בזכות שלא שינו את לשונה הקב״ה ישמרנו מדיעות אפיקורסות כאלו ועיין בבה״ל: **שירצה**. והוא שיבין אותו הלשון על בוריו אבל בלשון הק׳ יוצא אפילו אינו מבין הלשון: **אלא בלה״ק.** לפי שאין מלאכי השרת נזקקין ללשון ארמית וה״ה שאר לשומות חוץ מלשה״ק אבל צבור א״ל מליץ שהקב״ה בעצמו מקבל תפלתם. **על חולה**. ר״ל שלא בפניו אבל בפניו של חולה מותר בכל לשון דהקב״ה מצוי שם (שבת י״ב ע״ב): **הקבועה**. דכיון שהתפילה קבועה לצבור הקב״ה בעצמו פונה אליה אפילו שלא בזמן שהצבור מתפללין: **דאף יחיד**. דס״ל דהמלאכים מכירין בכל לשון רק שאין נזקקין לארמית שמגונה בעיניהם. ומשו״ה מותרות הנשים להתפללות [!] בשאר לשונות: **ארמי**. ובצבור מותר אף לשון ארמי. ובזה אתי שפיר מה דאומרם יקום פורקן ובריך שמיה בצבור וכדומה. ולפ״ז אם מתפלל בביתו אין יכול לאמר שום יקום פורקן. וכן מוכח באור זרוע הגדול בהלכות שבת סי׳ נ׳:

In every language. But its ultimate fulfilment is especially in Hebrew, see paragraph 2, 2 and in Mishnah Berurah ad loc. what I wrote in the name of the Acharonim and see also the Responsa of the Chatam Sofer Orach Haim 84[46] and 86 who extensively discusses some arguments to allow prayer in any language, especially in isolated cases but not standard ones and to decree as an unbreakable rule to appoint a chazzan to prevent in any way possible the complete forgetting of Hebrew and because of some other reasons, all the leading authorities of our time extensively argued in the work Eleh Divrei ha-Berit[47] and agreed that it is absolutely forbidden to do so, to counteract the modern heretics who in this way breach the national borders and change all prayers into foreign languages and that transgression caused another one, vid. that they omitted the berakhot of the Return of the Exiles and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem; whoever wants to forget Jerusalem also wants to make the Jewish People forget the Holy Name and prevent them from being redeemed in reward of their not changing their language. May the Holy One preserve us from such heretical opinions and see also in [my] Biur Halakhah. **Of his choice**. As long as one completely understands that language but in Hebrew he always fulfils his obligation, even when one does not understand that language. **Only in Hebrew**. As the angels do not assist when using Aramaic and the same is the case for other languages, except for Hebrew[48] but as the community does not need an advocate because the Holy One, blessed be He, personally accepts their prayer. **On behalf of a sick person**. Meaning not in his presence, but when a sick person is present one is allowed to pray in any language because the Almighty is present. **The prescribed prayer**. As the prayer was prescribed for the community the Almighty in person turns to him, even when it is not at the time which is fixed for community prayer. **Even an individual**. Although the ministering angels understand all languages, they do not respond to Aramaic as they consider that language to be blameworthy. Hence women are allowed to pray in other languages. **Aramaic**. In community prayer even Aramaic is allowed, meaning that [Aramaic] prayers like Yekum Purkan[49] and Berikh Shemei[50] are said by the community. So when one prays at home one is not allowed to say Yekum Purkan as is argued by the great Or Zarua[51] in the Laws of Shabbat, par. 50.

[46] This paragraph of the Shulchan Arukh deals with places that are not clean and are as a result unfit for prayer.

[47] This was the first Orthodox response to the publication of the first complete Reform prayer book in Hamburg in the same year, see illustration 66, p. 219.

[48] See also p. 209, note 49.

[49] Two prayers for the leaders of the ancient Babylonian Academies which are said by Ashkenazim but not by Sephardim. See Danzig, 2002.

[50] A chapter from the Zohar on Ex. 35-38: 20, which was introduced in Sephardi and Ashkenazi prayer preceding the reading of the Torah. It was never introduced in the official Amsterdam Jewish liturgical practice.

[51] By the German scholar R. Isaac ben Moses of Vienna (c. 1180 - c. 1250).

Biur Halakhah by the same author ibid:

יכול להתפלל בכל וכו׳. עיין במ״ב וכתב במ״א בשם הס״ח דמוטב להתפלל בלשון שמבין אם אינו מבין בלה״ק ומוכח בס״ח סימן תקפ״ח דהיינו דוקא אם הוא י״ש ורצונו בזה הוא רק כדי שיתפלל בכונה אבל אם אינו בכי האי גוונא יתפלל בלה״ק והטעם כי לה״ק יש לו סגולות רבות מכל לשונות והוא הלשון שהקב״ה מדבר בו עם נביאיו כמו שכתב הרמב״ן בפ׳ תשא אוחז״ל אמרו בלה״ק נברא העולם כדכתיב לזאת יקרא אשה כי מאיש לוקחה זאת וגם כשתקנו כנה״ג את נוסח התפלה היו ק״ך זקנים ומהם כמה נביאים והמה נימנו על כל ברכה בתיבותיה ובצירופי אותיותיה בכמה סודות נעלמות ונשגבות וכשאנו אומרין דברים אלו כלשונה של כנה״ג אף שאין אנו יודעין לכוין מ״מ עלתה לנו תפלתינו כהוגן כי התיבות בעצמן פועלין קדושתן למעלה משא״כ כשמתפללין בלע״ז :

One can pray in any … see Mishnah Berurah and Magen Avraham quoted Sefer Hassidim that it is preferable to pray in a language that one understands when one does not understand Hebrew but in Sefer Hassidim paragraph 588 it is proven that it is preferable only when one is pious and one wants only to pray with the right intention, otherwise one should pray in Hebrew because Hebrew has segullot[52] which other languages lack, as it is the language spoken by the Almighty with His prophets, like Nachmanides wrote on chapter Ki tissa (Exodus 30-34) and the Sages said that the world was created in Hebrew as is written: 'This one shall be called *ishah* (woman), for from *ish* (man) was she taken' (Gen. 2: 23) and when the Men of the Great Assembly decided on the wording of the prayer, there were 120 Elders, some of them prophets; they counted syllables and characters[53] according to now lost but important hidden[54] reasons. When we now utter these words as ordained by the Men of the Great Assembly, even without being able to give them the right intention, nevertheless our prayers will stand for us as intended as the syllables themselves transfer their holiness to heaven which is not the case when praying in another language.

CONCLUSION

Whereas the Mishnah in Sotah 7, 1 clearly states that one is allowed to pray in any language, as long as one understands the meaning of the words of the prayers, the discussion in the Talmud on the meaning of the objections of R. Yehuda to the use of Aramaic caused different opinions of subsequent decisors on the permissibility of praying in any other language than Hebrew. However, the majority of the opinions discussed by the authorities that are quoted above, do not concern the position of Hebrew in prayer, but rather the reason for R. Yehuda to disqualify Aramaic. Even those who follow R. Yehuda do so only with respect to the use of Aramaic in private prayer and stress its actual acceptance in communal prayers.

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[52] In Biblical Hebrew this term means treasure, whereas in the Talmud it means medicine. In later times it mostly came to denote special positive properties, especially in texts with a mystical or even folkloristic background. Sefer Chassidim was written by R. Judah ben Samuel of Regensburg (1150-1217), a seminal text for the development of German Chassidism, the ethical and mystical stream of medieval Ashkenazi Jewry in the Rhineland. The main exponents of this current were R. Judah the Chassid of Regensburg, his father Samuel the Chassid of Speyer and R. Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (the Rokeach).

[53] One could, for example, classify prayers according to the number of words they contain. In fact, it is a very similar numerological standpoint that characterized the work of many medieval liturgical commentators, particularly the school known as *Chasidei Ashkenaz*, a group of German mystics that flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By using the mathematical 'science' of 'gematria', whereby the numerical equivalent of the Hebrew consonants composing a word or prayer could be computed, and identically summed phrases were grouped together and then analyzed for their hidden message. Clearly, the relevant field of meaning here is far removed even from such an obvious textual characteristic as lexical proximity; in this scheme, prayer texts belong together because they add up to the same sum, and the relevant field of outside data is a system of signification in which not history or even literary style, but numeration is paramount.' Hoffman, 1989, p. 77. See also Dan, 1968; Langer, 1998, pp. 38 and 87-89; Sperber, 2010, pp. 143-160, Appendix I.

[54] I.e. mystical.

The halakhic rejection of the use of any language other than Hebrew in prayer starts with the Ashkenazi decisors at the beginning of the 19th century, a time when German-speaking Maskilim not only reformed the synagogue service and the Jewish prayer book, but also started replacing Hebrew with the vernacular in an attempt to adapt to the surrounding non-Jewish world. As no recent Sephardi authorities are included in the standard editions of the Shulchan Arukh, a separate, dedicated research into Sephardi responsa and commentaries is called for to complete the survey of their opinions on the subject during the last two centuries.

APPENDIX 4
THE VOCALISATION OF BIBLICAL TEXTS IN THE PRAYERS

The 19th-century Ashkenazi prayer book *Aresjet Sefatajim* as it is called on the title-page, has by its many editions become the most common version to be used in the Netherlands and is popularly interpreted as representing long-standing Dutch prayer book tradition. One of its distinctive features for academic students of Hebrew grammar is a vocalisation of biblical verses in prayer texts which differs from that to be found in the commonly used versions of the Hebrew Bible. The Sephardi Tefilat kol Pe prayer book, also of 19th century origin, also contains some similar features. Jewish teaching of Hebrew in the Netherlands[1] has for many decades made use of the grammar by Ph. De Vries, presenting the same particulars, strengthening the idea that this vocalisation is authoritative. My survey of the developments in Dutch Jewish prayer books since Early Modernity would be incomplete without discussing a few peculiarities caused by the constantly changing theories on Hebrew grammar. These remarks may be useful for further research on this phenomenon. Since the middle of the 19th century, editors of Jewish prayer books in the Netherlands were deeply influenced by Haskalah and by the ideas of the Wissenschaft des Judentums on Hebrew grammar,[2] as appears in the vocalisation of the biblical texts in these prayer books. Jewish prayer is full of biblical verses and references to biblical texts, and editors of prayer books as well as researchers throughout the ages have busied themselves emending and 'correcting' texts. Their emendations and corrections mainly concerned the vocalisation of biblical verses outside the Pentateuch.

Like the other Semitic languages, Hebrew is written in consonants. Between the seventh and tenth centuries CE, a class of linguists known as Masoretes were active. *Masorah* means *tradition* and the diversity of traditions is reflected in the various Masoretic systems. The expansion of the Jewish diaspora explains the divergence in the pronunciation of Hebrew, which in itself is a common linguistic development. Masoretes in East and West[3] tried to develop systems to record the pronunciation of biblical texts as they witnessed it in the places where they lived.[4] Their efforts gave rise to various systems of vocalisation which all strove to be exclusively accepted throughout the Jewish world. In the end, a system developed by the Ben Asher and the Ben Naphtali families in Tiberias gained supremacy. This system was a complex one: not only did it provide the actual vocalisation of the text as accepted in local tradition, but it also intended to visualize the rules of Hebrew grammar as they had been formulated at the time (more on this in the next paragraph). It is clear that the system was totally inadequate to indicate variant pronunciation, regardless of the fact that it may not always be the case that pronunciation follows grammatical rules. The differences between traditions of pronunciation exist until today, but the question remains whether there exists a canonical vocalisation of the Bible, which is the case for the consonant-text. Masorah study is an independent field of research.

The first dated biblical text to have been printed was the Book of Psalms, which was printed in Italy in 1477. Up to 1501, 38 printed editions of complete Hebrew Bibles or various parts of the Bible, sometimes unvocalised, are known. It was Daniel Bomberg who with his Biblia Magna Rabbinica, printed in Venice in 1517, set the standard for a generally accepted text of the Hebrew Bible. As was usual in Renaissance publishing since Aldus Manutius, Bomberg's edition was

[1] On Jewish education and the standards for Jewish teachers in the 19th and early 20th century, see Wallet, 2015.
[2] See a.o. M. Lehmans, Amarah Tserufa, Amsterdam, 1808 and the anonymous broadsheet rejection *Divrei Mesharim* of the same year.
[3] Kahle, 1913. Kahle, 1927.
[4] The Masoretes also noted many traditions to secure the precise and loving tradition of the canonical text, as well as some emendations that had become generally accepted in Jewish circles. Likewise, they counted verses, words, and even characters, etc.

based upon manuscripts that had been approved by learned Jews. The German immigrant Israel Cornelio Adelkind was responsible for Bomberg's Hebrew publications, including his first edition of the Sephardic prayer book in 1519, of which only one copy is known, held by Leiden University Library. Evidently Adelkind followed in his biblical quotations the Bible editions of Bomberg, the second of which, printed in 1524-1525, for the first time contained the Masorah, and for centuries became the standard text of the Hebrew Bible. Comparing the text and vocalisation of complete Bibles and prayer books by Amsterdam Jewish publishers like Menasseh ben Israel, Joseph Athias or Moses Frankfort[5] is beyond the parameters of my research and deserves special study. In this appendix I want to refer only to developments in the theories and purpose of the Hebrew grammars since the 19th century, a time which saw the rise of academic philological studies which would ultimately lead to critical editions of the Bible. [6] It has to be recognised that, for as long as printed Jewish prayer books have existed, rabbinic criticism on real or supposed corruptions in the text of printed prayer books, especially the biblical quotations, frequently occurred.[7] Not all criticism, however, reflects a specialist knowledge of Hebrew grammar and for that reason other editors often retained the accepted, though now contested readings.

This situation to some extent changed in the second half of the 19th century, when the vocalisation of biblical quotations in prayer, except those from the Pentateuch, became the focus of research for a number of Maskilim editors.[8] Changes in adaptation were caused by the personal theories of the editors and were unrelated to local custom,[9] nor do independent Ashkenazi and Sephardi vocalisations exist, as has been recently supposed by some Amsterdam Portuguese Jews.[10] Philologers in the era of the Wissenschaft des Judentums, like their non-Jewish counterparts, were deeply involved with grammar. Early Hebrew grammar was rooted in Arabic linguistic theory which in turn had been influenced by Aristotelian theories. Neo-Latin grammatical and rhetorical theory since the Renaissance was based on the works of Cicero and Quintilian. As Latin was the lingua franca of the world of learning, Hebrew grammar was of necessity discussed in that language and studied according to the rules of Ciceronian grammar, although in fact they are unsuitable for a Semitic language. In the 19th century, grammarians tried to reconstruct the historical development of a certain grammatical issue as encountered in texts, which resulted in the tradition of historical grammars. Daggers, asterisks and other symbols were used to describe earlier presumed or reconstructed evolutions. Jewish education in the Netherlands at the time was the product of both national educational law and Haskalah. In the past, rabbis like Isaac Uziel, Menasseh ben Israel and Jacob Sasportas had written their own tutorial grammars, [11] but now printed and up-to-date grammars needed to be compiled for use in the schools. These grammars tended to become prescriptive, setting a standard for the correct application of the rules as prescribed by academics. A pertinent example of such rules, 'correcting' supposed mistakes in the vocalisation of e.g. the Psalms, is provided by German grammarians like Wilhelm Gesenius and Hermann Leberecht Strack, who applied comparative

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5 Also called Frankfurter. His Sefer Chaim la-Nefesh and the underlying ideas on death and burial remained important until our time, but belong to other research.

6 On grammar and (supposed) printing errors causing changes to prayer texts see Sperber, 2010 pp. 79 ff.

7 See e.g. Sperber, 2010, p. 72-92 and passim.

8 Already in the 18th century such discussions raged between Ashkenazi rabbinic leaders and linguistic purists on the nature of liturgical Hebrew, see Cohen, 1999.

9 Sometimes an editor holds an opposite opinion, as is illustrated in the Chumash and Siddur Ish Matzliach, Benei Berak 2000, third edition 2008, which explains part of the criticism they evoked, see Kovets li-Gedor Perets and le-Choshvei Shemo.

10 Except for the earlier mentioned variants the *gefen* – *gafen* or Chei – Chai and the absence of *pausa* vocalisation in Sephardi prayer (p. 10, note 87; see also p. 187 note 1).

11 Menasseh ben Israel, Safah Berurah; Isaac Aboab, Melekhet hadikduk. Manuscript copies of both grammars are kept in the Ets Haim Library. Isaac Uziel's Ma'ane lashon was printed by Menasseh in Amsterdam in 1627.

Semitic linguistics to Hebrew grammar. They decided that Hebrew verbs that have identical consonants as the middle and final element of the radicals (the verbs ע״ע) follow non-regularly vocalised conjugation. They therefore replaced e.g. the Masoretic *Hallelu* with the 'corrected' reading *Hallalu*.

As prayer book editors like Gabriel Polak, Lion Wagenaar and Joel Vredenburg based themselves on contemporary academic standards, they followed the Gesenius/Strack paradigm and vocalised the verbs ע״ע in their prayer books as a non-regular conjugation, e.g. *Hallalu*, contrary to the editions of their predecessors and the accepted Bible text. In 1931 rabbi Simon Philip de Vries published a printed Hebrew grammar and workbook[12] that came to be widely used in Dutch Jewish education. His grammar, which carefully adhered to the paradigm set by Gesenius and Strack, though uncorroborated by manuscript evidence, was followed in the Dutch prayer books that were commonly used. Later, Jewish pupils came to regard this grammar as the typical exponent of the traditional Dutch Jewish teaching of Hebrew. Modern grammarians have revoked many such earlier changes and advocate a purely descriptive method, describing the written language as represented in the text. This trend emerged already more than a century ago with the start of the publication of critical editions of the Bible text and the Masorah.[13] Now this class of verbs is considered to have a regular conjugation and the reading *Hallelu* as it occurs in both early codices[14] and in earlier prayer books, editions by Samuel Israel Mulder included, is no longer contended.

Another point of grammatical discussion relates to Masoretic symbols in the text, not only of biblical texts but of the prayer texts as a whole. The symbols are known as *maqaf* and *meteg*, the former a hyphen positioned at the top between two words. The meteg marks the position of the stress in a word. Both symbols are absent in the prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands before the 19th century. Early Bible manuscripts are far from uniform in their use,[15] and once again we see that they were introduced in Dutch prayer books, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, through 19th-century prescriptive grammar. In this context an interesting 19th-century symbol has to be mentioned as an example of confusing cause and effect: the combination of meteg and shvah which according to a long-standing Sephardi tradition should be pronounced as *a*. The meteg was for a long time excluded from prayer books, and its combination with the shvah in late 19th-century prayer books deserves to be the subject of separate study. Current Amsterdam Serphardi lore calls this combination *ga'ya* and considers it to be a time-honoured feature.[16] Local or regional pronunciation that deviates from the accepted written vocalisation is sometimes well documented,[17] but in this case it may be the result of the adaptation of pronunciation to grammatical theories.[18] This suspicion, to be verified in other places, is

[12] De Vries, 1931, 2 vols.

[13] Initially the authoritative source for such edition was the so-called Codex Leningradensis (St. Petersburg), a copy following the Ben Asher tradition and written in Cairo, 1008/9. After 1970 the Codex Aleppo or Keter Aram Tzova, written in the Ben Asher School in Tiberias in 920, became, although incomplete, the authoritative text, especially in the Jewish world.

[14] The Masoretes, however, were not always consistent, cf. e.g. Ex. 15: 10 reading *tsalalu* instead of the 'correct' *tsalelu*.

[15] See e.g. Paul Kahle's introduction to the third edition of the Kittel Bible, Stuttgart, 1937.

[16] Pronounced *gangya*, see Pereira, 1994, p. 39.

[17] See e.g. Chumash Ish Matzliach, Benei Berak, 2000 passim.

[18] That 19th-century Amsterdam editors of prayer books tried to keep pace with new linguistic theory is clearly proven by statements by e.g. D.R. Montezinos in his preface to the second edition of the order of the prayers for the Festivals, Amsterdam, 1864: "… tevens hebben wij hier en daar de taal, die sedert dien tijd verschillende veranderingen heeft ondergaan, gewijzigd." (Translation: we have also here and there altered the language, which since that time [i.e. the time of the first edition by S.I. Mulder, Amsterdam, 1843] has undergone several changes). He expresses himself in even stronger terms in his preface to the 1876 edition of the prayers for Yom Kippur. See

strengthened by the misattribution of the term *ga'ya* to this combination, as it is the normal Sephardi equivalent of *meteg*.[19]

The inevitable conclusion must be that within the general continuity in the development of the Jewish prayer books published in the Northern Netherlands after the 17th century, there has been an awareness of changes in grammatical theories. It is good Jewish practice to cherish the text of the prayers the way one has learned them,[20] even when a certain reading contradicts contemporary, and always temporary, grammatical conventions, but the service of the heart deserves a text that enables understanding even of those who are experts of contemporary linguistic theory.

also J. Lopes Cardozo in his preface to the Amsterdam 1884 edition of the Portuguese daily prayers. It should, however, be stressed that these editors did not change the vocalisation of *hallelu*.

[19] See Chumash Ish Matzliach, p. לג.

[20] In Talmudic terminology גרסתא דינקוטא.

PICTURE CREDITS

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CHECKLIST[1]

This list contains the most important elements that enable the non-specialist to distinguish between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi liturgical rites.

Bakashot. Generally indicate the Sephardi rite.
Kaddish (see p. 188f.).When the text contains both additions '*Weyatsmach purkanei wikarev Meshichei*' and '*Wesava wishua* …' the prayers follow the Sephardi rite.
Verses said when entering the synagogue (see p. 189). Only Ps. 5: 8 indicates the Sephardi rite. Numeri 24: 5 is not said by Ashkenazim exclusively.
Morning Psalms (pp. 190-192).When they are called *Zemirot*, the rite is Sephardi. When they are called *Pesukei de-Zimra* and are preceded by *Barukh she-amar*, the rite is Ashkenazi.
Or Chadash (p. 192). When the first berakhah preceding the Shemah ends with *Or Chadash*, the rite is Ashkenazi.
Kedushah (p. 193). In the morning the beginning *Nekadesh et shimcha* indicate the Ashkenazi rite, *Nakdishakh ve-na'aritsakh* is indicative for the Sephardi rite. In Musaf the Sephardim start with *Keter*.
Birkat ha-shanim (p. 193f.) A different, longer version to be said in the winter is indicative for the Sephardi rite, while in the Ashkenazi rite only a few words differ between summer and winter.
Aleinu at the end of the service (only treated on p. 205). When the text ends *Ein od* (Spanish *no mas*) the rite is Sephardi, when the text continues *Al ken*, the rite is Ashkenazi. In the Kedushah of Musaph on Yom Kippur, see p. 205.
Evening prayer on weekdays (p. 194). Absence of the so-called fifth Berakhah becomes typical for the Sephardi rite from the 18th century onwards.
Friday night. The full Kabbalat Shabbat (see p. 104) occurs exclusively in the Ashkenazi rite.
Piyyutim. For an introduction see chapter 14. On Shavuot Akdamut is only said by Ashkenazim, Azharot are restricted to the Sephardi rite.
Rubrics. Yiddish is used in Ashkenazi works only, whereas Romance languages can be used in Roman and Sephardi rite.

In all other cases consult a specialist.

[1] See p. 187 of this study.

SPECIMENS

SPECIMEN: STANDARD DESCRIPTION FOR DATABASE

TEMPLATE

1. Unique designator record number: 2904151038
2. Name collection and shelf number: Ros Ron A 5270-5271 (=Wolfenbüttel Le 5)
3. Uniform title: Prayers. Jewish. Year. 1612 Place: Amsterdam
4. Uniform subtitle: Daily Prayers
5. Number of volumes: 1 (photocopy bound in 2 vols.)
6. Rite: Sephardic
7. Material: Paper (photocopy of the Wolfenbüttel unique copy)
8. Size of book in cm: 16 cm
9. Measures text (incl. headers and footers): 155 x 83 mm
10. Number of lines 32
11. Number ff. or pp.: 223 (=224) fols. Foliation: (1), 2-153, 153-223.
12. Number of columns 1 (2)
13. Format: 8^{vo}
14. Collation formula: A-Z_8, Aa-Ee_8 (C_1 lacking), E_5 marked A_5
15. Custodes, signatures, running titles, foliation/pagination, (foot)notes: custodes on every page, signatures, running titles, foliation.
16. Illustrations: Large vignette on title; small typographical ornaments
17. Binding of copy described:
18. Provenance: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolffenbüttel
19. Serial title and vol. number: Sedur. Vol.1.
20. Title: Primera parte del sedur contiene las oraçiones de cada dia, de cada Sabath, y de cada mes. Y de los ajunos del Solo y congregaçion. Y de las fiestas de Hanucha I Purim, I de los diez dias de contriçion. Conmuchas cosas acreçentadas que en todo el año se suelen dezir.
21. Edition:
22. Place(s): Amsterdam
23. Responsibility: Stampada pro industria y despeza de *pu/fi* Yshac Franco.
24. Year Gregorian: (1612)
25. Year Jewish: 5372 a los 4 de Addar
26. Chronogram:
27. Language code: Sp
28. Bibliographical references: Offenberg
29. Colophon:
30. Approbations:
31. Privilege:
32. Introduction, preface: Al lector. Por que (devote lector) los que rezan en ladino partiçi pasen del provecho que gosan los que meldan en lengua santa: me puze a Impriir otra vez este sedur. Poniendole todas las mejores flores que estan en el Hebraicon para ue del las se hagua una ofrenda de olor reçebible al Altissimo criador detodo. Y si rezando por el encontrares con lgunos Capitulos que pareçen no server de Oraçiones sepas que los ordenaron nuestros sabios porque todo hombre es obligado a leer cada dia en quoatro partes de la Ley. Asaber micra, ghimara, misnah, y barietha, de do ellos los sacron a fin que lejendolos aqui por que todos no pueden todo saliesen de su obligaçion. Fallaras tambien en algunaas margenes (en la Synagoga) y (fasta aqui) que significa que lo que esta en medio no pueds dezir sino en casa de Oraçion con minham. El Señor se sirua de

acceptar las nuestras, en lugar de toros y baruezes, y que mediante este solo Sacrifiçio de alabança que tenemos nos venga junto el bien que deseamos Amen, Vale.

33. Remarks on contents: Does not follow the Ferrara 1552 editions.
34. Other copies (library, shelf number): only copy known
35. Relation to other editions: See Segunda and Tercera parte, published by the same publisher in the same year. No serial title.
36. Embellished capitals, drop caps, alignment, special lay out, e.g. poetry: Drop caps over 2 lines
37. Size of text, running titles, footers: text 10 pts., running titles 8 pts., footers 10 pts., headings of arious parts vary in size between 8-10 pts.
38. Spacing and parsing: No extra leading between most sections.
39. Special elements (rubrics, liturgical or halakhic instructions, notes, references):
40. vocalisation
41. Punctuation
42. Typographical irregularities (e.g.: "bite" of the form or stereotype): Technically poorly produced, low quality paper, irregular typography and lay out. Irregular inking of the form, often affecting the readability of the foliation, different font sizes in the foliation.
43. Other remarks: The book is of much lower quality than the [Amsterdam 1604] edition of Rosh ha Shana and Kipur.
44. Important elements: No Kedushah on Friday night (present in Ferrara editions)
45. Fingerprint (link to number of digital reproductions):
46. Date of finalizing description:
47. Sorter (definitive number in the bibliography):
48. Romanization Hebrew title:

TEMPLATE

Unique designator record number: 2004151529
Name collection and shelf number: EH 9H29
Uniform title: Prayers. Jewish. Year. 1612 Place: (Amsterdam)
Uniform subtitle: Festival prayers
Number of volumes: 1
Rite: S
Material: Paper
Size of book in cm: 17
Measures text (incl. headers and footers): 156 x 84 mm
Number of lines 32
Number ff. or pp.: 240 ff.
Number of columns 1
Format: 8^{vo}
Collation formula: A-Z_8, Aa-GG_8
Custodes, signatures, running titles, foliation/pagination, (foot)notes: Custodes on every page, gathering signatures 1-5, running titles, foliation 2-240
Illustrations: Large vignette on title (Phoenix)
Binding of copy described: 18th century red velvet (book block and binding restored by Ada Teitler and Cecilia … in 20..); book block cropped by 18th century binder
Provenance: David Montezinos
Serial title and vol. number: Sedur, vol. 2
Title: Segunda parte del sedur contiee las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, Sucoth, y da octao. Con todas las cosas que e nellas se suele dezir en Casa y en la ysnoga.
Edition:
Place(s): (Amsterdam)
Responsibility: Stampada por industria y despeza de *pu* / *fi* Yshac Franco a 4 de Adar ve Adar (= Adar 2)
Year Gregorian: (1612)
Year Jewish: 5372
Chronogram:
Language code: Sp
Bibliographical references: A.K. Offenberg, Exame, nr 7b.
Colophon:
Approbations:
Privilege:
Introduction, preface: Al Lector. El gusto de que todos supiesen rezar, lo que [e]n el Libro del año se Cantiee. Me hizo desmembrarlo y hazerlo en cuerpos. Poniendo eneste cada fiesta, hamidah y Musaph separada. Para mas des consotujo: honra y provecho del Kaal Kados de NEVE SALOM. Por que aun que el nombre digua mio. La Gloria es suja, y por su interes solo hize que homra y proveho cupiesen en unsaco y dos contrarios en vu subiecto. Sea todo para mas alabança del señor que las deficuldades façilita. El hagua que con cuerpo y alma que tan contrarios son le siruamos. Para que el terreno y celestial misticos delante su divina magestad se immortalizen, Amen. Vale.
Remarks on contents: Repetition of the Amidah in Arbit, including Kedushah. Complete Halleel is said both nights of Pesach with beracha before Arbit; Remark that portion of Hagada from Ps. 136 onwards is not obligatory (not in edition Bomberg). On other particularities, e.g. incorrect translations, see ms. Remarks of former owner David Montezinos on the fly leaf.

Relation to other editions: Note Offenberg's comment on the spurious identification of Yshac Franco as Franco de Medoça, publisher of the 1604 edition of the Prayers for Rosh Hashanah and Kipur.
Other copies:
Embellished capitals, drop caps, alignment, special lay out, e.g. poetry: Drop caps over 2 lines.
Size of text, running titles, footers: text, headings, signatures, custodes and rubrics: 9 pts; running titles: 8 pts.
Spacing and parsing: Regularly interlinear white between prayers, paragraphs otherwise indicated by indention.
Special elements (rubrics, liturgical or halakhic instructions, notes, references: headings and rubrics are printed in the same font ad size as the text.
Vocalisation:
Punctuation
Typographical irregularities (e.g.: "bite" of the form or stereotype): Layout and inking lack quality causing difficulties in the correct interpretation of the foliation.
Other remarks: As has to be considered proper, no *beracha me'ein sheva* after the repetition of Arbit (as it contains the Kedushah) on Shavuoth and Succoth.
Important elements:
Fingerprint (link to number of digital reproductions):
Date of finalizing description:
Sorter (definitive number in the bibliography):
Romanization Hebrew title:

TEMPLATE

Unique designator record number: 110520151446
Name collection and shelf number: Ros. ROK A 1361
Uniform title: Prayers. Jewish. Year. 1612 Place: Amsterdam
Uniform subtitle: High Holidays
Number of volumes: 1
Rite: Sef.
Material: Paper
Measures text (incl. headers and footers): 158 x 84 mm.
Number of lines 32
Number ff. or pp.: 244 ff. (final gathering signed1-4, possible 4 final blank ff. lacking).
Foliation: (1), 1-224, 221, 226, 223, 228, 225, 230, 227, 232-244.
Number of columns 1
Format: 8^{vo}
Collation formula: A-Z_8, Aa-Gg_8, Hh_4. In this copy Hh is bound as a gathering but the gutter has been mounted on stubs; it is impossible to establish whether they are conjugates.
Custodes, signatures, running titles, foliation/pagination, (foot)notes: Custodes, signatures, running titles and foliation.
Illustrations: Large vignette on title, small vine leaf vignets passim (some replacing ¶ sign in 1604 edition.
Binding of copy described: Modern red morocco, richly gilt.
Provenance: Ros. 20D25, 1895F4
Serial title and vol. number: Sedur. Vol. 3
Title: Tercera parte del sedur contiene las thephiloth de Roshasanah y Kipur, con los diez dias de contricion, y el Selicoth que se dize quarenta dias antes del Kipur, en las madrugadas: y el Keter malcuth con todas las Bakasoth nuevas y Viejas.
Edition:
Place(s): (Amsterdam)
Responsibility: Por mandado de Isah Franco a 1e de Siuan 5372
Year Gregorian: (1612)
Year Jewish: 5372
Chronogram:
Language code: Sp.
Bibliographical references: Offenberg
Colophon:
Approbations:
Privilege:
Introduction, preface: Roshasanah y Kipur. Mostly identical with the Amsterdam 1604 edition, except for the mark ¶
Remarks on contents: Most of the text is identical with the 1604 edition, except for a number of *Pizmonim* and *Bakasoth* for Kipur which are excluded in this edition and a prayer at the end the last 2 lines of text on f 98v, last line f. 169v, 172v, 181v, 183r, 199v, 201r+v, 123v, ff. 206-211, 214r, 217v and from f. 341v till the end..
Other copies (library, shelf number):
Relation to other editions: As this part was composed after the 1604 edition, much care was taken to give the impression of being an exact copy; for that purpose it has clearly a different typesetting and lay out from the first and second part that are part of the series.
Embellished capitals, drop caps, alignment, special lay out, e.g. poetry: Drop caps over 2 lines.

Size of text, running titles, footers: text 10 pt, running titles and captions 9 pt Italics, footers 10 pt.
Spacing and parsing: leading between many sections, unlike pts. 1-2, more like 1604 edition.
Special elements (rubrics, liturgical or halakhic instructions, notes, references): Because of the use of Italics, many rubrics are clearer than vols. 1-2;
vocalisation
Punctuation
Typographical irregularities (e.g.: "bite" of the form or stereotype): Unlike the 1604 edition, this printer does not use accents on vowels.
Other remarks: The use of different fonts (e.g. M lacks swash) is an additional argument against identifying of Isah Franco with Franco de Mendoça, the publisher of the 1604 edition.
Important elements:
Fingerprint (link to number of digital reproductions):
Date of finalizing description:
Sorter (definitive number in the bibliography):
Romanization Hebrew title:

SPECIMEN: EXCEL SHEET FOR COMPARING THE CONTENTS
Comprehensive prayers

CONTENTS	**CONTENTS**	Leiden	NLI incomplete	**20E39**	**2G37**	**27F52**	**6H4**
Vernacular	**Hebrew**	1519	1524	**1544**	**Anno 1552**	**1656**	**1692**
Title page	**Title page**	x		x	x	x	x
Tabla de las cosas	**Inhoud**			a	x		
Corona de reyno	כתר מלכות	x	x	x	x		
Al pio lector						x	
Bakasot	**בקשות**						
A Ti mi Dio mi desseo	לך אלי תשוקתי	x	x	x	x		
Todos criados de arriba	כל ברואי מעלהה	x	x	x	x	x	x
Señor del mundo qe reyno	עדון עולם	x	x	x	x	x	x
Oye mi boz	שמע קולי אשר אשמע	x	x	x	x		
Sea engrandescido el Dio biuo	יגדל אלהים חי					x	x
A Levanteme a loar	קמתי להלל לשם האל	x	x	x	x		
Mi Dio no me juzgues	אלהי אל תדינני כמעלי	x	x	x	x		
Si se atemo yazia del nido	אם אפס רובע תקן אוהל	x	x	x	x		
.A. a tu encuento	ד׳ נגדך כל תאותי ואם לא אעלנה על שפתי	x	x	x	x		
El fazien apartar entre santidada	המבדיל בין קדש לחול	x	x	x	x		
Hia amada	בת אהובת אל קמה בשחר	x	x	x	x		
Ps. 130 De profundinas	שיר המעלות ממעמקים קראתיך	x		x	x		
Encoruarmee fazes a tierra	אשתחוה אפים ארצה	x		x	x		
.A. dia (que) a ti ordenare	ד׳ יום לך אערך תחנה שעה קולי	x	x	x	x		
A ti .A. llamare e camparo	אליך ד׳ אקרא שגב לעתות בצרה	x	x	x	x		
Instruction				v	v		
Iuez de toda la tierra	שופט כל הארץ	x	x	x	x		
Por la mañana te buscare	שחר אבקשך	x		x	x		
Apresuree y no me detardee	חשתי ולא התמהמהתי	x		x	x		

Fin de las Bakasot del Sidur	**בכאן נשלמו כל הבקשות**			v	v		
Bakasoth acrescentadas	**Bakasoth acrescentadas**						
En angustia a mi llamare	בצר לי אקרא				x		
Dio fuerçade mi loor	אלוהי עוז תהילתי				x		
Mi alma en la noche	נפשי בלילה				x		
Sobre mi yazida	על משכבי				x		
Quando guardare sabath	כי אשמרה שבת				x	x	x
Sea engrandescido el Dio biuo	יגדל אלהים חי						
Pizmon apresuree y no me detardee	חשתי ולא התמהמהתי						
A Levanteme à loar	קמתי להלל לשם האל					x	x
A Presuré y no me detardé	חשתי ולא התמהמהתי					x	
Mi alma en la noche	נפשי בלילה					x	
Orden de Oraciones	**סדור תפלות**						
Quanto sea bonigara	מה טובו						x
Yyo con muchedumbre de tu merced	ואני ברוב חסדחה	x		x	x	x	x
Quanto sea bonigara	מה טובו						
Y quando saliere: Humillarmee a palacio	אשתחוה אל היכל קדשך						x
.A. guiame	ד׳ נחני בצדקתך						x
Sobre limpieza de manos	נטילת ידיים	x		x	x	x	x
Que formo	אשר יצר האדם	x		x	x	x	x
Mi Dio alma que diste	אלהי נשמה	x		x	x	x	x
el dan al gallo	הנותן לשכוי בינה	x		x	x	x	x
abrien ciegos	פוקח עורים	x		x	x	x	x
fazien vestir desnudos	מלביש ערומים				x	x	x
soltan encarcelados	מתיר אשורים	x		x	x	x	x
fazien vestir desnudos	מלביש ערומים	x					
enfestan oprimidos	זוקף כפופים	x		x	x	x	x
espandien la tierra sobre las aguas	רוקע הארץ	x	x	x	x	x	x
el fazien componer passadas del varon	המכין מצעדי גבר	x	x	x	x	x	x
que fazo a mi todos mis necessidades	שעשה לי כל צרכי	x	x	x	x	x	x

el dan al lasso fuerça	הנותן ליעף כח	x	x	x	x	x	
ciñien a ysrael con barragania	אוזר ישראל בגבורה	x	x	x	x	x	x
encoronan a ysrael con gloria	עוטר ישראל בתפארה	x	x	x	x	x	x
gentio	שלא עשני גוי	x	x	x	x	x	x
siervo	שלא עשני עבד	x	x	x	x	x	x
muger	שלא עשני אשה	x	x	x	x	x	x
el fazien passar sueno de mis ojos	המעביר שנה מעיני	x	x	x	x	x	x
Y sea voluntad	ויהי רצון	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sea voluntad + birkot haTorah	יהי רצון ... שתצילנו	x	x	x	x	x	x
Y faz asaborar	והערב-נא	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bendicho … que escogio en nos mas	אשר בחר בנו	x	x	x	x	x	x

Missing in the copy seen.

SPECIMEN: EXCEL SHEET FOR COMPARING THE CONTENTS

Daily prayers

CONTENTS	**CONTENTS**								
Vernacular	**Hebrew**	**Ven 1524**	**Ven 1544**	**Ven 1552**	**Mes 1552**	**Mes 1555**	**1584**	**Asd 1612**	**Asd 1618**
Title page	**Title page**	x	x	x	x		x		x
Tabla de las cosas	**Contents**			x					
Oraciones Añadidas en esta ultima Impression									
Character set				x					
Corona de reyno	כתר מלכות	x	x						
Al lector							x		
Bakasot	**בקשות**								
En keloénu en Hebraico	אין כאלהינו								
Ki esmera Sabath en Hebraico	כי אשמרה שבת								
La Semah en Hebraico									
Mismor Sir leyom à Sabath en Hebraico									
.A. Malx geút labes									
A Ti mi Dio mi desseo	לך אלי תשוקתי								
Todos criados de arriba	כל ברואי מעלהה	x	x	x	x		x		x
Typographical title				x					
Señor del mundo qe reyno	עדון עולם				x		x		x
Oye mi boz	שמע קולי אשר אשמע								
Hodu lael kirhu bismo	הודו לאל קראו בשמו								
Jehorer pi leodot el	יאורר פי להודות								
Sea engrandescido el Dio biuo	יגדל אלהים חי	x	x		x				x
A Levanteme a loar	קמתי להלל לשם האל	x	x		x				
	אברך את שם די הנעלם מכל-נמצא								
Quando guardare sabath	כי אשמרה שבת	x	x		x		x		x
A Levanteme a loar	קמתי להלל לשם האל		x				x		x
Bakasah nueva: Si nuestro Dio de los males							x		

No se acabe en tanta desuentura				x
Apresuree y nome detardee	חשתי ולא התמהמהתי	x	x	
Mi Dio no me juzgues	אלהי אל תדיינני כמעלי			
Si se atemo yaziadel nido	אם אפס רובע תקן אוהל			
	ד׳ נגדך כל תאותי ואם לא אעלנה על			
.A. a tu encuento	שפתי			
El fazien apartar entre santidada	המבדיל בין קדש לחול			
Hia amada	בת אהובת אל קמה בשחר			
Ps. 130 De profundinas	שיר המעלות ממעמקים קראתיך			
Encoruarmee fazes a tierra	אשתחוה אפים ארצה			
.A. dia (que) a ti ordenare	ד׳ יום לך אערך תחנה שעה קולי			
A ti .A. llamare e camparo	אליך ד׳ אקרא שגב לעתות בצרה			
Reference to f. 32	*Reference*			
Iuez de toda la tierra	שופט כל הארץ			
Por la mañana te buscare	שחר אבקשך			
	שחר להודות לך קמתי			
Apresuree y nome detardee	חשתי ולא התמהמהתי			
Sea engrandescido el Dio biuo	יגדל אלהים חי			
Quando guardare sabath	כי אשמרה שבת			
	פרשז עלי מזיו שכינתך			
Oye mi boz	שמע קולי אשר אשמע			
	בכאן נשלמו כל הבקשות			
Bakasoth acrescentadas	**Bakasoth acrescentadas**			
En angustia a mi llamare	בצר לי אקרא			
Dio fuerçade mi loor	אלוהי עוז תהילתי			
Mi alma en la noche	נפשי בלילה			x
Ps. 28 A ti o .A. llamare fuerça mia	אליך ד׳ אקרא שגב לעתות בצרה			
Sobre mi yazida	על משכבי			
Sea engrandescido el Dio biuo	יגדל אלהים חי			
Pizmon apresuree y no me detardee	חשתי ולא התמהמהתי			
Syru le el nebonay *Shabbat and Rosh Hodesh*	שירו לאל נבוניי שירי רנני			x

Saaghr arrahhami leaghm bekh boteahh *Rosh Hodesh*	שער ארחמי לעם בך בותח יום זה לישראל						x
Fin de los Bakasoth						x	
Advertençias al Lector							x
Sobre limpieza de las manos	נטילת ידיים						
que formo al hombre	אשר יצר האדם						
Por la mannana							x
Orden de Oraciones	**סדור תפלות**						
El que entra en casa de la Oracion dirá					v	v	
Quanto sea bonigara	מה טובו					x	
Yyo con muchedumbre de tu merced	ואני ברוב חסדחה		x	x	x	x	
Y quando saliere dira						v	x
Humillarme e a palacio de su santidad	אשתחוה אל היכל קדשך					x	x
.A. guiame	ד׳ נחני בצדקתך					x	x
Sobre limpieza de manos	נטילת ידיים		x	x	x	x	x
Que formo	אשר יצר האדם		x	x	x	x	x
Orden de Tephilah cotidiana						x	
Orden de Thephila De Por mannana de Tahanit Gedalia							x
Mi Dio alma que diste	אלהי נשמה		x	x	x	x	x
el dan al gallo	הנותן לשכוי בינה		x	x	x	x	x
abrien ciegos	פוקח עורים		x	x	x	x	x
fazien vestir desnudos	מלביש ערומים				x	x	x
soltan encarcelados	מתיר אשורים		x	x	x	x	x
fazien vestir desnudos	מלביש ערומים			x			
enfestan oprimidos	זוקף כפופים		x	x	x	x	x
fazien vestir desnudos	מלביש ערומים						
espandien la tierra sobre las aguas	רוקע הארץ	x	x	x	x	x	x
el fazien componer passadas del varon	המכין מצעדי גבר	x	x	x	x	x	x

que fazo a mi todos mis necessidades	שעשה לי כל צרכי	x	x	x	x	x	x
el dan al lasso fuerça	הנותן ליעף כח	x	x	x	x	x	x
ciñien a ysrael con barragania	אוזר ישראל בגבורה	x	x	x	x	x	x
encoronan a ysrael con gloria	עוטר ישראל בתפארה	x	x	x	x	x	x
gentio	שלא עשני גוי	x	x	x	x	x	x
siervo	שלא עשני עבד	x	x	x	x	x	x
muger / como su voluntad	שלא עשני אשה	x	x	x	x	x	x
el fazien passar sueno de mis ojos	המעביר שנה מעיני	x	x	x	x	x	x
Y sea voluntad	ויהי רצון	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sea voluntad + birkot haTorah	יהי רצון ... שתצילנו	x	x	x	x	x	x
Y faz asaborar	והערב-נא	x	x	x	x	x	x
… que escogio	אשר בחר בנו	x		x	x	x	x
Y fablo	וידבר ... דבר אל אהרון	x	x	x	x	x	x

SUMMARY

The object of the present study is whether it is possible to identify the origin of the early editions of the printed Jewish prayer books that have been published in the Northern Netherlands[1] in the early modern period and concerns itself with their historical, cultural and literary context. Special attention is given to the question whether the growth of a specific Dutch-Jewish liturgical tradition can be discerned. This study is centred on the Jewish books containing obligatory prayers that were published in the Northern Netherlands in the period 1584-1700. The former is the year in which the first Jewish prayer book, containing obligatory prayers, was printed, even before Jewish settlement in this country had started. The year 1700 may be arbitrary, but is chosen as at the time Dutch Jewry had become more or less stabilized and their books had acquired international fame and attraction because the name Amsterdam had become a mark of quality for a free Jewish press.[2] Special attention is given to the political, social and cultural context of the immigrants of Jewish origin who arrived in the Northern Netherlands and what kind of reception they may have expected from their Christian neighbours. To better understand the origins of the Jewish prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands in Early Modernity a survey of the Jewish people and their prayers is provided in the first of the three parts in which the study is divided, starting in Antiquity. The second part discusses Jews and their prayer books in the Northern Netherlands, the third part analyses the treatment of the Jewish prayer book in bibliography, library practice and modern information practice.

According to common opinion, statutory formulaic Jewish prayer originated in the period that followed after the destruction, in 586 BCE, of the First Temple in Jerusalem that had been built by King Solomon. It is therefore reasonable to look for the influence of the Babylonian Exile, the subsequent development of a Jewish diaspora and the emergence of two centres of Jewish life and culture (in Israel and in Babylonia) on the development of statutory individual and communal Jewish prayer. Four subjects are discussed (chapter 1): the Jewish diaspora, the creation of the synagogue in the period of the Second Temple, the transition of religious leadership from the Priests to the Sages and the Sanhedrin, and the institution of fixed obligatory prayers. It is shown that already the earliest documents that have been preserved show that there were no single authoritative texts for obligatory Jewish prayer in this early period.

In Jewish history the medieval period (chapter 2) starts around 600 CE, after the final editing of the Babylonian Talmud, and ends around 1500, the beginning of Early Modernity. In this era two monotheistic religions, Christianity and Islam, dominated much of the world as it was known at the time in the West, Europe, North Africa and Western Asia. As both diasporas had developed separate liturgical rites during the Middle Ages, their histories are described, starting with the eastern diaspora under Muslim rule, as it is from there that the oldest Jewish prayer books have been passed down. Discussed is the question whether, and if so, how, these two realms influenced the development of obligatory Jewish prayer.

The synagogue, described in the previous chapter, had become the central place for communal prayer, while study was reserved for the Beit Midrash,[3] often a special room in the same building which also included accommodation for travellers over Shabbat or any of the Jewish Festivals. As

[1] The Southern Netherlands, known as Belgium since 1831, remained under Spanish rule until the end of the 18th century. Here, the Inquisition suppressed Jewish life and book production. Post-1830 Belgian editions of the Jewish prayer book bear no relation to the Dutch liturgical tradition.

[2] For that reason many title pages of Jewish books that were printed elsewhere mentioned them to be printed in Amsterdam type.

[3] Cf. Mandel, 2005.

both diasporas had developed separate liturgical rites during the Middle Ages, their histories are described in geographical order, starting with the eastern diaspora under Muslim rule, as it is from there that the oldest Jewish prayer books have been passed down. A cursory history of the spread of the European Jewish Diaspora is followed by a digression on the Inquisition, on forced conversion and on expulsion, as they provide an important background to understand Jewish migrants to the Northern Netherlands and their early prayer books.

To illustrate the contextuality of Jewish immigration in the Northern Netherlands against the backdrop of general early modern history the explosion of knowledge resulting from inventions and discoveries is discussed (chapter 3). One of the most influential inventions was printing with movable type, the impact of which was furthered by democratised education and increasing literacy. The mobility of the population rapidly accelerated through mass migration, which led to a widening of cultural horizons, the rise of mercantilism, the creation of a 'Republic of Letters,' and the encounter between various religions and religious denominations. These factors influenced the organisation of the new (as well as already existing) Jewish communities. To describe the state of the Jewish prayer book at the beginning of Early Modernity (chapter 4), another important element is discussed: Jewish obligatory prayer developed during more than one and a half millennium before being printed. When printing was invented, the oldest existing manuscripts of more or less complete prayer books were about 500 years old and their texts had originally been composed by some Babylonian Geonim. They presented Babylonian custom and ideology, while Ashkenazi literature from about 200 years later were influenced by German Pietist and other Ashkenazy theories on prayer. The codification of the Halakhah since the Late Middle Ages gives a more complete insight into the fixation of Jewish prayer in the later medieval period and Early Modernity. In this period rabbinic ritual law became leading and diminished free development. The inventing of printing made the production and dispersion of prayer books an international enterprise, following the requirements of trade. While the manuscript prayer books were written on command for the personal use of a wealthy individual or for the use by a community, printed prayer books are of a different nature as they provide many people with identical books, without the buyer having any influence on their content. Special attention is given to the development of Halakhah and its codification, as well as to Jewish ritual Law on prayer and synagogue liturgy. Stressed is that in Ashkenazi jurisprudence local custom prevails over Halakhah, an example of the division between Ashkenazim and Sephardim as those were the main groups of immigrants to settle in the Northern Netherlands. Other subjects are the prescribed language of prayer, the rise of Kabbalah and its reception in prayer since the Late Middle Ages, the differences between liturgical rite, (binding) custom and folklore.

The second and main part of the study discusses the Jews and their prayer books in the Northern Netherlands starting with the position of those immigrants of Jewish descent in the region and the challenges they faced (chapter 5). The return of Jewish life to the Northern Netherlands in Early Modernity has been described by amongst others Miriam Bodian, Jonathan Israel, Josef Kaplan and Daniel Swetschinski. Data on their arrival are scarce but it is clear that Amsterdam became the main centre of Jewish life in the Republic, although other cities were not completely averse against Jewish presence. In this study special attention is given to the influence of contemporary political and religious conflicts on the settlement of these early immigrants, mostly of Iberian origin, especially the influence of the many local and 'national' controversies on the fledgling Jewish community, especially in Amsterdam. A related subject is the legal position of these non-Protestant (and partly Catholic) immigrants and the relevance of the unique copy of a draft of legislation to define conditions on Jewish settlement in the Republic which rests in the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos. Subsequently the internal conditions in the young Jewish community are discussed, the organisation of the community and its secular and religious leadership, as well as the relationship between them. At an early stage Amsterdam would

give birth to Jewish printing, starting with prayer books and soon become a world centre of Jewish book production and trade, the seat of an unusual fee Jewish press, but the first Jewish prayer books, in an Iberian Jewish vernacular, were printed elsewhere in the young Republic. The reception of the Dutch language by Ashkenazim and Sephardim is mentioned as well.

The first Jewish prayer books to be printed in the Northern Netherlands contained the Sephardi rite, but were published more than a century after the first Hebrew book was published in Southern Europe, and exactly 98 years after the first Jewish prayer book, containing the rite of Rome (Casal Maggiore/Soncino, 1485-1486), was printed. The earlier centres of Jewish printing, especially of Jewish prayer books are discussed, followed by a description of the first Sephardi prayer books in an Iberian Jewish vernacular that were printed in Ferrara 1552-1555. These editions have been deemed previously by Sigmund Seeligmann, Adri Offenberg and Harm den Boer to be the model for the editions in the Northern Netherlands. To evaluate this attribution, the Ferrara editions are described and compared with two 1552 Venice editions of the obligatory Jewish prayers in Hebrew with and Iberian Jewish translation. Previously it had not been noticed that there indeed are two editions, one containing the daily prayers, while the other one contains the prayers for Shabbat only. These editions are compared with previous editions of these prayers in Hebrew that had been printed in Venice since 1519, including an analysis of their contents as well as some paratextual remarks, followed by a description of the state of both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi prayer books in the middle of the 16th century.

The first Jewish prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands precede documented Jewish presence there. Copies of the earliest editions of these works are now as rare as those of the previous Venice and Ferrara editions. Before 1627, only Sephardi prayers in the Iberian Jewish vernacular were published in the Dutch Republic. They are discussed in chapter 7 in the same way as their 1519-1555 Italian predecessors in the previous chapter. The Ashkenazi rite was published for the first time in the Dutch Republic in 1634. Its status is discussed briefly, followed by a survey of the 17th-century Amsterdam Jewish printers and the place of prayer books within their publishing output, illustrating their important position. Special attention is given to Menasseh ben Israel because of his great significance, not only as the founder of the first Jewish Hebrew press in Amsterdam, but also as rabbi, teacher, member of the Republic of Letters and international book dealer. The Jewish book soon became part of the Dutch book scene, so that such aspects as notarial contracts and the employment of correctors and their remuneration are also discussed. A special case is that of non-Jewish staff: their religion prescribed rest on Sundays, while a Jew was not allowed to profit from work on Shabbat, the Jewish day of rest. The textual analysis of the earliest Jewish prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands, almost all of them in Amsterdam, also pays attention to the reception of Kabbalah insofar as kabbalistic elements were included. Some paratextual elements discussed include title pages, colophons, imprints, printer's devices and approbations, sometimes resulting in a critical review of previous attributions. The final part of the chapter tries to answer the question whether the early editions of the vernacular Sephardi prayer books that were produced in the Dutch Republic were mainly intended to serve former Conversos in the Dutch Republic, who began arriving from the Iberian Peninsula in large numbers from the beginning of the 17th century. Demographic data and the common rules of principles of economy and business practice are provided to assess the validity of that assumption.

The printing of books containing obligatory Jewish prayer in the Northern Netherlands continued after the 17th century, some developments deserve attention (chapter 8). To enable a first quantitative comparison with production in the 17th century, the distribution of the listed editions is discussed. It is to be stressed that during the 18th century the local market had grown so much, that for the few remaining Jewish presses it provided sufficient, if not ample,

opportunities to continue the publishing prayer books for the own communities that had spread all over the country. The developments of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books from this period are described, added with a note on the non-traditional prayer. This is followed by a list of printers of prayer books in the Northern Netherlands and subsequently some textual remarks from the previous chapter are continued, to which a new vocalisation in Kaddish and a number of the most recent developments are added.

The third part of this study deals with the position of the Jewish prayer book in bibliography, conventional (analogue) library practice and modern digitised information practice. The research of any class of books depends on the availability of actual copies of a certain edition and for that reason collections through the ages have compiled catalogues. The cataloguer and bibliographer of Jewish prayer books, especially those that have been published before the industrial period, encounter various problems that are discussed (chapter 9). These problems are not new, nor are they restricted to the works that were published in the Northern Netherlands, but the recent change from analogue descriptive cataloguing to digital data-storage apparently added to them. The analysis intends to serve as an exit point for future international discussion to solve a number of the problems mentioned, exiting from the accepted theories of International Standard Bibliographical Description and Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Materials (Books). One of the problems faced by bibliographers and book professionals alike, is that they are not always aware of the difference between works containing obligatory and those with voluntary Jewish prayers. This often impedes them trying to provide the metadata that are necessary to locate and identify a certain edition of a Jewish prayer book. Both categories in all their diversity already existed in Early Modernity and have since remained unaltered, except for minor differences between the various editions. For reference this study includes a list of books containing obligatory Jewish prayers (chapter 10), preceding a survey of separately published single obligatory prayers, collections of voluntary prayers intended for individuals or groups and works that are related to prayer books. The confusing nomenclature and terminology of individual Jewish prayer books and the series that were published is explained to assist descriptive as well as subject cataloguers. It also helps to improve the access to copies of any specific prayer book by distinguishing between Ashkenazi and Sephardi terminology and practice, even if not directly related to editions that have been published in the Northern Netherlands.

Next the traditional liturgical rites and their 'families', as well as non-traditional rites and prayers are described, as well as some differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites and their respective terminologies (chapter 11). Some of the rites mentioned have been printed in Amsterdam, especially in the 18th century, but the others also have been included to provide an easy accessible reference for cataloguers, bibliographers and others who are interested in the subject. Distinctive features, however, are only discussed in this and later chapters for the Ashkenazi and Western Sephardi rites as dealing with all the other rites, e.g. Romaniot and the various Yemenite rites, would necessitate extensive excursions in religious poetry and variants that have to be left to the specialist liturgists.

Various elements of Jewish obligatory prayer as encountered in the printed works, both in the Northern Netherlands and elsewhere, are different in western-Ashkenazi and western-Sephardi liturgy. As the research of the Jewish prayer book has been dominated by Ashkenazi authors, many of these differences have been insufficiently described and to somewhat remedy this deficiency some of these differences are explained in this study. Not only different Ashkenazi and Sephardi terminologies are listed, but also the different positions in which certain parts of prayer con be found. As Jewish prayer is regularly influenced by differences between days and seasons, between weekdays, Shabbat and festivals, summer and winter, a brief explication of the Jewish calendar, Shabbat, Festivals, Fasts and other special days is given (chapter 12). This is followed by

the outline of the construction of obligatory Jewish prayer to enable the understanding of the various elements which are discussed later. Non-specialist users and book professionals are often baffled by differences in terminology, synonyms and ceremonies which they encounter in the early printed Jewish prayer books, including the early modern Amsterdam editions (chapter 13). One has to beware of the use of homonyms, terms that mean one thing in Ashkenazi but something different in Sephardi terminology. The most important distinctive differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands will be discussed in the following paragraphs in the order in which they generally appear in the prayer books, beginning with the Morning Prayer. Previous authors sometimes attributed unexpected prayer components in a printed work to 'printer's error' instead of taking into account relevant halakhic literature that can provide an explanation. A good example is the repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer, which has been rejected in the halakhic codes. Nevertheless, the Venice 1544 Venice Bomberg edition as the 1552 Ferrara Oraçiones de Mes contain such a repetition on Friday night, for which in this study precedent is presented from an important medieval Spanish source. Another example given is the repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer of the Festivals which is traced to early Palestinian custom as has recently become apparent from manuscript sources. Halakhic authorities and commentators during the centuries have expressed their opinions on certain elements of prayer and their wording which later authors passed down. Nevertheless later editors and publishers often disregarded such personal opinions and even decisions that were not accepted by the majority and one has to remember the axiom that it has always been publishers' aim to serve a market as large as possible. The question is asked if it is possible to establish a taxonomy of the early modern editions that were published in the Northern Netherlands. Also discussed are possible traces of the reception of Kabbalah in those editions.

Although religious poetry, known as Piyyutim, are actually not part of obligatory Jewish prayer, some of them have been incorporated in prayer books. A professional who has to deal with Jewish prayer books not seldom encounters fragmentary material which may contain one or more headings that can provide essential information on the context of the prayer material. Many such titles and headings of Piyyutim may be well-known, but others are often arcane. Without claiming to be exhaustive a survey of the headings that are encountered in the early modern prayer books is provided (chapter 14). Ashkenazim and Sephardim may use the same term for differently placed Piyyutim and for that reason not only their nomenclature is provided, but also their proper place in Ashkenazi and/or Sephardi liturgy to enable identification of incomplete 'matter'.

Although most Jewish prayer books preceding the 19th century were written in Hebrew, a number of Sephardi early modern editions appeared in an Iberian Jewish vernacular as has been discussed earlier in this study. As was the case with the uncommon repetition of the Amidah in the evening prayer on the night of Fridays or a Festival, also for the use of the vernacular in obligatory prayer this study turns to halakhic sources (chapter 15). As has been discussed earlier in this study, that the Hebrew Sephardi prayer books that were published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice, starting in 1519, contained rubrics and instructions in a Judeo-Italian or Judeo Hispanic vernacular. Judeo-Italian was the language of the Sidorello, a booklet containing 'private prayers', and as it explicitly states, intended for women and was printed in Soncino in 1486. Yiddish or Judeo-German too was at the time used in the rubrics of Ashkenazi prayer books. This was, as far as can be documented now, the way in which the vernacular entered the printed Jewish prayer books. From here it was only a small step to printing complete prayer books in Latin characters for those who did not read and understand Hebrew. As no external evidence has been found to suppose that they were exclusively intended for the use by former Conversos, an anthology of Halakhic sources, culled from early rabbinic literature, the codices and important more recent decisors on the subject is evaluated. Special attention is given to eventual differences between

Ashkenazim and Sephardim on the halakhic position of vernacular and Hebrew for Jewish prayer. In Appendix 3 the full anthology is provided in the original Hebrew with an English translation. In appendix 4 the case of the vocalisation of Bible texts in the prayers is used to answer the question if the growth of a specific Dutch-Jewish liturgical tradition can be discerned.

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Abraham Wolf Rosenberg was born in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, on April 22, 1943 as son of Max Rosenberg and Rebecca Rosenberg-de Jongh.

1964-1966	Foundation course Theology, Radboud University Nijmegen
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1966-1969	Bachelor studies Hebrew and Aramaic, University of Amsterdam
1970-1972	Graduate Library School of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem
1970-1975	Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem (JNUL), Classification department
1971-1974	Rubin Academy of Music, Jerusalem, vocal department
1972-1975	Curator of Western Early Printed and Rare Books JNUL
1975	British Council Traineeship Rare Book Librarianship University Libraries of Birmingham and London
1975-1977	Master studies Neo-Latin, University of Amsterdam
1978-1984	Bibliographer, Nico Israel Antiquarian Bookdealer, Amsterdam
1984-1987	Minister Jewish Burial Society of Amsterdam
1987-1991	Secretary of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Community
1993-2009	Librarian of the Amsterdam Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos
2000-2014	Assistant to the Amsterdam Portuguese Rabbinate
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[1] Incl. Rosh, Beit Yoseph and supercommentaries.

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